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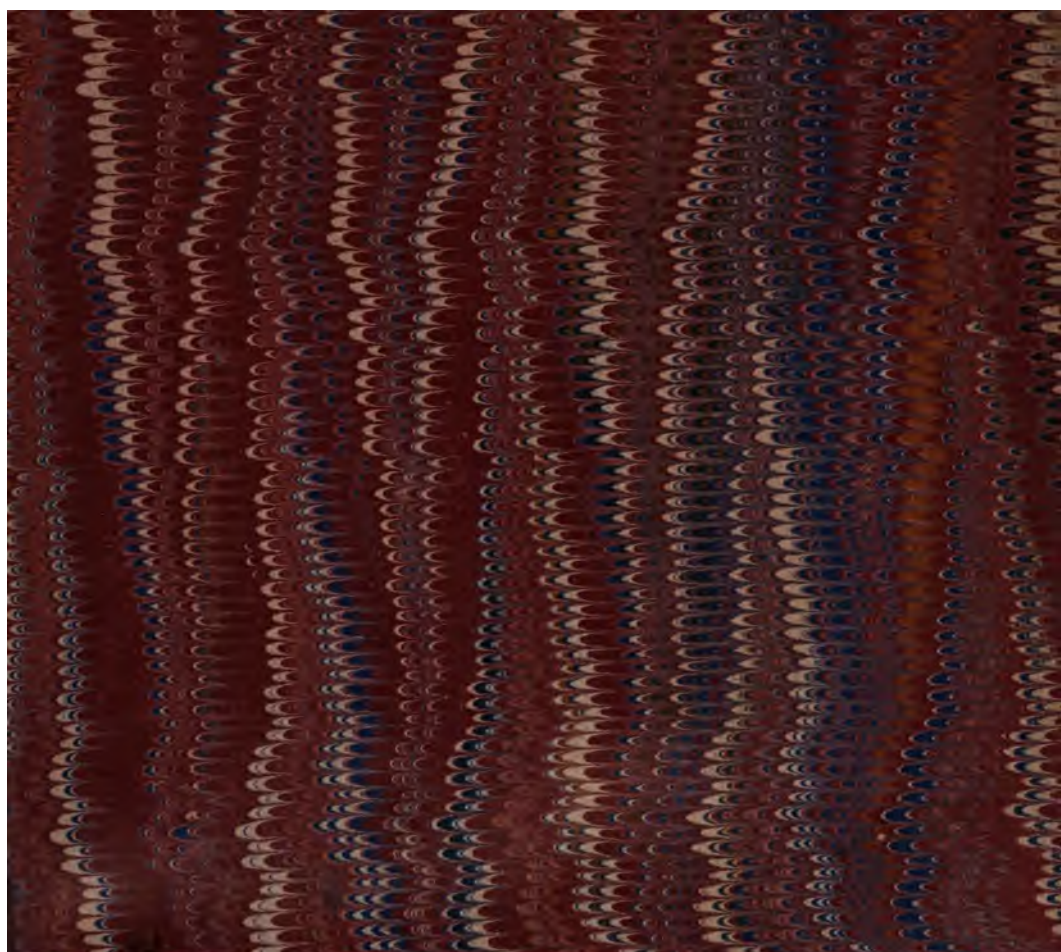
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THE PROFESSIONAL STUDIES OF THE ENGLISH CLERGY.

*" Multo tempore discas quod docens, et sic non temeritate
quorundam docens quod nescias, sed ante discas quod
dicturus es."—S. HIERONYMUS, Reg. Monach. vi.*

NONE of the changes which have been effected in the Church of England since the accession of William IV. is more salutary or remarkable than that which has passed over the education of the clergy. It is within the recollection of all elderly men that in their younger days there was practically no professional training at all so much as procurable by the great majority of candidates for Holy Orders. Not only were there no theological colleges in existence, but the Divinity Schools at Oxford and Cambridge did nothing whatever to promote advanced study amongst men with a direct bent towards theological pursuits, far less to insure that the ordinary student should be fairly equipped for beginning a clerical career. Nor was the matter much improved by the examinations for Holy Orders conducted by bishops and their chaplains; for besides that bishops, then as now, were selected by the Crown for any reason save professional erudition (a fact which drew down Mr. Disraeli the novelist's censure a generation ago,* though Lord Beaconsfield the Premier does not seem to mind it), and could therefore scarcely be expected to appoint their own examining chaplains on the score of scholarship; the obvious difficulty presented itself to such Ordinaries as recognized the defect and desired better things, that a strict examination, applied to men who had never enjoyed opportunities of learning, could do nothing except supply additional proofs of ignorance, and cause the desertion of all dioceses where such an ordeal had to be faced. The net result was that the clergy of the English Church, alone of all important Christian bodies having a stated ministry, began their professional education just as officers in the army used also to do, not until after receiving their commissions and entering on the discharge of their duties, but

* See *Tancred*, book ii. chap. iv. (1845).

with the very important drawback as compared with their military *cœvals*, that they had no such school provided for them as even the least smart regiment with its disciplinary routine necessarily proved, so that, if they happened to spend their earlier years of ministry in an ill-worked parish, as was then only too probable and common, they got into a groove of incapacity from which they never subsequently emerged. How it chanced that the most ignominious collapse did not follow on the pursuit of such a method, and that persevered in ever since the accession of the House of Hanover, is a curious and interesting question, but is beside the present inquiry, which is twofold, namely, whether, after all the unquestionable improvement which has taken place, and the much higher average level of professional acquirements now attained by the main body of the clergy of the Established Church, the existing system of instruction is sufficient in *kind* and in *degree*.

One very discouraging fact meets us at the outset of the inquiry, which shows that there is something wrong. It is that, unlike the medical profession, which supports several magazines and journals devoted to its technical pursuits, and to promoting scientific research, and still more unlike the theological faculty in Protestant Germany, which teems with literary productiveness of the same kind, there is absolutely not one magazine, review, or similar publication of repute and ability in England devoted exclusively to theological science and learning.

It is quite true that this is far from being an unmixed evil, for the frequent occurrence of important theological articles in reviews and magazines which are of a general character, appealing to the public at large, testifies to and promotes intelligent lay interest in subjects of the kind, which is exactly what Continental Europe, whether Catholic or Protestant, cannot show; while the free admixture of secular literary papers in such periodicals as are presumably designed to be mainly clerical is a warrant, so far, that a breadth of culture is still maintained which will check over-professionalism, and that tendency to mark off the clergy into a caste separated by interests and pursuits from other citizens, which has wrought untold mischief in countries of the Latin obedience. Nevertheless, it is not well that the higher and abstruser aspects of theology should excite so little interest amongst the clergy as is implied by the fact as stated, though I am not unwilling to think that the institution of honours in the Divinity Schools at the Universities may in a few years cause some improvement in this respect, by gradually creating a body of men who have once given care and time to inquiry of the sort, and will therefore be less likely to neglect it in after-life. And it is at least arguable that additional stimulus would be applied in this direction by the severance of theological studies from any necessary connexion with the clerical profession, by the encouragement of competition for honours in the Divinity School on the part of students who have no intention whatever of taking Orders,

and even by the throwing open of theological degrees to laymen, precisely as degrees in law are now obtainable by men who have no purpose of ever practising as solicitors or barristers. At present, however low the standard of theological knowledge may be amongst the clergy, it is yet so far higher than that which even the educated laity have commonly reached, that there is little inducement for the former to push their studies further, in order to lift themselves above the range of a criticism which shall be not merely carping, but intelligent and discriminating. And without pausing to dwell on the room there is in the Church at the present day for any number of Marius Mercators, or to enlarge upon the literary services done to religion by laymen like the late Mr. George Warrington and the still living Mr. Romanes, it is sufficiently evident from the attitude of Church Congresses and Diocesan Conferences, that we are probably nearing a crisis which will bring laymen much more directly into contact with Church organization and government than is now the case; and without discussing here the merits of such a change, it is at least obviously expedient that the element so introduced shall be competent to the discharge of any functions intrusted to it, and shall not enter upon its work in that condition of unfathomable ignorance upon every topic even indirectly connected with religion which has marked all save an infinitesimal and uninfluential minority of the lay delegates in the synods of the disestablished Irish Church.

A more immediate reason than even this presents itself for desiring the spread of theological knowledge amongst the educated laity. It is happily becoming common for members of this class to offer themselves for the office of lay readers, with episcopal licence, and their usefulness in this capacity, as also in those of the superintendentship of Sunday-schools, the instruction of higher groups in these same schools, the conduct of cottage-lectures, and the holding of mission services, with permission to preach under licence, would be very materially increased by the qualification which a degree in theology would connote, if invariably made a real test, or recognizing certificate, of attainments, and not, as now, a mere voucher for academical seniority backed by fees, nor yet a formal ratification, under the plea *jure dignitatis*, of the nomination by the Minister of the day of some one, perhaps wholly unversed in theological studies, to high rank and office in the Church. It is clear, at any rate to my mind, that one necessary conclusion from the altered conditions of modern society is, that the Universities of to-day cannot undertake the office which the University of Paris discharged in mediæval times, that of being the guardians and arbiters, to a great extent, of theological orthodoxy, and that they can treat theology in no other fashion than as a branch of human knowledge, for whose study they offer special facilities, and in which their diplomas and certificates attest a certain degree of progress. And what might reasonably follow in turn from this

conclusion is, that we should see here, as in Bonn and Tübingen, where a Catholic and a Protestant Faculty of Theology subsist at the Universities side by side, certain chairs and lectures, such as Hebrew, Biblical Greek, Textual Criticism, and Christian Archæology, common to all students in theology, leaving each communion which chose to erect a faculty for itself in connexion with the University at liberty to constitute its own chairs of Dogmatic, Pastoral, and Moral Theology for its members, only requiring that the occupants of such chairs should be men who would compare on equal terms with the ablest of their colleagues. I am persuaded that it would be a gain to the nation if its religious teachers of all the chief denominations had opportunities of receiving the highest intellectual training of the time, under circumstances which, without interfering with their loyalty to their own communions, would lift them out of the narrowness and lack of culture almost inseparable from the seminary system, however worked. This principle is virtually in operation already nearer home than Germany, for the Established Kirk and the Free Kirk of Scotland have each of them Faculties of Theology in Edinburgh, though one only has official connexion with the University; and the Episcopal Church of Scotland has lately removed its Divinity School from the rural seclusion of Glenalmond to the same city. It is not unworthy of mention, too, that some of the most serious additions made of late years to scientific theology by Roman Catholic divines have come from professors at Bonn and Tübingen, such as Möhler, Kuhn, Klee, and Dieringer; while nothing of permanent value has issued from the seminaries in France, where no stimulus of competition and criticism exists; so that it is not altogether unreasonable to suppose that greater activity in this department of learning would be manifested in the English Universities were such a scheme carried out.

It is, I trust, not requisite to argue at length that no study can be adequately pursued even in its lower branches unless a certain number of minds be constantly engaged upon its higher forms, in pushing its conquests further in advance, in working out fresh lines of thought, and in illustrating more fully the teachings and discoveries of former labourers in the same field. This is recognized as eminently true of medical science, and if it had been acknowledged as equally true of law, English jurisprudence would be in a less anomalous and chaotic condition than it now is. Till within these few years past, the pursuit of the higher departments of theology has been left in this country entirely to voluntary, unassisted, and sporadic effort, and so far the professional training of the clergy has been quite inadequate. It is too early to pronounce definitely upon the practical merits of the Honour Schools in theology which have been lately instituted, though they must needs work some improvement; but allowing them to achieve to the very fullest extent all that their promoters dare even to hope, they go but a very short way towards solving the problem of

efficiently training the main body of the English clergy for their ordinary duties. That body consists of about twenty-three thousand persons, and requires a yearly supply of at least six hundred to fill vacancies and new charges. It is not to be expected that more than a very small minority of these will ever dream of competing for honours in theology, or aim at more than passing the compulsory examinations with the least possible effort. So far as they are directly concerned, therefore, this improvement, valuable in itself, is inoperative. Next, a very weighty fact, more than likely to escape the attention of enthusiastic educationists, has to be steadily borne in mind, namely, that a taste and capacity for the higher forms of theology are quite as rare as for abstruse mathematics or for philological discovery. The number of men in the clerical profession—not necessarily dull or ignorant—who have absolutely no mental faculty whatever for so much as comprehending, not to say assimilating, purely theological ideas at all is very large, and by no means confined to the humbler stations of the Church, for some of them are to be found even in the most exalted positions. This is no new fact; it is akin to colour-blindness and to the lack of musical ear; it always has been so, and probably always will be so, and the inference is that the teaching to be imparted to this class must be adapted to their receptive powers. Thirdly, although it is true that there is no kind of knowledge which may not be pressed into the service of religion, and be useful at one time or another to a clergyman, and while theoretically every branch of divinity ought to be familiar to those who undertake the office of religious teaching, yet there are certain departments of theology which, on the one hand, are useless if no more than a mere superficial smattering be attained, and on the other, have only a very indirect bearing on the ordinary routine work of a parochial clergyman. Such, for example, are Hebrew and the textual criticism of the Old and New Testament. I am not to be understood as depreciating the importance of these studies, or as desiring aught than that all who show any capacity for pursuing them with success should do so to the full. But the mere rudiments, if not serving as a starting-point for additional study, are of the very slenderest value,—in truth, as regards Hebrew, more misleading than entire ignorance, as too many uncritical and worthless volumes are extant to warn us,—and contribute nothing to the mental development or the general utility of a teacher; while the time occupied in communicating these rudiments is a very appreciable fraction of the whole much too brief available period of training, and the effect of too discursive a range of subjects is far from advantageous to minds of small literary capacity. Hence it is necessary to draw more definitely than is now usual a line between compulsory and optional subjects in courses of reading, doing all that can reasonably or feasibly be carried out for the encouragement of the latter.

Yet again, not merely are theologians rare, but even the very taste

for reading at all, the literary bent itself, is by no means universally diffused amongst the clergy. They do not differ, it is true, in this respect from any equally large number of men selected from the so-called educated classes, nor even from the other learned professions. I believe that the proportion of medical practitioners who make no attempt to keep abreast of the advances of medical science, and of barristers and solicitors who would be anything but safe as legal advisers, is quite as large as that of the unintelligent residuum amongst the clergy. But there is this very serious difference in the cases, that the incompetent lawyer or doctor is likely, nay, almost certain, to be very seriously injured in pocket when his deficiencies are once discovered. He may buy the goodwill of a lucrative practice, or be started by friendly patrons in a promising career, but he cannot keep it long without personal diligence and merit, nor prevent rival competition from carrying off his best clients. But in the clerical profession the incompetent pastor is secure from this kind of danger. So long as his inefficiency is decent and respectable, he is secure in his incumbency, whether it be the gift of a patron or a matter of bargain and sale; and what is even more serious, distinction, nay, eminence, in theological learning and pastoral efficiency is no title whatever to preferment, especially in the higher grades of the ministry, nor is the presence of the very opposite qualities the slightest bar to advancement. No doubt, there are every now and then in the medical and legal ranks obscure Harveys, Hunters, and Jenners; Cokes, Mansfields, and Lyndhursts, who for lack of golden opportunity, or from a shy and retiring temper, have never become known, but live and die in neglect and poverty. And contrariwise, second and third-rate men not infrequently come to the front, though they rarely obtain the very highest prizes of their professions. But when a lawyer or doctor once does become known as a sound and careful adviser, as learned and capable in his calling, his fortunes are for the most part secure, and wealth, if not rank and influence, are within his grasp; nor does he run any risk of being neglected by clients or patients. This rule does not hold good in the smallest degree of the clerical calling, wherein acknowledged eminence is usually less prosperous than colourless mediocrity. In the Rev. Dr. Cazenove's essay on "Some Aspects of the Reformation," there are a few striking extracts from the Chronicle of Jacob Wimpheling, a Roman theologian who lived from 1450 to 1520, and who vainly endeavoured to promote those reforms in the Latin Church which would have prevented Luther's revolt. Amongst Wimpheling's complaints of abuses, is that theological knowledge in his day was not only no recommendation for preferment, but was a positive obstacle to obtaining it, especially in the case of canonries, a statement confirmed by Eck, Luther's famous adversary, whose words are: "*Haud facile theologis ad præbendas patet ascensus.*" But in modern England, there died between April 30, 1865, and August 7, 1866, three

of the most learned and distinguished clergymen whom the Church of England has produced within this century, none of whom ever attained even the titular and barren distinction of an honorary canonry, and of whom the most prosperous held only a petty and obscure country vicarage, the gift of a college pupil; a second died without having ever risen above the grade of a curate; and the third spent nearly half his entire life where he died, in the position of warden of an obscure almshouse, on a salary of twenty-seven pounds a-year, an office in which both his successors have been laymen, so that it was not even an ecclesiastical benefice at all, however humble. They were John Keble, Isaac Williams, and John Mason Neale; and at the time of their deaths not fewer than thirteen episcopal sees, including at least four out of the five principal ones, were occupied by prelates whom not flattery itself could credit with even a superficial acquaintance with the primer of theology, while there was certainly no such eminence displayed by the great majority of the remaining half of the episcopate, who might be more leniently estimated, as to bring up the average attainments of the whole bench to a respectable level. And an inquiry into the deaneries and canonries of that time would lead to very similar results.

So it was in Cowper's day, as he has not failed to tell us:

"Church-ladders are not always mounted best
By learned clerks and Latinists profess'd.
The exalted prize demands an upward look,
Not to be found by poring on a book.
Small skill in Latin, and still less in Greek,
Is more than adequate to all I seek.
Let erudition grace him, or not grace,
I give the bauble but the second place;

Let reverend churls his ignorance rebuke,
Who starve upon a dog's-ear'd Pentateuch,
The parson knows enough who knows a duke."

Nor was his judgment lighter on the Crown patronage and letters missive which conferred the mitres of his day:

"The wretch shall rise, and be the thing on earth
Least qualified in honour, learning, worth,
To occupy a sacred, awful post,
In which the best and worthiest tremble most.

Behold your Bishop! well he plays his part,
Christian in name, and infidel in heart,
Ghostly in office, earthly in his plan,
A slave at Court, elsewhere a lady's man.
Dumb as a senator, and as a priest
A piece of mere church furniture at best."

And then, to show that he did not deny the possibility of exceptions, he adds:

"For Providence, that seems concern'd to exempt
The hallow'd Bench from absolute contempt,
In spite of all the wrigglers into place,
Still keeps a seat or two for worth and grace;
And therefore 'tis that, though the sight be rare,
We sometimes see, a Lowth or Bagot there."

Things have not since altered so conspicuously for the better in this respect that any temporal inducement to study can be honestly held out to the young ecclesiastic, as it may fairly be to the medical or law student, and thus one great spur to exertion is absent. Further, the ordinary conditions of clerical life are for the most part less conducive to intellectual exertion than those of the other learned professions. The physician must earn his living by success in actual battle with disease, and must in the course of his vocation deal nearly as much with men as with women and children. The lawyer has rival lawyers to contend with, not merely in respect of his own interests, but in those of his clients, and unless he keep his wits sharply whetted, he cannot fulfil his obligations to those who employ him. But the parson, who is theoretically the chief literary and intellectual element in each parish, and intended to be its teacher, occupying a higher social and educational level than the schoolmaster, lives too generally, if in the country, wholly apart from his male parishioners, of whom he sees but little, is very often surrounded entirely by small farmers and others of a similar grade, who have no interest whatever in literary pursuits, thus having absolutely no educated neighbours to compare notes with except some clergyman situated just like himself; and so, if he be like the average pass-man of the Universities, the ordinary student of the theological colleges, with no very great hunger for learning, and no formed habits of reading, he is much more likely to come down to the mental level of his flock than to pull it up even the very slightly higher ascent on which he is himself posted; and thus will not do his teaching work nearly so well as the average schoolmaster. And if he be a town clergyman, working as town clergymen are expected to work in the present day wherever Church reform has set in, he has rarely time or strength for independent study after all the claims of daily services, schools, guilds, classes, visitations, and attendance to the calls on his time and attention by a multitude of applicants of every sort, have been satisfied. It is not an uncommon thing for a clergyman of the stamp here indicated to begin his working day at half-past six in the morning, and not be free from the last demands on his leisure till eleven at night, without having had one unbroken hour to himself in the interval.

The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is, that the teaching given to future clergymen during their period of training needs to be terse, incisive, and systematic in its compulsory portions, to make as deep an impression as possible on the memory, and to be so clearly defined as to avoid the vagueness and haziness which are sure to take possession of inactive minds, if made to traverse a wide range of long books with the mere aim of passing somehow through an examination at the end of a certain term, and that in most cases such a brief one as the broken one year or two years which form the usual course of a theological college, according as the students are graduates or literates.

This matter of incisiveness needs to be dwelt upon all the more when the case of literates has to be considered, whether non-university men who have entered as students at theological colleges, or those of the still less cultured class who are sometimes ordained by bishops on personal grounds, without any special test at all save that of satisfying an easier examination than that proposed to other candidates. Experience has made us familiar with the very slender results obtained by primary schools in teaching reading, writing, and the simpler rules of arithmetic, in any thorough and effective fashion to children of the labouring classes within the very short time devoted to their education; and the amount of Greek and Latin which an average pass-man at the Universities has contrived to assimilate after, say, eleven years, since he quitted the care of a governess, and passed through the ascending stages of preparatory school, public school, and college, is not worth taking into account. It is not to be expected, therefore, that such a method of teaching as may passably suffice to supplement the general training in tone, manners, and culture of some kind, superior for social purposes to mere book-learning, to which men who have passed through the Universities have been presumably subjected, will be powerful enough to compensate in any degree for its absence in the case of those who have been less fortunate.

This is a truth which the Roman Church has seized, and to which it owes the professional efficiency of its clergy. It has been its policy—in the long run a most disastrous one, though with much plausible argument in its favour—ever since the counter-Reformation in the seventeenth century, and still more, ever since the French Revolution, to separate the education of its future clergy from that of their fellow-citizens as early and as long as possible. The young divinity students, now recruited, at any rate in France, almost exclusively from the peasant class, are caught when mere boys, scarcely more than children, and are trained for several years (eight, I think, often) in *petits séminaires*, either wholly apart from lads intended for lay careers, or else in a separate department of the same institution, and on quite a different footing. Thence they are transferred to the *grands séminaires*, exclusively ecclesiastical, where they have to pass five years more in professional studies, classified as philosophy, moral and dogmatic theology, and Biblical literature. And great pains are taken to use just what we lack, namely, text-books of a very clear and incisive cast—such, for example, as the Catechisms of the Seminary at Mechlin—illustrated by carefully methodical and systematized lectures. The effect, on one side of it, is doubtless bad, in that the ordinary Roman priest has very much the air of a manufactured article turned out to pattern by the hundred, has little or no originality or spontaneity, knows nothing whatever outside the very narrow range of the studies imposed by his superiors, is too “cocksure” of everything, and is altogether unable to sympathize with or even understand the educated

lay mind. But on the other hand, he does know what they have meant him to learn, and he seldom forgets it. He is not the stuff whom they will select to make a preacher of conferences in a great cathedral, a director of conscience for penitents of high station, or to assume the training office in his turn; but he will be thoroughly versed in the ordinary routine of his parish duties, will know all the formulated doctrines of his Church in their simpler and broader forms, foreign as all higher theological speculation will be to his habits of thought, and will be able to preach homely sermons in no contemptible fashion. There may be very reasonable doubt as to the soundness of the theory which has guided his training, there is no question at all that he is turned out a fairly serviceable implement for the kind of work he is to have intrusted to him.* It is impossible to say so much for the ordinary English literate or pass-man after his much shorter and less formal course of instruction. The Anglican priesthood differs in the theory of its functions from that of the Oriental and Latin Churches in two very important particulars. In the first place, it is in no sense a caste apart from other citizens, but is expected to dwell with and amongst them, sharing in their concerns, and not merely living for, yet divided from, them. And next, it is primarily a *teaching* body. The teaching or prophetic office has fallen into practical abeyance in the Eastern communions; and rich as Latin Christendom has been in great preachers (notably in France, which has far surpassed England in this respect), yet the sacerdotal element has from various causes assumed much greater prominence there than the prophetic, and plenty of room and work can be found for an inferior grade of clergy who can just go correctly through the performance of certain rites and ceremonies, but are competent for very little more. But there does not seem to be any place in the Church of England for men of this stamp, since the chief pastoral work of her clergy, occupying far more of their time than the performance of public worship (even inclusive of preaching) and what is called surplice-duty, is in serving as the instructors, advisers, helpers, and in many respects confidants of their parishioners; an office full of complexities and difficulties, and therefore needing all the more jealousy in the admission of those who are to fill it; since an ignorant man cannot fitly teach, and a man who is unrefined in ideas and habits will not exercise influence with rich or poor—less indeed with the latter than with the former, as they are less willing to make allowances. All experience teaches that an unlearned clergy, drawn from a humble

* It should be said that in a French pamphlet issued since this paper has been in type, "*Pourquoi le clergé français est-il ultramontain?*" (Paris: Dentu, 1879), it is alleged that the bishops, in order to keep the clergy ignorant of their rights and privileges, take care that the teaching in the seminaries shall be "insufficient, incomplete, and feeble;" that the "theological lectures are cut down, canon law excluded from the course, Biblical exegesis superficially treated, and the students finally sent out with a meagre bundle of knowledge, in which neither history, archaeology, nor patrology forms a part."—P. 30.

social grade, is a grave misfortune to a Church, and is at once powerless to affect the educated classes of society, and very precarious in its hold upon the lower, a fact which is brought home to ourselves by the comparative weakness of the Welsh Church, where such an element was till very lately disproportionately large. It is therefore desirable not only to keep this element as small as possible in the Church of England, but to minimize the chances of mischief from individuals of it by extreme precision of teaching, leaving much less to their own bias and study than can safely be done with others. Exactly in proportion as they lack width and variety of acquirements and culture, they should know with greater accuracy what they do learn, and the subjects enjoined upon them should be most carefully adapted to the kind of duties which they will have to perform. Because they have not had the best education, they need the exactest information. There is not much to draw out, and all the more has therefore to be put in.

It is well to digress for a moment here to answer the objection to the language I have used about literates as a class, that it is inconsistent with the democratic principle which has prevailed in the Christian Church in all its healthiest periods, of drawing its ministers freely from all grades of society, and opening the road to the highest dignities for the very humblest. Certainly that principle ought to prevail, but not by admitting unfit men into the ministry on any sentimental pleas, rather by restoring to the poor those educational endowments which a false Liberalism, by the modern scheme of competitive examinations, has thrown exclusively into the hands of the rich, who can afford to pay for private tutors and crammers for their children, enabling them to defeat in any contest for prizes those poorer students who have only the common teaching of a class or their personal exertions to rely on. The poor lad of mediæval times who rose to be archbishop or Pope had in most cases enjoyed precisely the same educational advantages as his high-born competitors, had been taught in exactly the same schools, by the same masters, and probably been trained for long years in the same monastery. But now there is too often all the interval between a primary school or a cheap commercial academy, supplemented or not, as may be, by a far too short sojourn at some theological college; and Eton, Winchester, Rugby, or Marlborough, succeeded by Oxford or Cambridge, and finally supplemented, not merely replaced, by Cuddesdon or Chichester. That a remedy can be found for this evil, which is not confined by any means to the clerical profession, I cannot doubt, nor yet that it is to be found in the direction of a federation of all the schools in the country, from the lowest to the highest grades; but so long as it exists it would be idle to shut our eyes to the fact that, as a rule, the literate of the day is likely to be an inferior article, and, if admitted to the ministry at all, must be more specially trained than any other, while even graduates have, for the most part, been taught

their religion carelessly and badly at home, at schools, and at the University, so cannot make amends in a single year's study.

Now the fault which runs through the courses of study prescribed to candidates for Holy Orders in all the most important Divinity Schools, such as the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, and Dublin, King's College, London, and the leading theological colleges, is that they have one and all been apparently drawn up from the purely academic point of view, in a scholastic spirit, and as if a literary, rather than a practical goal, lay before the candidates. The subjects and books prescribed are often excellent of their kind; those in the Honour School at Oxford, in-particular, merit high praise, and if the object were to train men to become writers or lecturers on certain theological topics, addressing themselves to the learned few, it might not be easy to improve much upon them; but they fail signally to meet the daily needs of a parochial clergy, and especially of the less studious and intellectual candidates, who cannot be trusted to go on acquiring special knowledge after their last examination for Orders has been passed.

It is well to state first the ordinary routine of clerical work in any well-organized parish, and then to summarize the course of instruction which is supposed to equip men adequately for discharging it. There will be (1) the conduct of public worship, inclusive of (2) administration of the sacraments, and (3) preaching; (4) public catechizing; (5) supervision of, and probably teaching classes in Sunday and week-day schools; (6) Bible, choir, confirmation, communicant, and Sunday-school-teacher classes; (7) holding mission services in outlying districts; (8) pastoral visitation, specially of the sick; (9) parish guilds; (10) vestry business; (11) superintendence, direct or indirect, of parochial charities, district visitors, penny banks, &c.; (12) advice and counsel given in temporal and spiritual matters to all applicants; (13) controversy, either defensive, to prevent dissidents from drawing off parishioners to other communions; or aggressive, by endeavouring to win converts to the Church; (14) organization of lay help.

This, though a wide range of duties—in which, however, no account has been taken of *curate* or diocesan responsibilities—is yet a clearly defined one, and no person who scans it intelligently can long be in doubt as to the outlines of a training which will really prepare for it. Now let us take the various courses of study in all the schools which supply the Home Church, excluding the five missionary colleges, as outside the present inquiry, and see how they propose to do the work. First, then, let the lately instituted Preliminary Examination for Holy Orders, conducted by the Theological Faculty at Cambridge, be considered, because several bishops now accept it as qualifying for ordination, and because it is also avowedly intended to act on the theological colleges, in order to raise their standard of acquirements and efficiency, and therefore presumably contains references

to all that is judged, by those who have framed and those who accept it, to be *essential* for a well-taught ordinand to know. It is of this sort:—

1. Old Testament, selected portions, together with questions on "Introduction" and criticism, opportunity being given for showing acquaintance with the Hebrew and Septuagint.
2. New Testament in Greek, do. do.
3. The Creeds, and Thirty-nine Articles, history and contents.
4. The Prayer Book, history and contents.
5. Ecclesiastical History, selected portions.
6. A selected work or works of some Latin ecclesiastical writer, together with a passage for translation into English from some unspecified Latin author.

Two books of the Old, and two of the New Testament are usually set, and that a year or two previous to the examination. Thus, the specially defined course for 1879 is as follows:—1. Psalms xlii.—lxxii. Lives of David and Solomon. 2. St. Matthew and Romans. 3 and 4. As above, no text-books being named. 5. Church History to Council of Nice, inclusive; History of English Church from 1509—1558. 6. Book IV. of Venerable Bede's *Historia Eccles. Gent. Angl.* 7. An optional paper in Butler's Analogy.

The examination papers, as might be expected from the experience and distinction of the examiners, drawn from both of the greater Universities, are very searching and thorough of their kind, and leave no doubt possible that men who are put in the first class know a good deal, and that men who pass at all are by no means ignorant.

For students who aim higher, Cambridge has now a Theological Tripos. The subjects for 1879 are as follow:—

- 1 and 2. Hebrew Scriptures and Septuagint. Psalms, Book II., Hosea.
3. Greek Testament, St. Matthew, Acts xiii.—xxviii., Galatians.
4. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, v., vi. Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* iii., iv.
5. Tertullian, *Adv. Praxeam*. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, iv., v.
6. Life and Times of St. Chrysostom, St. Bernard, and Archbishop Laud.
7. Hooker, *Eccl. Polity*, ii., iii., iv. Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*.

At Oxford the examination for pass-men in Divinity in "the rudiments of faith and religion," as it is technically called, is so slight as to scarcely need attention. It consists (1) of the Old and New Testament; (2) Gospels and Acts in Greek; (3) the Thirty-nine Articles; (4) one or more books of Old and New Testament for special study; (5) some period of Ecclesiastical History. The honour course, however, is a very advanced one of its kind, and is as follows for 1879:—

I. *Biblia Sacra*.—Subject matter of Exodus, I. and II. Kings, Isaiah, St. Luke, St. John, Romans, or else Ephesians, and Pastoral Epistles.

Optional subjects, Hebrew or Septuagint, Exodus, i.—xxiv., Psalms lxxiii.—cl., Isaiah i.—xxxv.

II. *Theologia Dogmatica atque Symbolica*.—S. Athanasius, *De Incarnatione Verbi*. Vincentii Lirinensis *Commonitorium*. Heurtley, *De Fide et Symbolo*. Pearson on the Creed. Bull, *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*, books iii. and iv. The Thirty-nine Articles, Hardwick's *History of Thirty-nine Articles*.

III. *Historia Ecclesiastica et Patristica*.—Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. and iv. Canons of First Four General Councils. Bright's *History of the Church from A.D. 313 to A.D. 451*. Beda, *Histor. Eccles.* Hardwick's *Church History, Reformation Period*.

IV. *Apologetica*.—Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*. Butler's *Analogy*. Davison on *Prophecy*. Mozley on *Miracles*.

V. *Liturgica*.—St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, xix.—xxiii. The Ancient Liturgies. The Book of Common Prayer; with special reference to its sources and successive modifications. Hooker, *Eccl. Polity*, v.

VI. *Critica Sacra*.—Westcott on the *Canon of New Testament*. Scrivener, *Introduction to Criticism of New Testament*. Gospel of St. Luke, critically studied. Hosea, critically studied.

This is, of its kind, a better range of study than the corresponding honour course at Cambridge, and, as might be expected from the differences between the two Universities, has much more of theology proper, and of original texts (which, even if only scraps, at any rate keep men from mere second-hand reading), and not quite so much of mere grammar and philology. But it comes to nearly the same practical result, and similarly omits speculative theology, Christian antiquities, and all works by Roman, Lutheran, or Calvinist divines, often writing on subjects for which no good Anglican text-books exist; as for example:—Möhler's *Symbolik*, Perrone's *Prælectiones*, Ritschl's *Lehre von der Rechtfertigung*, and Gillespie's *Necessary Existence of God*.

In Durham, the examination in 1879 for an ordinary Licence in Theology will be:—1. SS. Mark and John, the Acts of the Apostles, I. Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, Philemon, and St. James, in Greek. 2. Ecclesiastical History to A.D. 451. 3. History of Church of England, 1509—1688. 4. Prayer Book and Thirty-nine Articles. 5. Biblical Criticism and Interpretation (optional).

For Honours in Theology, in addition:—1. II. Corinthians, in Greek. 2. Hebrew Grammar, and some portions of Scripture to be appointed by the Hebrew Lecturer. 3. St. Cyril's *Catecheses* (half). 4. Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.*, book iv. 5. St. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*. 6. Hooker's *Eccl. Polity*, i. and iv. 7. Ranke's *History of the Popes*.

In Dublin, where the system of examinations in the Divinity School is of much longer standing than in any English Universities, though with the slenderest results on theological aptitude or study in the Irish

Church, students must pass four examinations at least, two in the junior and two in the senior year, in addition to having attended six terms of lectures, before receiving the final testimonium. The two chief examinations, at the close of each year's course, are of this sort :

Junior Year.—1. *Holy Scripture*.—Four Gospels, and Acts. 2. *Greek Testament*.—Gospels and Romans. 3. *Evidences*.—Paley's *Evidences*. Butler's *Analogy*. Lee on *Inspiration*, selected portions. 4. *Socinian Controversy*.—Pearson on the *Creed*, Acts ii. and viii. Magee on the *Atonement*. 5. *Ecclesiastical History*.—Selections from Robertson's *History of the Church*.

Senior Year.—1. The Bible, in the A. V. 2. II. Corinthians and Hebrews, in Greek. 3. Selections from Hardwick's *History of Reformation* and from King's *History of Irish Church*. 4. Book of Common Prayer, with Procter's Commentary. Potter on *Church Government*, i.—iv. 5. Selected portions of Harold Browne and of Burnet on the *Thirty-nine Articles*.

There is no distinct honour examination, but only competitions for certain prizes, rarely more than two in number, which of course extend to but a very small minority of the students.

So far the Universities, in which theology is necessarily only one out of many departments of activity. Now let us turn to all the sixteen minor institutions where it occupies the chief or the sole place. And first let us take what is almost a University in conception and operation, King's College, London.

Graduates in Arts of all British Universities, after passing an examination in the Bible, the Acts, and Catholic Epistles in Greek; the history of Articles and Prayer Book; Hooker, book i.; and Pearson, Arts. I.—III., are admitted as matriculated students, and can obtain the Theological certificate in one year of three terms, on passing the final examination. Non-graduates must attend for six terms or two years, and pass three examinations, one at entrance, one at the close of the junior year, and a third at the close of the senior year. The subjects are as follows :—

I. (1) Tischendorf, *Synopsis of Greek Testament*, I. and II.; (2) General Scripture History; (3) Church Catechism, with explanations; (4) Two Greek and two Latin books, with grammar questions; (5) English Composition.

II. *Dogmatic Theology*.—History of Articles, and special examination in some portion of Articles lectured on. Hooker, book i. Pearson, on the Creed, Arts. I.—III.

Greek Testament.—Tischendorf, Part II. Acts and Catholic Epistles, with general questions. Special examination in portions lectured on.

Old Testament.—Examination in lectures on about half of Old Testament.

Ecclesiastical History.—Examination in portions lectured on.

Pastoral Theology.—History of Prayer Book, and special examination in portions lectured on.

Hebrew.—Grammar and translation, with questions on lectures.

Latin.—Cicero de Natura Deorum, I. and II. Latin Prose Composition. Public Reading.

III. *Dogmatic Theology*.—Thirty-nine Articles. General and Special Examination; Pearson on the Creed, Arts. IV.—XII. Hooker, book v. Butler, Analogy and Sermons.

Greek Testament.—Pauline Epistles; Principles of Textual Criticism.

Old Testament.—Examination in lectures on remaining half of Old Testament.

Ecclesiastical History.—Examinations in portions lectured on.

Pastoral Theology.—Prayer Book (portions lectured on) and Homiletics.

Hebrew and Latin.

In a respectable list of books recommended to students, the following are marked as practically indispensable for them to procure, all others being merely suggested for reference in libraries:—Browne on *Thirty-nine Articles*; Harvey, *Eccles. Anglicanæ Vindex Catholicus*; Van der Hooght's Hebrew Bible; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Angus's *Bible Handbook*; Prideaux, *Connexion of Sacred and Profane History*; Sacred Geography; Tischendorf's Smaller Greek Testament; Burton's *History of Christian Church*; Martineau's *English Church History to the Reformation*; Procter on the *Common Prayer*.

At Queen's College, Birmingham, the course for the certificate in Theology is identical with that for the Cambridge Preliminary Examination.

At St. David's College, Lampeter (which, even more than King's College, is of the nature of a University rather than of a merely technical school, inasmuch as it can confer degrees), the studies in the Faculty of Arts are carried on simultaneously with those in Theology. The special work for the degree of B.A. in the theological school, in 1879, is the Four Gospels (*viva voce*); the Acts; Epistles to Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, Thessalonians; Butler, *Analogy*, Part II.; Thirty-nine Articles; Prayer Book; Church History of First Three Centuries; History of Reformation; Scripture History; and an alternative of selected books either in Hebrew (Psalms xlii.—lxxii.; 2 Sam. xv.—end) or Greek (Plato, *Phædo*). Those who compete for honours must read in addition the whole Greek Testament, Epistles of St. Ignatius, Butler's *Analogy*, and English Church History to the Reformation. For the B.D. degree, in 1879, the course is the Greek Testament, an alternative of Hebrew, Psalms xlii.—lxxii., or St. Augustine's *Confessions*, i.—iii., and Hooker, book v. Welsh is also included in the course of studies, as also are Pastoral Theology and the Composition of Sermons.

At Chichester, the course of four terms in the year 1878 comprised selected portions of Greek Testament; the Old Testament; the Prayer Book; Church History, Primitive and Anglican; Browne on the Articles; Pearson on the Creed; Butler's *Analogy*; Hooker, book v.; Church Catechism and Pastoral Theology; Lectures on the Early Fathers, and Composition of Sermons. Oral instruction, and books specially recommended, according to the capacity of individual pupils, are chiefly relied on at this college; and, if I do not mistake, opportunity is afforded for acquiring some knowledge of ecclesiastical law, though this is optional.

At Cuddesdon, which is not open to any students save those who have passed the final examinations at Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, Dublin, and King's College, London, the course is usually of a year's duration, divided into four terms. It comprehends lectures on the Bible, Doctrine and Liturgy of the Church of England (specially Thirty-nine Articles, Hooker and Pearson), Church History, and the elements of Hebrew. Portions of the Early Fathers and Church Historians are read in connexion with the lectures, and the students are trained in the composition and delivery of sermons. There is also a weekly Meditation or Instruction given in the chapel.

At Gloucester, the course for graduates is of three terms, for non-graduates six, and an examination at the end of each term must be passed by those who desire the certificate. The course of lectures is in the Old and New Testament, Doctrine and Liturgy of the Church of England, Church History, and Hebrew; also sermon-writing and public reading. The chief books used are Alford's *Greek Testament*; Ellicott's *Hulsean Lectures*; Van Oosterzee's *Theology of New Testament*; Shedd's *History of Christian Doctrine*; Procter on the *Common Prayer*; Parker's *First Book of Edward VI.*; Harold Browne on the *Articles*; Robertson's *Church History*, and Massingberd's *History of English Reformation*. There is also training in parochial work, including district visiting, Sunday and night schools, and cottage lectures.

At the London College of Divinity, Highbury, the course (except for men already well educated) is for three years, the longest of any, but, from a large endowment, also much the cheapest to resident students. The Cambridge Preliminary Examination is the standard aimed at, and, judging by the number of men from this college who have been creditably classed there, with a considerable measure of success. The course of study at the college itself is this:

First year—Preparatory Greek and Latin class; Grammar and English Compositions; Lectures on Rawlinson's *Ancient History*, with special reference to Biblical History and Prophecy, and the basis of Ecclesiastical History; Lectures on Mediæval History; Geography of Palestine; Old Testament, Gospels in Greek; *Opuscula* of St. Augustine; *Patres Apostolici* or Eusebius; Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*;

Ecclesiastical History of first Three Centuries; Thirty-nine Articles, Text and Scriptural bearings.

Second year: Later Ecclesiastical History; History of Church of England; Paley's *Evidences*; Butler's *Analogy*; Pearson on the Creed; Greek Testament; Septuagint; Hebrew; Old Testament Exegesis; A Latin Subject.

Third year: Greek Testament; Hebrew; Critical History of Bible; Thirty-nine Articles, considered historically and theologically; St. Augustine *De Doctrina Christiana*; Prayer Book; Hooker; Composition and Delivery of Sermons; Systematic training in Reading. The students also work in schools, mission-room services, workhouse visitations, &c.

At the Clergy School, Leeds, the course of study in books consists of the Old and New Testament, Prayer Book, Thirty-nine Articles, and Creed; Church History of first four centuries; English Church History, to seventeenth century inclusive, and Butler's *Analogy*. But the distinguishing feature at this school is the stress laid on practical matters. Not only are there "Parochialia" lectures on sermon-writing, school-teaching, the conduct of public worship, and also devotional addresses, but each student has a parish district in Leeds to look after, under the direction of the priest in charge, has opportunities of becoming experienced in delivering mission addresses, and teaching classes of all sorts, and in conducting mission services and teaching in schools himself, so that no one can possibly pass through the training at Leeds without getting a considerable insight into a great deal of town parish work. This is a wholly admirable plan, and in some respects superior to the method at most other schools.

At Lichfield the course is for two years, or six terms of twelve weeks each, for non-graduates, one year for graduates, and a shorter time for such graduates as do not seek the college certificate. The studies pursued are these:—Bible, Old Testament in English, New Testament in Greek; Prayer Book, with examination of Primitive and Mediæval Liturgies; Doctrines of the Church of England, in Creeds, Articles, and standard Divines; Church History, Primitive, Mediæval, and Modern; Evidences; Canon Law; the principles of the more important English sects; and elementary instruction in Hebrew and Greek. The principal books in actual use are Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.* (in English); Hardwick's *Reformation*, and sometimes his *Middle Ages*; Butler's *Analogy* and *Sermons*; Paley's *Evidences*; Pearson on the *Creed*; Blunt's *Scriptural Coincidences*; Smith's *Student's Manuals of Old and New Testament*; Blunt's *Annotated Prayer Book*; Blunt's *Church Law*; Professor J. J. Blunt's *Duties of the Parish Priest*. No text-book on the Thirty-nine Articles is prescribed, but a special course of lectures is devoted to them. Besides all this, the students are practised in public reading, and have to read the Lessons in turn at daily chapel; in public speaking,

by means of debates, mission-room lectures, &c.; in writing sermons and theological essays; in Sunday and night-school teaching, and in catechizing; and in a knowledge of the elementary laws of health and disease, imparted by a physician. This is one of the most practical and sensible courses to be found in England, and lays stress on several important points not widely enforced.

At the Chancellor's School, Lincoln, non-graduates are prepared for the Cambridge Preliminary Examination, already set down; but lectures are relied on rather than text-books for the local studies, which are as follow:—Old Testament: Introduction, and selected books; Dr. Smith's *Student's Old Testament History*; Kay, Perowne, or Jennings and Lowe on Psalms; Mason's Hebrew Grammar. New Testament: Gospel and Epistles; Wordsworth and Alford's Greek Testaments; Carr on St. Luke; Vaughan on Romans. Westcott's *Bible in the Church*; Tristram's *Land of Israel*; *Dictionary of Bible*. Church History, Ancient: Robertson, vols. i. and ii.; English—Perry's *Student's History of the Church of England*; Lumby's *History of the Creeds*; Harold Browne and Hardwick on Articles; Pearson on the Creed; Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus*; Hooker, books iii. and v. Prayer Book: Procter, or Evan Daniel, with references to Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, and to the ancient Liturgies. One or two books in patristic Latin are read, and there are voluntary classes in Butler's *Analogy*, the elements of Moral Philosophy, and in pastoral work; and candidates are expected to read Bishop Sanderson's *De Obligatione Conscientiæ*.

At St. Aidan's, Birkenhead, the course is of two years. Junior year: Old Testament (half); New Testament, Gospels; Church History; selected period of Ancient History, Reformation, and Church of England; Thirty-nine Articles; Prayer Book; Lectures on Christian Ministry; Latin, and Hebrew. Senior year: Remaining Books of Old and New Testament, Connexion and General View; Development of Christian Doctrine; Evidences (Paley and Butler); History and Comparative View of Articles; Rubrics and reading the Services; Pastoral Theology, including preaching; Latin and Hebrew as before. The leading text-books in use are—Mosheim; Bishop Short's *History of the Church of England*; Browne on the Thirty-nine Articles; Procter on Common Prayer; Butler's *Analogy*; Paley's *Evidences*. Students are further recommended Smith's Old and New Testament Histories, Canon Westcott's works, Conybeare and Howson's St. Paul, Hardwick and J. J. Blunt on the Reformation, Pearson on the Creed, *Prayer Book Interleaved*, J. J. Blunt's *Duties of Parish Priest*, Bridges on *Christian Ministry*, Oxenden on *Pastoral Office*.

At St. Bees, the Cambridge Preliminary Examination is a standard recommended, but not enforced. Four terms of fourteen weeks each are necessary for the certificate, and students who choose to remain to study during a fifth may do so free of charge for tuition. The

course is, Old Testament in English, New Testament in Greek and English; Church History; Paley's *Evidences*; Pearson on Creed, Arts. I.—XII.; Butler's *Analogy*; Procter on Common Prayer; Browne on Articles; Ayre's abridgment of Horne's *Introduction to the Bible*; Paley's *Evidences*; *Theophilus Anglicanus*; Sermon-writing; Pastoral Theology; Reading in church; a good deal of school-work in Greek and Latin; and as the college is specially meant for men with small means and imperfect training, there are lectures during the three vacations of the year, for all who choose to avail themselves thereof, besides special attention being given to any advanced students, who can go beyond the routine of the appointed studies.

At Salisbury the course is, I am inclined to believe, one of the most *scholarly* of all now competing. The principal works in use for lecturing from are these:—Old Testament: Wordsworth's Commentary; Perowne's Psalms; Armfield's *Gradual Psalms*; Septuagint Psalter, Stier and Theile. New Testament: Scrivener, Wordsworth, Alford, Adams, Lightfoot, and Ellicott. Pearson on the Creed; Browne on Thirty-nine Articles; Keble's Hooker. Prayer Book: Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*; Neale's Greek Liturgies; Maskell's *Monumenta*; Parker's *Liturgies of Edward VI.*; Blunt's *Annotated Prayer Book*; *Prayer Book Interleaved*, Procter and Wheatley. Ecclesiastical History: Eusebius; Stubbs's Mosheim; Blunt (first three centuries); Robertson; Collier's *History of Church of England*; Bishop Short, ditto; Hook's *Archbishops*; Patres Apostolici; portions of Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, and St. Gregory the Great; Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*; Smith's *Dictionary of Bible*; the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas; J. J. Blunt's *Parish Priest*; J. H. Blunt, *Directorium Pastorale*; George Herbert's *Country Parson* and Heygate's *Ember Hours*; Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*; Sanderson, *De Obligatione Conscientiæ*; Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*. Extempore preaching is taught, and there is much stress on Hebrew. This, besides, is the only college which definitely takes up Christian Antiquities as a subject,—though Bingham is too bulky a text-book, and some little manual like Guericke's or Pelliccia's would do better for most students,—or which touches the theology of the Latin Church at all, except controversially, for it introduces that wonderful monument of learning, genius, and system, the *Summa*, of which every theologian ought to know at least the main scope.

At the Mission College, Southwark, the Cambridge Preliminary Examination is the standard, and there are besides lectures on Dogmatic and Pastoral Theology, Ecclesiastical History, Church Law, Moral Philosophy, and Logic, this latter subject being found nowhere else, and Moral Philosophy at Lincoln alone besides.

At Truro, the course is as at Lincoln, with pastoral training like that at Leeds.

At Wells, the course is for one year for graduates, and two for non-

graduates. The studies are, the Bible, Common Prayer, the Thirty-nine Articles, Ecclesiastical History, Hooker, Pearson, and Butler, Pastoral Theology, and private lectures in Hebrew and patristic literature. The students have opportunities of teaching in schools, visiting the sick and poor, sermon-writing, public reading, and Church music, the last a feature seemingly peculiar to Wells.

It will be observed that the courses of study in these Colleges do not materially differ from those prescribed by the Universities, and, in fact, the higher is the reputation of any of them as a teaching institution the more does its system conform to that of the ancient seats of learning, save that Pastoral Theology and Homiletics occupy a larger place; and there is in all alike an unfortunate absence of the higher forms of speculative theology, as also of non-Anglican and many other recent works of repute, to which the attention of at any rate the most advanced students and candidates for honours ought certainly to be drawn. Nor is it probable that any bishop would think of requiring, or even recommending, a young man who had taken a first-class, nay, a good second-class in theological honours at Oxford or Cambridge, to supplement his reading by a year at a theological college; for he already knows more than all pupils, except a very few of the best, from these institutions. It would be hard to exaggerate the stride in the improvement of clerical education since 1840 which all this represents, or to be too deeply grateful for it. Nevertheless, I am constrained to say again that it is insufficiently practical for the most part, and that its defects are not in any appreciable degree remedied by diocesan examinations for Orders, which follow, or, to speak more exactly, have dictated, the very same lines as a rule (even in the examination for Priests' Orders, which the Colleges do not touch), merely throwing in some particular book or books to represent the private fancies and bias of the ordaining bishop, as for example in London, where the chief differentiating item is Waterland's very unimportant treatise on the Holy Eucharist. The same injudicious selection is made in Ely; while, strangely enough, Waterland's really valuable work on the Athanasian Creed finds a place nowhere.

In any case, most theological colleges are at a disadvantage, as compared with medical schools, and to some extent even with lawyers' offices or chambers, as places of professional training, in that the young candidate for Orders is brought face to face with books only; whereas the medical student meets in the hospitals the very diseases with which he must deal out in the world, and the deeds, briefs, and business which a young man in a busy legal office or pleader's chambers sees and handles are exactly the same in kind as those he will have to deal with when practising on his own account. But some colleges intensify this disadvantage—only to be cured by a term ship in a parish before ordination—by failing to realize the problem; and treat their candidates, on the

whole, about as wisely as the British Medical Council would do were it to confine the attention of students in all medical schools of the United Kingdom to the publications of the Sydenham Society, and other remains of medical archæology, dealing with such names as Galen, Hippocrates, and Paulus Ægineta, and perhaps coming down by special favour to Linacre, Vesalius, Ambroise Paré, and Jerome Cardan in the sixteenth century, but touching no modern names; requiring a careful description of the Black Death of 1340, and asking nothing about cholera, phthisis, or diphtheria: or as the Council of Legal Education might do by demanding from candidates familiarity with the Pandects and Novels of Justinian, with the processes of trial in Athens and Rome, with the growth of the Canon Law, and the history of the French Parliaments; and not asking a syllable about English legislation, jurisprudence, or procedure. Their motto is too often like that on Mudie's parcels—"Books, to be kept dry."

A. *Art of Teaching*.—First of all, then, the capital defect which runs through nearly all of the courses summarized above is, that whereas the English clergy is (as has already been pointed out) pre-eminently a *teaching* body, yet scarcely any stress whatever, except at Highbury, Lichfield, Leeds, and Wells, seems to be laid on instructing them in the Art of Teaching; while even there, save at Leeds, the progress seems to depend on the goodness of the out-schools where they work, and where the methods in use may very possibly be defective. Much pains are spent in making them learners, in training and developing their receptive faculties, but whether they will ever succeed in communicating to others the information they have acquired themselves is left to haphazard; though the truth that there is no necessary connexion between the teaching and learning faculties is not only familiar to every one who has even cursorily glanced at the education question, but serves as the basis of the principle on which the training and certifying of school teachers in normal colleges is conducted. It is more than possible for a young man to pass an exceptionally brilliant examination in theological honours, yet to be quite incapable of successfully catechizing in public; of keeping up the interest of a Bible-class; of being clear and terse in explaining difficulties to candidates for confirmation and first communion; of coaching Sunday-school teachers for their coming week's work. To this defect is mainly due the comparative weakness and inefficiency of Church Sunday-schools as compared with those managed by Nonconformists; and sharpening the wits of the future clergy should be made the first and principal aim of their teachers, that they may hold their own against all comers.

B. *Public Ministry*.—Next, whereas the Roman seminaries are very careful in teaching their students how to recite their office, to perform Divine service, and to celebrate the Sacraments correctly, training them how to say Mass according to the intricate rubrics of the Missal,

and so forth; contrariwise, the English candidate is, unless I mistake, left to pick up his knowledge merely by attendance at church himself, reading lessons in chapel, and seeing what others do, and thus often blunders painfully in his earlier ministerial years. Further, whereas a cathedral type of service in parish churches is becoming exceedingly common, especially in the north, where the musical tastes of the people are very marked, the provision made for teaching even the elements of church music is altogether insufficient to meet the growing demand, and seems to be included in the course at Wells alone. And no provision is evident for training in extempore prayer; often most useful in mission and other occasional services, as also at the bedsides of the sick, who sometimes object to prayers read from a book.

C. *Preaching*.—There has been a marked improvement in this particular of late years, and several of the theological colleges devote much attention to it, but it will be confessed by even the most friendly critics that a great deal remains to be done before the Anglican pulpit can become the power it ought to be. It is not difficult to lay one's finger on the more salient defects. Of course, it is idle to expect that twenty thousand men can be taught to preach able and eloquent sermons, for oratory of good quality is one of the rarest of gifts, and neither Parliament nor the Bar can produce a larger proportion of accomplished speakers relatively to their numbers than the Church can, while nothing approaching the weekly strain of the pulpit is required from even the most eminent and frequent civil orators. But a much higher average level is quite attainable by the clergy than they have yet reached, as was shown in London very lately, during and after the Lambeth Conference, in the sermons preached by the American bishops, which attracted much attention for their structural superiority and for the fluency, ease, and dignity with which they were delivered; whereas nothing strikes American Churchmen, coming over here full of interest and enthusiasm for the Mother Church, with so much surprise and disappointment as the dull, pointless, and ill-delivered sermons which they too frequently hear. This is a complaint which has been made several times to myself by visitors from the United States. Their own superiority is due to the careful study of rhetoric and elocution, which are made leading parts of their education from boyhood, and to the operation of a Canon of their Church, which makes proof of propriety and effectiveness in the delivery of sermons an indispensable pre-requisite for ordination (Tit. I., Can. iv., sect. 6). It does not seem sufficiently borne in mind in this country that, save by the few who are born orators, Rhetoric needs to be formally studied, in order to learn how to marshal statements, arguments, and apostrophes most effectually for purposes of persuasion, and that a sermon is not identical with a short essay on a religious topic, but must be constructed on rules of its own, which, however, are not such as to dispense with a study of Logic also, that the reasoning may be

sound as well as winning. Above all, it needs to converge to a point at its close, to drive one idea fairly home, to concentrate all its force on a single topic; to do, in short, what is done in the most consummate fashion in the sermons of Dr. Newman, which contrast in this respect with the deeply pious, but so to speak, dispersive and divaricating discourses of one of his oldest surviving contemporaries and friends. The next point insufficiently attended to is simplicity of diction. There is a story of Archbishop Whately coming out of church after listening to a sermon, and saying, "That man is just my opposite. I have been trying these forty years to say hard things in easy words, and here has he been trying for forty minutes to say easy things in the hardest words he could get." The number of dictionary words in actual use amongst the most highly educated classes in England may be estimated at about fifteen thousand; those in use amongst the Dorsetshire peasants are about four hundred, for all the purposes of life. That means that they will understand about one word in forty of book-language, excluding mere pronouns, prepositions, and other like elements of speech. What that practically comes to may be tested by any clergyman who will try to read a German book by means of his knowledge of English only, or a Spanish one through the medium of a little French, and then he will begin to understand what his own sermons have been too probably like. Papers analogous to those set in Greek and Latin composition ought to be given to students for simplification, till they learn how to express their ideas, without any change or diminution of meaning, in the easiest possible words, not necessarily in a Teutonic word rather than a Romance one, but in the simplest and most familiar they can find. So, too, they ought to get long-winded narratives to condense, terse ones to amplify, and obscure ones to clear up, and be gradually led on to coherent, fluent (not "fluid"), and, above all, pithy extempore preaching. It needs models to show such students what to aim at, and four types of clear simplicity in style are happily accessible in Augustus Hare's *Alton Sermons*, Neale's *Sackville College Sermons*, Kingsley's *Village Sermons*, and Walsham How's *Plain Words*, which might very well be proposed for imitation in this respect. There is a great deal more which needs to be said on this topic, especially as to the expediency of making the bishop's licence to preach an exception, and not the rule, confining it to the more capable candidates; but the only remark which space will now permit to be made is that every sermon should be practical, and intended to lead up to some direct attitude of mind or positive action on the part of the hearers, and not be a vague assemblage of pious common-places with no definite aim.

D. *Systematic Theology*.—The next point for consideration is that the current teaching in Systematic or Dogmatic Theology, which concerns the matter which the clergyman has to communicate to his congregation and classes, just as the previous details have to do with his method

and manner, is quite unsuited for the purposes of clearness, incisiveness, and simplicity. In the first place, there is scarcely any attempt made to set a general conspectus of theology before the student, that he may grasp it as a whole, recognize its harmonious unity, and learn, by noting the connexion and inter-dependence of all the tenets which form the cycle of Christian belief, the sense of scale, and of what is called the "proportion of faith;" the only sure safeguard against the sectarian spirit, which all but invariably arises and displays itself in the exaggeration of some one article of belief, to the undue depression of some or all of the others; as is sufficiently demonstrated by Roman teaching on Church Unity, Lutheran on Justification, and Calvinistic on the Divine Sovereignty. And only thus, also, can preachers follow the proper order in teaching their flocks, now very often instructed at much length in the secondary doctrines of Christianity, while the primary and fundamental ones are passed over, which is like beginning to build a house at the roof. The student now gets his dogmatic teaching in fragments, often disconnected; he gets it from books suited only to scientific theologians and beyond his own powers—though he cannot get any high speculative teaching at all, however he may desire it; he gets it in too bulky a form, and, worst of all, he gets it from the negative and controversial side, instead of the positive one. The net result is that the ordinary clergyman of average intelligence and acquirements practically knows almost nothing of theology, and literally cannot tell what the teaching of the Church of England is on almost any question whatever, even if it be as respects some point not in dispute amongst the competing schools. The most widely used text-book in use now at examinations for Orders is Bishop Harold Browne's *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, a book which has many merits, but whose equally obvious defects have probably had quite as much to do with its popularity. But apart from any question as to whether the Thirty-nine Articles were ever meant or fitted to be used as a complete compendium of theology for clerical instruction (a view which would have been repudiated by Archbishops Laud and Bramhall, Bishops Hall, Jeremy Taylor, Sanderson, Bull, and Stillingfleet),* the two facts that many of the Articles are worded negatively and with reference to now dormant polemical debates of their day, and that Bishop Browne's work occupies more than eight hundred large octavo pages, so that practically only chosen selections from it are usually set for study or examination, show that something of a more general and positive character, and also simpler and briefer in treatment, is wanted for the ordinary divinity student. Similarly, it is rare to teach more than a mere fragment of Hooker, or than the three first Articles in Pearson on the Creed, neglecting

* Laud, on *Tradition*, xiv. 2; Bramhall, *Schism Guarded*, vol. ii. p. 476; Hall, *Catholic Propositions*, 7, 8; Taylor, *Further Explication of Original Sin*, § 6; Sanderson, *Pax Ecclesie*, pp. 51, 52; Bull, *Vindication of the Church of England*, 27; Stillingfleet, *Grounds of Protestant Religion*, 2, xi.

the remaining nine, which occupy more than half the work, and cannot be regarded as of minor importance. The truth is that Pearson, though one of the very best books of its kind, is too learned, scholastic, and tough generally for the less intellectual and scholarly class of students, and they had much better be given something easier and briefer to read. Who would think of setting an ordinary passman in mathematics or moral sciences down to read Sir William Hamilton's *Treatise on Quaternions*, or Boole's *Mathematical Theory of Logic and Probabilities*? There are books at hand which, without one's undertaking to warrant every phrase in them, would do what is needed efficiently enough. Such are Martensen's *Christian Dogmatics*, Bishop Forbes on the *Nicene Creed and Explanation of the Articles* (a book of a far higher order than Bishop Browne's, though much simpler and shorter); Canon Norris's *Rudiments of Theology*, and Prebendary Sadler's *Church Doctrine—Bible Truth*; the last named being a triumph of terse simplification. They are one and all clear, brief, mainly affirmative, and based on the lines of the Creeds rather than of the Articles, and their use as text-books would materially lessen the haziness and ignorance too common amongst the clergy now, even on fundamental articles of the Creeds. And if something of a more scientific character be desired for advanced students, Owen's *Introduction to Dogmatic Theology* will serve very well for that purpose.

E. *Church History*.—There is a very unpractical view of ecclesiastical history seemingly prevalent. The first three centuries are the favourite ground for expatiation, and next to them the era of the Reformation. But there is neither any treatment of the subject as a whole, perhaps from its extent, nor yet any sufficient care evident in selecting what is of more immediate interest and utility to a modern English parochial clergyman. What conceivable use can there be in loading his memory exclusively with details about Montanists, Valentinians, Carpocratians, and other vanished sects, with the particulars of the Decian persecution, the pagan reaction under Julian, or even with the earlier events of the Reformation era, when he is taught nothing of the rise of Methodism, of the atheistic revolt in France eighty years ago, of the Counter-Reformation, or of the history and fortunes of the sister and daughter Churches of the Anglican communion, in Scotland, Ireland, and America, of the existing state of foreign Protestantism; nay, of the annals of the Church of England itself since the accession of the House of Hanover, and notably in respect of the Evangelical and High Church revivals of 1790 and 1833? At best, each school teaches one or two fragments or periods, and its students know no other, nor are these fragments the same everywhere or every year.

F. *Polemics*.—This consideration is intimately bound up with the last, and mainly regards the absence of any adequate knowledge as to the history and tenets of the chief Nonconformist bodies which a clergyman

is likely to find in active rivalry with himself or his neighbours. He seldom knows anything about either their merits or their defects, where they agree with and where they differ from the Church of England, and he has almost certainly been taught nothing—except at Lichfield, where the subject is a speciality of the present Principal's—of the way to meet their arguments or to present the claims of his own communion before them in the most attractive manner. Something of the kind has, indeed, been imperfectly attempted in respect of Roman Catholicism, but at this moment there is no clear, brief, and trustworthy handbook to meet that branch of controversy in its newer and more subtle forms, nor yet for the still more shifting aspects of modern scepticism and physical materialism; and no compendious and telling defence of the Church of England on the general issue, to put into the hands of inquirers or waverers, or to supply the parson himself with arguments to be used orally, is extant; though a painstaking and meritorious contribution, at least, to the subject was made many years ago by the Bishop of Lincoln in his *Theophilus Anglicanus*. But apart from failing to cover a great deal of the ground, or to meet the newer forms of controversy, it is not the product of a very logical mind, and therefore does not always supply effective arguments. Still, it is good enough to deserve more frequent use than is actually made of it. And yet, on any reasonable hypothesis, the Church of England, which technically claims the allegiance of every English citizen, ought to see that the clergy know and can uphold the reasons on which she bases that claim, and so may not merely keep any of her children from straying out of her fold, but may induce as many converts as possible to enter it, for, as Archbishop Whately has said, "If our religion be false, we are bound to change it; if it be true, we are bound to propagate it." But she does not see to it, nor give them any polemical teaching except in the now largely obsolescent Articles; and they do not ordinarily perform either function. If they are to attempt them with any hope of success, their preparation ought not to be in controversial books only, but a valuable hint should be borrowed from the Roman mode of training, wherein oral debate is practised, and the student has to meet and answer the arguments of an opponent, who is equipped with the current pleas of some hostile form of theological opinion.

G. *Moral Theology*.—Yet another subject, and that of first-rate importance, is absent from nearly all the courses. It is Moral Theology, that whole vast department of divinity which is engaged with laws, morals, duties, sins, and the entire practical application of religion to the concerns of life and conduct. From the manner in which it is necessarily bound up on one side with Casuistry, which has got a bad name, by no means wholly undeserved, by reason of the cobweb-spinning of Rabbinical teachers in ancient, and Jesuit ones in modern, times, it has fallen into neglect and even disrepute amongst the

unthinking majority, who are unable to discern between the use of a thing and its abuse. Nevertheless, no effective pulpit teaching of a hortatory kind is possible where Moral Theology is not studied, and it is to neglect of it that are due the meagreness, feebleness, and vague indirectness of most sermons amongst us which either profess to inculcate social duties, to warn against common forms of sin, or even to do so much as expound and explain the Ten Commandments themselves in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount. It is not too much to say that there are, consequently, many hundreds, perhaps some thousands, of Anglican pulpits from which no plain-spoken, incisive, wholesome, masculine homilies on practical matters of right and wrong are heard from one year's end to another. And as regards Casuistry itself, if it were possible to get rid of the thing by avoiding its name, and shutting our eyes to it, something might be said for the consistency, whatever might be thought of the wisdom, of those who act in this fashion. But all that Casuistry means is the practical application to individual cases of the general principles which Moral Theology lays down; and every one who is called on to advise another usefully in any matter involving moral doubt is compelled to be a casuist, whatever he may please to call himself or his counsel. And there is thus no excuse for wholly omitting a department of study adorned in the Church of England by such names as those of Jeremy Taylor and Robert Sanderson; while it is further to be remarked that the University of Cambridge is least of all justified in excluding it from the Theological Tripos subjects, seeing that the real title and scope of the chair of Moral Philosophy, now occupied by the Rev. T. R. Birks, is the "Knightbridge Professorship of Moral Theology and Casuistical Divinity," and that it was known as the "Professorship of Casuistry" down to Dr. Whewell's tenure of the office. There are admirable reasons for refusing to accept the Liguorian casuistry now authoritatively current in the Roman Church, and embodied in French books unsuitable for English use, but often consulted by men who know not where else to look; yet I am unable to see how it is possible for a clergyman who is to be a useful adviser to his people in spiritual perplexities, to do without some knowledge of the subject, whether taught him from the first, or painfully and gradually picked up by experience. One practical illustration is worth a bushel of generalities. It so happens that I have for several years, by no choice or action of my own, been constantly applied to personally and by letter, to solve cases of conscience which have come before parochial clergymen for the most part unknown to me, in the ordinary course of their duties, but which nothing in their professional education has helped them to handle. One such case was this, brought me lately by an entire stranger. "I have," he said, "a number of young women in my congregation, employed in drapery and haberdashery shops. They tell me that, by the usage of the trade, it is a frequent

practice when a customer, obviously ignorant of the real quality and value of goods, objects to some article as not good or expensive enough, and it happens to be the best and dearest in stock, not to confess that they have no better, but to go as if in search of a superior article, bringing back a piece of the very same quality of goods, perhaps the identical sample which has just been rejected, and offer it to the customer at a higher price. A shopwoman who should refuse to act in this fashion would not only be dismissed from her employment, but word would be in all probability sent round to every house in the trade, warning them against taking her on, as being troubled with inconvenient and unprofitable scruples. They ask me what they are to do, with starvation for themselves and those dependent on them staring them in the face, if they disobey orders. What am I to say?" There is a great lack of text-books for English use on this topic, for Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, and Sanderson's *De Obligatione Conscientiæ*, are two centuries old, and have had scarcely any successors, though I have lately seen a Nonconformist book of repute in its day, and reprinted even so recently as 1819, entitled "Religious Cases of Conscience answered in an Evangelical Manner," with an appendix of replies to thirty-two questions, by Samuel Piko and Samuel Hayward, two Dissenting ministers of the last century. One side of the subject, however, is ably treated in the work on *Christian Ethics* by Dr. Martensen, the same eminent Lutheran theologian whose *Christian Dogmatics* I have already mentioned and recommended.

H. *Experimental Theology*.—Once more, there is one weakness with which the Church of England for the last three centuries and a half has been but too truly reproached, the extreme rarity of men and women whom she has so reared that they have won from those who marked them the title and the reverence due to Saints. I will here quote a passage from a modern writer, who is not likely to be biassed in favour of those communions which have been happier in this respect than ours, rather than use my own words:—

"None have a stronger claim to universal gratitude than those saints of God who have kindled their names like beacon-lights upon the hills, to show what lofty regions the foot of man can reach, what pure air the life of man can breathe. Others have improved the conditions of living, these have enhanced the blessedness of life itself. Others have brightened the gloom of things seen and temporal, these have fixed our hearts on things lasting and eternal. And such was he of whom I am to-day bidden to speak. The transcendent merit of Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, is that in an age of godlessness he was pre-eminently a saint of God. He was not a man of genius; he was not a man of great attainments; he was not a man of keen sagacity; he was not a remarkable orator; he was not a distinguished author; but he was something higher and better than if he had been all these at once, for he was 'the last survivor,' if not 'of the saints,' yet certainly of the saints of the English Church—the last of those, too few in number, in our Reformed communion, on whom that glorious title can be bestowed."

So spoke Canon Farrar, in 1877, when delivering one of the Conferences on "Classic Preachers of the English Church," in St. James's, Piccadilly.

"Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli."

Something may be due to national temperament: but I cannot readily persuade myself that a country whose higher imaginative literature is rivalled in extent and intrinsic worth by that of ancient Greece alone; whose thinkers and discoverers in the fields of abstract science, of psychology, of ethics, and of philosophy, have been so many and illustrious; which has given birth to so much adventurous daring amongst her soldiers, her sailors, and her explorers; whose pioneers in philanthropic effort have been so eminent; which has, in a word, exhibited the enthusiasm of humanity under such numerous and various forms, should not possess the raw material of saints in at least as great abundance as Egypt produced from the degenerate Macedo-Copts of fifteen centuries ago, or as Italy amidst the deep moral degradation of the Renaissance, when Borgias were far commoner than Savonarolas.

The cause, I am satisfied, must be sought in the prevalence of a defective and misleading theology, tolerated, if not encouraged, amongst us; but without raising directly controversial issues, it is enough to say that a large part of the blame lies in the neglect of that which is technically called "Experimental Theology," which means the practical application and realization in daily life of the principles of Mystical Theology, itself concerned with the hidden, contemplative, and spiritual aspects of personal religion. There is a rich fund of material of this kind to be found amongst the greater Puritan divines, though the harsher elements of their creed too often mar it, and also amongst many of the eminent writers of the Latin Church; but Anglican books of the kind have been too few, and little was done, save fitfully and sporadically by individual effort, since the Reformation till quite our own day, to direct the studies of the clergy into this path, or even to impress on themselves the dignity, sanctity, and responsibilities of their high calling. A clergy whose own ideal falls conspicuously short of saintliness cannot train its flocks to the higher life, and its ideal must continue to fall thus short, unless not only is Experimental Theology brought definitely before its attention as a necessary part of its own reading and life, but also a sedulous attempt be made to kindle it into enthusiasm, as soldiers of the Cross, bound to enlarge the limits of their Master's kingdom, instead of, as now for the most part, inculcating lessons of cautious respectability and judicious compromise. In the College of Foreign Missions at Paris, every means is employed to kindle the zeal of the students, and to put before them as the most desirable goal and ending of their lives, not preferment, not repute, not temporal success of any kind, but martyrdom. Contrariwise, I

have heard again and again said of the missionaries trained at St. Augustine's Canterbury, that they are always welcome to colonial bishops, because of their assured caution and sobriety, qualities which are excellent titles to home benefices in parishes already well organized, but are not those which mark a Paul of Tarsus, an Athanasius, or a Xavier, and never did and never will propagate the Gospel, though they have often smoothed the road to an English mitre, and then induced its wearer to devote his newly acquired powers solely to the persecution and suppression of that enthusiasm which is a rebuke to his own more calculating temper, and which he now regards as a more dangerous explosive than nitro-glycerine; but whose lack, in the judgment of such opposite critics as the late Sir James Stephen and John Henry Newman, has been the most crying defect of the Church of England. Such men can see, admire, and dilate on the glory and usefulness of enthusiasm in the distant past; they can be almost tearful in their panegyrics on ascetic, missionary, or reforming zeal in earlier generations; they can hold up a John Baptist, a Telemachus, a Boniface, a Francis of Assisi, a Luther, a Bradford, a Wesley, as objects of admiration; they can severely blame those who resisted, or even failed to appreciate them; and, in short, they build the tombs of the prophets with surprising skill and alacrity. But when it comes to any display of exactly similar qualities at this moment, inasmuch as this display is quite incompatible with the golden law of keeping things quiet and not interfering with the world, the flesh, and the devil, their mood changes; and when that very truth of the necessity of enthusiasm to the well-being of a Church which they preached a little before is pressed on them, their reply is substantially that of the incompetent domestic, who, when told that the tea is not good, and that the water it was made with cannot have been hot enough, answers, "Please 'm, the kettle *have* boiled," the circumstance that the said boiling took place an hour before, and that the water has been cooling ever since, being too insignificant for mention. How much worse if the cooling have been artificially hastened; as with us, where teachers are not content to let increasing years and worldliness do their too frequent work in quenching youthful ardour. And the result is that we have complaints like that publicly made by one of the Bishops a short time ago, that the majority of the candidates who present themselves want easy æsthetic places, with all the difficulties smoothed away, and will not look at a curacy where hard work, especially of a rough mission character, just what ought to charm and attract a young active man, is to be encountered. So, too, our Selwyns, Grays, Feilds, Pattesons, and Mackenzies are rare, but "returned empties" are a drug in the market. Well would it have been for the Church of England and her rulers if they could have laid to heart that wise saying of Richard Cecil's, which stands the very first in his *Remains*: "I have often had occasion to observe that

a warm blundering man does more for the world than a frigid wise man. A man who gets into a habit of inquiring about proprieties, and expediences, and occasions, often spends his life without doing anything to purpose. The state of the world is such, and so much depends on action, that everything seems to say loudly to every man—‘Do something;—do it—do it!’” There is improvement visible in respect of this study of experimental theology, and some of the courses summarized above show a recognition of the side of the clerical office which looks towards God as well as of that pastoral part of it which has to do with man, but a great deal is still wanted to give it necessary prominence, and to wipe off the reproach of which I have spoken.

I. *Ecclesiastical Law*.—From the highest range of spiritual thought down to the most earthly temporal accidents of the Established Church on its civil side is a sudden plunge, but when we have made it, we still find the old story of neglect and omission of necessary topics in the education of the clergy. They are not usually taught either Canon or modern Church Law, and often make the most grievous blunders from want of acquaintance with some of its most rudimentary and commonplace provisions. This is another of the things which they manage better in France. A careful study of the Canon Law of the Roman Church, in a compendious treatise, forms part of the course through which the young seminarist has to pass; but amongst us even long experience as an incumbent does not necessarily bring with it empirical knowledge of the law to compensate for the lack of theoretical instruction; and it depends on the mere haphazard of some particular contingency arising or not whether serious trouble will be avoided. Take, for example, that fruitful source of irritation, the law of burial. Every one must remember instances of clergymen past middle age, and therefore presumably experienced, having refused to read the burial service over Nonconformists, on the plea of their being unbaptized, from not knowing that, whether as a question of theology or of law, Dissenting baptism is regarded as perfectly valid by the Church of England, a fact one would antecedently expect to be familiar to the rawest deacon just ordained. If this be so, it is easy to picture the bewilderment and mistakes of a young and inexperienced clergyman, left in sole charge of a parish with, perhaps, a hostile churchwarden or a litigious vestryman, and knowing nothing whatever of his incumbent’s rights and duties, his own, or the powers of the contentious laity. He does not know such simple things as who has the custody of the keys of the church, who has control over the bells, who has charge of the altar-plate and other movable goods; much less any matters which involve real difficulties and are in the slightest degree open to dispute, such as the exercise of the scanty remains of discipline affecting the laity, when any parishioner is giving notorious scandal as an open evil liver, and yet claiming his rights as a churchman. And though it be true that the laws ecclesiastical are

so thorny and abstruse a branch of jurisprudence that even legists of eminence and high position have made the most patent errors of bare fact in their interpretation, yet such a working knowledge of their main provisions and simpler outlines as will prevent any serious mistakes in the ordinary parochial routine is quite accessible in a brief and simple form, as, for instance, in Messrs. Blunt and Phillimore's *Book of Church Law*—in use at Lichfield and Southwark—which compresses into a single small volume all that the average clergyman needs to know, and at once gives him to understand, should he find any difficulty unsolved by it, that here is a contingency which makes it necessary for him to take legal advice. Whether it would be possible to supplement the mastery of its bare text by students with lessons on parochial government and routine, and also with expository lectures, in which the way of dealing with possible complications as they arose would be set forth by a skilled ecclesiastical lawyer, is a question which seems not unworthy of attentive consideration.

These, then, omitting minor details, of which there are several I have not touched on, show that there is a considerable discrepancy, even in the best theological colleges (which can be more special than the Universities), between what is actually taught and what is practically needed for the equipment of the parochial clergy. Various attempts are made here and there to supply in some degree a few of the omissions given above, but not in any general or systematic manner, so that it often depends on the particular college to which the student goes whether he will learn anything whatever of certain topics. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the best method is always pursued in respect of even those studies on which most stress is laid. I do not, as a rule, find amongst the younger clergy whom I meet that intimate and localized familiarity with the Authorized Version of the Bible in its whole extent which is well-nigh indispensable for successful preaching, catechizing, and discussion. This is of far greater practical value for the ordinary cleric than even a tolerable knowledge of the original language and textual criticism of some four or five selected books of the Old and New Testament,—deeply important as New Testament Greek must always be,—and the results of such study might be more surely and readily attained by the bulk of candidates, and be spread over a much wider area, by obliging them to master the Bible in that recent Oxford edition by Messrs. Cheyne, Driver, Clarke, and Goodwin, which gives in the form of footnotes all the important various readings of the text and suggested amendments of the translation.

But even assuming the introduction of all the improvements suggested in this paper, and the consequent remodelling of the Divinity curriculum almost everywhere, a difficulty would yet remain in the unrestrained power, now lodged in the hands of the bishops, of dispensing with every educational requirement except the meagre provisions

of Canon XXXIV., namely, that the candidate "be able to yield an account of his faith in Latin, according to the Articles of Religion . . . and to confirm the same by sufficient testimonies out of the Holy Scriptures," and that canon interpreted as loosely as may be, so that Ordinaries can ordain men how and where they please. It must be remembered that attendance on any theological course whatever, whether at a University or a special training college, is thus not compulsory in any diocese, though, as a fact, most bishops now exact it; and it is only too true that there are many clergymen who have been admitted into Holy Orders in the Northern Province within the last twenty years, on grounds with which competent learning has had nothing whatever to do, and who could not even now, in all probability, satisfy any moderately sufficient examination. Things are mending, no doubt, and the agreement of several bishops to accept the preliminary examination at Cambridge, as well as holding independent ones of their own, must tend, as it spreads to more dioceses, to equalize the character and incidence of examination everywhere. But the danger still remains always imminent, and any bishop who, from temperament, or perhaps from a really conscientious motive, sometimes that of overtaking an insufficient supply, and providing pastors of some sort for destitute parishes, declines to act in concert with his colleagues in this respect, is practically unfettered, and may be the means of flooding his own diocese and affecting others with illiterate ministers, whose only moral title to ordination has been real or simulated agreement with his own theological views, when they have got, in proverbial language, the length of his foot. In the American Church this peril is professedly guarded against by canons (perhaps ideal) enacting a minimum of attainment which much exceeds that of the English code, namely, that a postulant cannot even be received as a candidate till he has given proof of his knowledge of the English language and literature, and at least the first principles and general outlines of logic, rhetoric, mental and moral philosophy, physics, and history, and the Latin and Greek languages (Tit. I., Canon 4, § ii.). Thus admitted, he must be further examined, if for deacon's orders, in knowledge of the Bible, Prayer Book, and Articles. For priest's orders, his knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek texts, of Christian evidences, ethics, and systematic divinity; and of Church history, ecclesiastical polity, *i.e.* the history and contents of the Prayer Book, and the constitutions and canons of the American Church, are tested at three separate examinations; and dispensations from the learned languages are very charily granted, under these restrictions: The candidate must first apply to the bishop, and, if his consent be obtained, then a special testimonial, signed by two presbyters and alleging exceptional merit on the candidate's part, in regard to mental power and peculiar aptitude for teaching, must be laid before the standing committee of the diocese, and an affirmative vote, on its part, of at least two-thirds of its members is requisite

before the bishop can grant the dispensation (Tit. I., Canon 2, § vi. 1, 2, 3, 4); but the bishop may, on his own responsibility, dispense with a knowledge of Hebrew, though not with that of Greek and Latin.

There are some valuable suggestions here, notably in respect of the requisition of knowledge of English literature, a condition by no means always fulfilled in this country even by University graduates, and one which might most advantageously be made compulsory in all cases, notably in that of literates, who ought specially to be required to exhibit some knowledge of those great Anglican divines, too little studied now, who are also recognized as English classics. I think there is one grave disadvantage in a central examination such as that at Cambridge, in that it tends to lessen freedom and variety, and to impose one type of theology on all candidates alike. Diocesan examinations, which are compulsory by American Church law, and may not be pretermitted on any plea of adequate certificates otherwise obtained, can be made very valuable as preventives of mechanical sameness; but the existing power of bishops should be seriously curtailed in these two respects: first, there ought to be a minimum of attainments below which they should have no authority to admit candidates to ordination at all; and next, one or more examiners appointed by a central Board, and not by the local Bishop, should take part in every diocesan examination along with the local examining chaplains, and certify that no insufficiently prepared candidate was suffered to pass, least of all on the plea of personal piety, remembering always that the piety of a man who will not take pains to fit himself for the ministry is more than doubtful, while his incapacity as a teacher, if after all his pains he cannot pass a fair and not too difficult test, is not at all doubtful, and that it is better to let one parish go without any curate for a year or two, than to give an unfit candidate opportunity for doing mischief in a dozen or more parishes for perhaps forty years in Orders. Nevertheless, it should be always borne in mind that practical faculty and common-sense are of far more use in the ordinary work of the clergy than mere book-learning, which may coexist with utter inefficiency in the pastoral office; which has not prevented the Evangelical ministry in Germany, though perhaps collectively the most learned pastorate in the world, from losing all social influence;* and of which St. Bernard has wisely said that "a learned pastor who is not a holy one does not nourish one with his abundant learning so much as he starves one by his barren life" (Serm. 76 in Cant.).

To the natural question whether the requirements made in this paper

* In Berlin, a city now containing over a million, for the last census in 1875 gave its population as 966,872, the entire church accommodation is for 40,000, and it is confessed by Dr. Brückner, an eminent Evangelical theologian, that this supply is far in excess of the demand. The church sittings in the diocese of London (excluding those parts of the metropolis which are in Winchester and Rochester), for a population of 2,700,000, are more than 400,000, and the Nonconformist ones of all kinds nearly as many more, and yet this supply is quite inadequate to the demand.

are not really unattainable without a much longer course of study than can now be feasibly exacted, and whether they would not perilously enhance the difficulty of obtaining candidates for Holy Orders at all, I reply that I appeal rather for a rearrangement of the curricula than for their extension, and that thoroughly simple and brief text-books, such as partly exist already, and would doubtless be soon produced for the rest if a demand for them arose, would make the subjects more quickly and easily mastered than now,—as, for example, Mr. Sadler's *Church Doctrine* could be thoroughly learnt in a twentieth of the time that Browne on the Articles will require,—while a final stimulus might be ultimately provided, by requiring every clergyman before institution to his first benefice to give proof that he had not forgotten during his service as a curate the information he was forced to produce as a condition for ordination. And only by some such measures as these, in my judgment, whatever it be worth, can the professional efficiency of the great mass of the clergy be insured, so far as previous study, apart from actual practice, can insure it. If it be judged, however, that the aims of this paper are quite unattainable without a longer course of study than two years, then it becomes the duty of English Churchmen to consider how to meet the twofold obstacle of the poverty of most candidates for Holy Orders, and the unendowed position of nearly all theological Colleges. The diligence and the progress of the generality of the students is favourably reported by their teachers, who add that the rate of advance is much more rapid and assured in the second year than in the first, so that there is every reason to believe that a third year's study would make a surprising difference in acquirements. It seems, therefore, that few wiser applications of money to Church purposes could be made than an endowment for *third-year* men in theological colleges, leaving them, as now, to defray their own expenses for two years, thus stopping the way against a mendicant student-class, which might otherwise be generated. Assuming that one-third of the men would prefer ordination at the end of two years, so as to begin earning, this, at the present rates, would demand an outlay of £40,000 a year, or £100 each for the support and tuition of four hundred candidates; a very trifling expenditure if distributed in proportion over all the dioceses, and more beneficial by far to religion than the erection of three or four new churches annually, if these churches are to be served by an imperfectly educated clergy.

RICHARD F. LITLEDALE.

CARNIVOROUS PLANTS.

THERE is a beautiful and suggestive thought of Leibniz', that there are three modes of life on this earth, the sleeping life of plants, the dreaming life of animals, and the waking life of man. Any one who has passed through the heart of a great city at earliest dawn in summer, and who has stood in the heart of a great forest at noon, will feel at once the beauty of the analogy, will have traced in himself the impulse to tread softly and speak low in the deep woodland quiet, with its continuous hum of insect life, as if he alone were awake in the midst of a sleeping and dreaming world.

But it is in this dim sleeping world of plants,

"Where only harmless lights, not hearts, are broken,
And weep but the sweet-watered summer showers,
World of white joys, cool dews, and peace unspoken,"

that we are beginning to realize, not only the wonderful functions that plants perform, but the strange activities that are at work to enable them to perform those functions. Accustomed as we are to look upon the life of plants as lower and less developed than that of animals, we have still to remember that it is by their humble agency that that great miracle is wrought which as yet baffles our scientific gaze, the mysterious passing of the inorganic into the organic, of what we are accustomed to call "dead matter" into living tissue, with "organs of reproduction that take hold upon eternity." Animals have no power of assimilating inorganic matter as food. The higher organism can only feed on the lower. It is by the frail instrumentality of the plant that the stupendous energies of the inorganic world are yoked to the car of life, it is the child's palm of the leaf that moulds them into obedience to the laws of organic being, the humble finger

of the grass that is fashioning the living world out of the dust of the ground.

I propose, therefore, to give a brief survey of some recent discoveries in vegetable physiology in connection with carnivorous and putrid-verous plants, and the strange contrivances by which they are enabled to perform their functions as revealed to us by the laborious researches of modern naturalists.

The existence of this curious order of plants, whose very name seems to convey a paradox and embody a physiological heresy, was first suggested by the American botanists, Messrs. Curtis and Canby, in 1834 and 1868, confirmed by Asa Grey, and made by Sir Joseph Hooker the subject of his inaugural address before the British Association in 1874; while shortly after Mr. Darwin published the results of fifteen years' exhaustive researches on the peculiarities of some of the leading representatives of insectivorous plants.

It is scarcely necessary for me to remind even my unscientific readers that a plant supplies itself with carbon from the air, decomposing the carbonic acid by means of the sunlight acting in some way on the chlorophyll, or green colouring matter of the leaf; whilst it obtains water and nitrogen from the soil by means of its roots. But in the order of plants we are now considering the roots are either altogether wanting, as in *Aldrovanda vesiculosa*, or very poorly developed, serving, apparently, merely as suckers to secure a constant supply of moisture for the secretions. The necessary nitrogen is accordingly obtained by absorbing animal matter, either by a process of digestion analogous to that of animal life, or by simple absorption of putrid and decomposed elements.

Most of us are familiar with the little marsh-plant called Sun-dew (*Drosera rotundifolia*) common in upland bogs and very poor soil, with its small round leaves fringed with crimson hairs, each headed with a tiny drop of cool sparkling dew through all the burning heats of summer, whence its poetical name of sun-dew. Mr. Swinburne sings of it sweetly enough—

"A little marsh-plant, yellow green,
And pricked at lip with tender red;
Tread close, and either way you tread,
Some faint black water sets between,
Lest you should harm the tender head.

"You call it Sun-dew; how it grows,
If with its colour it hath breath,
If life taste sweet to it, if death
Pain its soft petal, no man knows;
Man has no sight nor sense that saith."

Alas for the poet! if only he had been naturalist enough to know the voracious and predatory habits of the tender thing of which he sings, the "soft petal" being in reality a cruel and elaborately baited trap. The minute drops of harmless dew which adorn every hair, or

tentacle, as Mr. Darwin calls the crimson filaments, from the use to which they are applied, is in reality a drop of very viscid secretion surrounding an extremely sensitive gland. Attracted either by the glitter, or possibly by some honeyed odour, or whatever mysterious instinct it is that draws the child to the unwholesome sweet, insects alight on the leaf. If the delicate feet of the smallest gnat do but touch one of the drops of dew at the end of a single filament, its doom is sealed. Caught by the tenacious secretion, with the sensations one would imagine in this strange world of insect peril of a child stuck up bodily to a gigantic bull's-eye to whose attractions it has incautiously yielded, in vain it endeavours to escape. Slowly the filament begins to bend at its base, transmitting at the same time a motor impulse to the filaments next it, that in their turn begin to converge with pitiless precision on the luckless victim, which is carried to the next inner row of tentacles, and so on to the next, with a curious sort of rolling movement, till it reaches the centre of the disc, the glands at the same time pouring out an acid secretion. By degrees, the central glands acting centrifugally on the rest, all the tentacles become closely inflected on the prey, which is bathed on all sides in the secreted acid, while the disc of the leaf often becomes strongly incurved, forming a sort of impromptu stomach, the whole movement taking place in a period varying from four to ten hours. When the insect alights on the centre of the leaf, the short central filaments are not inflected, but the glands transmit, not only motor power to the external filaments, but also some influence which, before they are brought into contact with the prey, causes them to secrete more actively, and the secretion to become acid. According to Dr. Nitschke, insects are generally killed in about a quarter of an hour, suffocated in the secretion.

The number of insects which thus meet their death must be prodigious. On one leaf alone Mr. Darwin found the remains of thirteen flies, and as a single plant has some six or seven leaves, and the plant itself is very abundant, the tale of the slain must be enormous. The commonest victims are small flies (Diptera), but the Rev. H. M. Wilkinson, on one occasion, observed a large dragon-fly with his body firmly held by two leaves.

The length of time for which a leaf remains inflected varies with the nature of the matter embraced. If it is a particle of inorganic matter, cinder, paper, quill, moss, or any object not yielding nitrogenous matter, not only is the inflection of the filaments comparatively languid, but the leaf quickly re-expands after a period of seventeen hours or so, while flies or other objects capable of supplying the plant with the necessary nitrogen remain closely embraced for periods varying from five to ten days. When the leaves begin to re-expand, the glands cease to secrete, and become dry, the remains of the poor digested fly, bleached and dried, being thus exposed to be

carried away by the wind so as to disencumber the leaf. After the expansion is complete, the glands again begin to secrete, and as soon as the full-sized drops are formed, the leaf is ready for renewed action, its vitality being, however, generally consumed after a certain number of captures, when its place is taken by the younger leaves.

The extreme sensitiveness of the glands and the curious specialities of that sensitiveness is one of the most remarkable facts about the plant. One or two touches, or even sharp taps, with a solid object, produce no inflection whatever; and as in high winds the plant must be often brushed by blades of grass and other leaves, this insensibility is of great importance to the plant to prevent its being brought into useless action. But the slightest repeated strokes with a camel's hair brush, or the lightest continued pressure, produce inflection. A particle of the thin end of a woman's hair weighing only $\frac{1}{78700}$ of a grain, and largely supported by a dense fluid, so that practically the pressure must be infinitesimal, is sufficient to produce decided inflection. On the other hand, the repeated strokes of a heavy shower of rain, or the continued pressure of drops of water, produce no inflection whatever. That this curious adaptation of the motor impulse of the plant to its circumstances is of service to it, Darwinists and teleologists would be alike agreed. But when Mr. Darwin proceeds to endeavour to explain it by suggesting that it is a sort of habit the plant has formed, he has recourse to a *Deus ex machinâ* far more arbitrary and incomprehensible than the grossest conception of the teleologist. Just as people often speak of time as the source of all decay, meaning thereby the causes that have their action in time, so Mr. Darwin's "habit" can only be the product of certain mechanical laws of pressure and molecular action which make up the habit of the plant. In what way the mechanical impact of liquids differs from that of solid bodies, so that the one produces no molecular action, and even considerably less than $\frac{1}{78700}$ of a grain of continued impact from the other produces movement, on any theory we are utterly ignorant.

Moderate heat increases the excitability of the plant. A temperature of 120° to 125° Fahrenheit excites the tentacles to quick movement; but a momentary immersion in water of 130° temporarily paralyzes them. This heat rigidity, as it is called by Sachs, is induced in the Sensitive plant by exposure for a few minutes to a temperature of 120° Fahr. (49° Cent.).

These remarkable external movements of *Drosera* are accompanied by as remarkable molecular changes, and still more perplexing in their nature and origin. No sooner is a gland brought into action, either by direct contact, or by some influence transmitted from the central glands, or by the absorption of minute quantities of nitrogenous fluids, then the homogeneous purple fluid which fills the cells of the gland and pedicel becomes aggregated into variously shaped

masses of purple matter suspended in an almost colourless fluid. These little masses of protoplasm incessantly change their shape and position, being never at rest; and are now spherical, now oval, now quite irregular, with necklace-like or club-formed projections. After the purple fluid has become aggregated, the layer of white granular protoplasm which flows round the walls of the cells can be much more clearly seen, till the granules coalesce with the central masses. The current flows at an irregular rate up one wall and down the opposite, round and round. Sometimes it ceases, and the movement is in little waves, whose crests toss across the whole width of the cell, and then sink down again. Altogether Mr. Darwin may well remark that one of these cells, with their ever-changing central masses and with the layer of protoplasm flowing round the walls, presents a wonderful scene of vital activity. As the tentacles re-expand, the aggregated masses dissolve again into the ordinary purple fluid.

As the process of aggregation can be induced by the pressure of insoluble matter, it is evidently independent of the absorption of any matter, and must be of a molecular nature. That the central glands when irritated transmit some influence to the exterior glands, causing them to send back a centripetal influence inducing aggregation, which always travels from the gland down the pedicel, is an instance of reflex action altogether new in vegetable physiology. But the exact nature and origin of the process of aggregation and of the motor impulse is wrapped in the greatest obscurity, Mr. Darwin allowing that no satisfactory theory can be formed of either. On the whole he seems to think the latter is allied to the aggregating process, that the molecules of the cell-walls approach each other in the same way as the "plastidules" within the cells, so producing inflexion. But since, when the central glands are irritated, the motor impulse is transmitted centrifugally, while aggregation only takes place centripetally, and therefore later in time, and on the other hand aggregation can take place without any mechanical movement at all, it seems difficult to derive the one from the other.

That *Drosera* has not only the power of absorbing matter already in solution, but also of rendering it soluble, in other words of digestion, another fact hitherto unsuspected in the physiology of plants, Mr. Darwin has proved by a long series of experiments. The fact itself was suggested to him by observing that the leaves remained clasped much longer over organic than over inorganic bodies, such as bits of glass, wood, cinder, &c. For the benefit of our unscientific readers, who may be ignorant of the processes of animal digestion, it may be as well to state that the digestion of albuminous substances is effected by means of a ferment, pepsin, together with a weak hydrochloric acid, neither pepsin nor an acid alone having any such power. The same holds good in all points of the digestive powers of the Sun-dew. Not only does the secretion of the glands become acid on mechanical

irritation, but this acid alone is incapable of effecting digestion, the proper ferment being only found when nitrogenous matter is present, just as with animals, according to Schaff, mechanical irritation excites the glands of the stomach to secrete an acid, but not pepsin. On the other hand, the neutralization of the acid by an alkali immediately arrests the digestive action of the plant. The plants in Mr. Darwin's possession were put on the most curiously varied diet—white of egg, raw and cooked meat, areolar tissue from the visceral cavity of a toad, fragments of a cat's ear, slices of a dog's tooth, boiled cabbage, cheese, pollen, bits of human nails, balls of hair, &c. Out of this fantastic bill of fare, which sounds much as if it had issued from the gastronomic brain of one of Macbeth's witches, and which would certainly have bewildered digestive organs less intelligent than *Drosera's*, the plant always selected the substances containing nitrogenous matter. The most marked in the phenomena they presented were the minute cubes of white of egg and of raw meat. The former after two days were often completely dissolved, and most of the liquefied matter absorbed; the latter exhibited the same phenomena as when submitted to the action of gastric juice.

Of the substances rejected by the plant, some of them containing nitrogenous matter, viz., epidermic productions, fibro-elastic tissue, mucin, pepsin, urea, chitine, cellulose, chlorophyll, starch, fat, and oil, it is remarkable that, as far as is known, they are all substances not attacked by the gastric juice of animals. It would seem also, that the Sun-dew has an especial point in common with us, that it is occasionally guilty of that sin which St. Augustine regretfully owns to in his Confessions—"Full feeding sometimes creepeth upon Thy servant, O Lord;" for some of the leaves died from the effect of a surfeit on cheese and raw meat.

As it digests seeds, and pollen, and boiled vegetables, it must be looked upon as is in some measure a vegetable feeder as well as carnivorous in its habits.

The extraordinary sensitiveness of its organization is shown by the fact that the absorption by a gland of only the $\frac{1}{19760000}$ of a grain (.0000033 mg.), that is a little less than the one-twenty-millionth of a grain of phosphate of ammonia, is sufficient to cause the tentacle bearing this gland to bend to the centre of the leaf. But we scarcely see why this fact should have seemed at first so incredible to Mr. Darwin, as even this minute quantity must be large when compared, say, with the infinitesimal dimensions of the solid particles, which, striking on the olfactory nerves of a dog, and effecting all the complicated reflex action of sensation, enable it to follow the scent of game, or track its owner for miles.

The moot point which some objectors have raised, whether after all the plant is benefited by the capture of flies, whether the process is not a purely pathological one, has been set at rest by a series of experi-

on the ground, and are bilobed, the two lobes standing at an angle of rather less than a right angle, like a butterfly with its wings only partially expanded. Each leaf is bordered with a row of sharp spikes, which when the leaf-lobes are closed interlock like the teeth of a rat-trap. Three minute filaments placed triangularly so as necessarily to intercept the path of any insect alighting on the leaf, project from the upper surface of each lobe. Let an insect's tender wing, or delicate feet just brush one of these filaments, and instantly, as by some secret spring, the valves of the leaf approach one another and the spikes intercross. If it is too small a fly to afford nourishment to the plant it can squeeze itself through the narrowing bars of its prison house, and escape, when the leaf expands again after some eight and thirty hours, for a more desirable prey. But if the captive is fat and nourishing, the old haunting story of the prisoner who finds the walls of his cell gradually closing in upon him comes true, not in gloomy human dungeons, but down among the starry moss, and windy lights, and lovely glancing things, and all the wide peacefulness of upland nature. Slowly the walls of his leafy prison approach, the intercrossing spikes interlock like the teeth of two combs, the lobes themselves become slightly concave, and the prisoner is gradually but irresistibly crushed to death. Occasionally an active beetle with his wits about him, rapidly gnaws his way through the walls of his living grave, and escapes as other prisoners have done. But generally his lifeless corpse can be traced bulging out between the two partitions, so closely pressed together that if separated by force, they reclose with quite a loud snap.

The curious adaptation of the plant to its wants is shown in the specialized character of the sensitiveness of the filaments. With the Sun-dew, the insect being already held fast by the tenacious secretion, leisurely action is possible, and the plant is accordingly sensitive to the least continued pressure, but not to a momentary touch. With the *Dionæa*, on the contrary, the action has to be instantaneous, and we find the filaments sensitive to the least stroke but indifferent to a slight continued pressure. A morsel of hair, the tenth part of which would have caused inflexion in *Drosera*, was cautiously lowered on one of the sensitive filaments, and allowed to rest there, but did not produce the least movement. On the other hand, a cautious touch from an inch of very delicate human hair fixed into a handle instantly caused the lobes to approach one another.

But though quicker in its first movements than *Drosera*, it seems far more sluggish in its after-operations. Thirty-eight hours elapse before the leaf completely opens again, even when it has caught nothing. But even over a small fly a leaf generally remains closed some ten days, so that the full use of the marginal spikes becomes at once apparent, securing the leaf only closing as a rule over prey sufficient for its purpose. Often a leaf does not again expand, but withers,

ments recently conducted by Mr. Francis Darwin.* He placed in his green-house a number of plants in soup-plates divided into two compartments, and carefully covered over with muslin so that no extraneous flies could get at them. The plants in one compartment were left to gain their nourishment through their roots and leaves in the way that other plants do; in the other compartment the plants were regularly fed at frequent intervals with roast meat of about $\frac{1}{15}$ of a grain in weight.

The experiment was virtually begun on the 5th of July, and by the end of August the plants had flowered and nearly all the seed capsules were ripe. They were then gathered, the plants from three of the plates dried, and the two sets compared in respect to their number, weight, and size, the number of capsules produced, and the weight of the contained seeds. The results obtained are conclusive. The number of the fed plants compared to the unfed was in the proportion of 149 to 100, though at first the latter were slightly in excess. But it was in the structures relating to reproduction that the difference between the two sets was the most marked, the number of the seeds being as 100 to 241.5, and their weight as 100 to 379.7, in other words, the fed plants were able to produce nearly two and a-half as many seeds, and nearly four times as great a weight of seeds, as the unfed. In only one respect was the advantage on the side of the latter, the unfed being slightly taller, but only in the proportion of 100 to 99.9. Similar researches have been recently carried out in Germany by MM. Reiss, Kellerman, and Von Raumer,—the only difference being that the plants were fed on insects instead of roast meat, but with the same result of proving the power of some plants to assimilate previously elaborated protoplasm with such advantage to themselves as to produce more and larger seeds, and bigger roots.

To conclude, however anomalous the conception may seem, a plant of *Drosera* with the edges of its leaves turned inwards so as to form a temporary stomach, with the glands of the closely inflected tentacles pouring forth their acid secretion which dissolves animal matter afterwards to be absorbed, may be said to feed like an animal. But unlike an animal it drinks by means of its roots; and it must drink largely so as to retain sometimes as many as 260 drops of viscid fluid on one leaf, exposed during the whole day to the heat of a glaring sun.

Let us now pass on to a yet more remarkable plant, the *Dionæa muscipula*, or Venus' Fly-trap, belonging to the same family of the Droseraceæ, and only found in the eastern part of North Carolina, growing like the Sun-dew in marshy places. Introduced in 1768 by the English naturalist Ellis to the notice of Linnæus, he rightly denominated it *miraculum nature*. The leaves, springing direct from the root with their foliaceous pedicels, spread themselves in a rosette

* Journal of the Linnæan Society: Botany, vol. xvii., No. 98. 1878.

descriptions of the *Drosophyllum* of Portugal and Morocco, the giant plant of this order, of *Roridula*, or *Byblis*, or *Drosera binata*, though each of these present interesting peculiarities; but we will pass on to the wholly unallied order of *Lentabulariaceæ* (Butterworts) which also present the double characteristic of a vegetable trap and carnivorous habits.

Pinguicula vulgaris is found in mountain marshes, its rather thick oblong light green leaves, one and a-half inches long, being set with glandular hairs that secrete an extremely viscid fluid, to which a number of little insects adhere. The edges of the leaves, thick as they are, have the power of closing in on their prey with an exceedingly slow movement, the secretion being greatly increased and rendered acid by nitrogenous matter as in the Sun-dew. The quickness with which the leaves re-expand, often in less than twenty-four hours, is perplexing. But the usefulness of the movement to the plant notwithstanding, is shown by its transforming the leaf into a sort of channel, into the incurvations of which the hard mountain rains securely wash the captured flies, as well as by the gradual movement often pushing a larger fly into the centre of the leaf, and so bringing it into contact with a greater number of secreting glands.

The *Utriculariæ* again present us with the curious spectacle of elaborately constructed traps, either above ground or subterranean, or plunged beneath the surface of stagnant ponds and peculiarly foul ditches. The aquatic species, destitute of roots, with their fantastically shaped yellow flowers, are provided with minute translucent bladders attached to their pinnatifid leaves, at first thought to be air-floats, till closer observation found they were full of water, and were, in fact, engines for capturing the entomostracan crustaceous larvæ and other minute animals that swarm on stagnant water. My space does not allow my describing the highly complex structure of these curious little mechanisms, with their delicate transparent little trap-door opening from without, but hermetically sealed from within, the approach to it protected by large bristles which ward off any creature of dangerous dimensions that might be tempted to force an entrance. It seems that mischievous curiosity, an unreasoning propensity to poke one's nose into holes and corners where it has no business, is a passion that pervades the universe, and runs animalcules into mischief as well as men. To give the little trap-door a furtive poke, and see what is behind it, seems quite irresistible in the end, even when considerable suspicion and wariness has been evinced; and once touched, it springs open, and claps to again behind the unfortunate prisoner, who after vainly swimming round and round the walls of his watery dungeon at length dies of asphyxia and exhausted oxygen. Mrs. Treat, who has carefully observed these plants, regards the bladder as a stomach that digests its prey; but on this point Mr. Darwin is exceedingly sceptical, since small cubes of white of egg remained

unaltered for three days and a half in the bladder, exhibiting none of the familiar phenomena of digestion. But he allows the possibility of the bladders secreting some ferment hastening the process of decay, after the analogous fact stated by Brown, in his Natural History of Jamaica, that meat soaked in water mingled with the milky juice of the Papaw, soon becomes tender, and passes quickly into a state of putridity. At any rate, there seems to be no question that the curious little quadrifid, or four-armed processes which star the interior surface of the bladder absorb putrid matter. Without dwelling therefore on the South American *Utricularia montana*, whose bladders form little subterranean cisterns for the capture of minute terrestrial creatures, the Brazilian *Utricularia natumbifolia*, an aquatic plant, but only growing in the water which collects at the bottom of the leaves of a large *Tillandsia*, the runner by which, as well as by seed, it propagates itself, being always found directing itself towards the nearest *Tillandsia*; or the Brazilian *Genlisea ornata*, where the adaptation of means to an end is far too complex for me to describe in brief limits, we will proceed to the *Nepenthes*, and *Sarraceniaceæ*, which like the *Utriculariæ* are differentiated by the absorption of putrid matter rather than by the true digestive processes of *Drosera*, *Dionæa*, and *Pinguicula*.

The *Nepenthes* or pitcher-plants, inhabitants of the tropical parts of India, Australia, and the Seychelles, partake, however, apparently of both characters. The leaves of this plant form themselves into the most graceful urns and Etruscan pitchers, which are at once traps, reservoirs, and organs of digestion. Some rest upon the ground, others are balanced in the air at the end of long twisted footstalks. To complete the likeness this leafy pottery bears to the work of men's hands, they possess a delicate hinged lid sometimes closing the orifice, sometimes half open, and sometimes thrown back as if merely to attract attention to the opening. In the latter case, not having to serve as a bait, the lid has no nectar-secreting glands; but in the other cases the interior surface of the lid and throat is covered with glands that secrete a sweet fluid to attract the prey to the mouth of the pit of destruction. Below are two distinct zones, the upper one smooth, slippery, and glandless, where the unfortunate insect realizes the truth of Artemus Ward's remark that, when any one takes to going down hill, all things are greased for the occasion, and the lower aqueous zone, where multitudes of minute glands exude a limpid liquid, into which the insect ultimately slips. Inorganic matter produces no effect on the glands, but the presence of organic matter causes the glands to secrete more rapidly; and the action of the fluid on white of egg or meat being the same in character as the secretion of *Drosera*, though far feebler, would seem to indicate that it performs some digestive function.

This function disappears in the *Sarraceniaceæ*, which, it has been suggested, might be designated putrivorous plants in contradistinction

to the strictly carnivorous plants with the digestive apparatus, since the former only absorb putrid matter. The representative type of this order, the *Sarracenia* of Linnæus, a native of Carolina, is a marsh plant like *Dionæa*, with no apparent stem, the leaves forming curious trumpet-like shapes, tapering towards the base, the posterior lip of the wide orifice running up into a tongue-like vertical process. Mistaking it for a lid on the authority of the celebrated botanist, Morison, Linnæus and his disciples fabled that it closed the orifice in hot weather so as to prevent the evaporation of the water contained in these leafy cornucopiæ, and which he contemplated as a kindly provision the great Mother had made to quench the thirst of little birds. Alas for this amiable teleology! More recent observations, especially the careful researches of Dr. Mellichamp, an American botanist, conducted especially on the *Sarracenia variolaris*, in which the orifice of the trumpet is always closed by a lid-like process, and guided by the suspicious circumstance of the accumulation of putrid and decaying animal matter always found in their leafy formations, have proved not only that the liquid of the reservoir is not rain-water, but a vital secretion from the plant itself; but also that it acts as a strong anæsthetic on living flies, and after death produces rapid putrefaction. After half-a-minute's immersion in this terrible bath they appear to be dead, but if rescued recover in from half-an-hour to an hour's time. From the rapid putrefaction of their remains, Dr. Mellichamp concludes that the fluid is not digestive, an opinion in which Sir Joseph Hooker coincides, while confessing the utter ignorance of science as to the way in which the plant absorbs the quantity of decaying nitrogenous matter with which it elaborately manures itself, and which must pass into its system through the tissues of the leaf instead of by its roots.

But whatever obscurity still rests on this point, one point is at least clear that Linnæus' benevolent drinking fountains are in reality perfidious traps. Nectar-secreting glands stud not only the orifice of the trumpet, but both sides of a winged membrane which runs along the whole face of it, so that the unsuspecting insect is conducted by a double "primrose path of dalliance" to the mouth of the pit. Within, conical shaped hairs pointing downwards form a velvet carpet for the descending feet, but turn into a wall of bristling spears the moment the insect attempts to retrace its steps. Below this again the slippery surface forms a glissade, and lastly in the gulf itself, into which the victim is precipitated, long stiff downward pointing hairs converge and intercross, like pitiless arms outstretched on all sides to sink the drowning creature deeper and deeper in the deathful waters.

Yet even in the face of all this apparatus of death, the entomologist Charles Riley tells us there are some creatures that turn the tables and prey upon the formidable plant. A tiny caterpillar spins delicate

threads across the orifice, so saving many an insect from the fatal consequences of its insatiable love of sweets, while it devours the outer tissue of the plant. And a large bustling diptera resembling our common bluebottle penetrates with impunity right into the precincts of death, and deposits its voracious larvæ in the midst of the putrid mass, which, when they have exhausted their stolen larder, fall upon one another, the strong devouring the weak, and in this admirably direct way securing the survival of the fittest.

It will be seen in this brief survey of this comparatively recently discovered region of vegetable physiology that much remains to be discovered and still more to be accurately defined. Judging from some researches of Mr. Darwin's on saxifrages, primroses, Pelargonium, and other plants with glandular hairs, proving their powers of absorbing nitrogenous matter, further investigation will elicit some interesting results.

Two points which have doubtless already suggested themselves to the reader remain to be touched upon however briefly and imperfectly.

The first is that, in studying such marvellous contrivances as those we have passed in rapid review with all their complex adaptation of means to an end, we are forcibly impressed with the sense of the inadequacy of any natural law at present discovered to account for their existence, and are driven irresistibly into recognizing a creative intelligence at work. Accepting the law of natural selection along its broad lines, and recognizing in it one of the greatest onward steps of modern times to a truer understanding of nature, in applying it to such complex contrivances as these we have been studying, we are met by two apparently insurmountable difficulties. Natural selection can only act by preserving the slight modifications of structure which prove useful to the organism in the struggle for existence, accumulating slight advantageous differences till they result in important modifications of structure. But some of the complex mechanisms we have been reviewing can only be useful to the organism in their last and highly elaborated phase. In *Dionæa*, for instance, its power of catching a fly depends upon the rapidity with which the lobe closes, and the precision with which the marginal spikes touch and intercross. The first slow beginnings of movement, the first faint approximation of the lobes, would be of no use whatever to the plant. By what agency then is this endless flight of useless steps leading up to the useful result preserved? Certainly not by natural selection, as that by its very definition is only the survival of the serviceable, of that which is of immediate advantage to the plant in the struggle for existence.

Again in *Dionæa*, and in a less degree in its aquatic representative *Aldrovanda*, we have to meet the fact that both are apparently dying out. Granting for a moment that they could have been gradually developed from the action of the environment on the organism, it is difficult to see, as all sorts of small flies, or crustaceans are grist to

their mill, what change in conditions persistent and strong enough to bring such complex mechanisms into existence, should now cause these same conditions to be too weak and intermittent to perform the inferior task of preserving them. "Final causes" may be and probably is only an expression of our ignorance; but still it seems better to stick to an expression of our ignorance than adopt an inadequate cause, the symbol not of ignorance but of falsity.

The second point which has also doubtless forced itself on the attention of the reader in reading of so many perfidious contrivances is the difficulty of resisting an impression of the cruelty of Nature. It certainly is startling to find her adopting the worst and most cruel inventions of man; and it is difficult to prevent a feeling at times that when studied in detail she witnesses rather to an evil than a good intelligence. This difficulty, which when resolved into its constituent elements is none other than the old original difficulty of the existence of pain and death, I fear must remain a difficulty till we reach a world where space has four dimensions, and where inextricable knots, so plentiful in this world, are mathematically impossible. But let us at least be careful not to enhance the difficulty by unconsciously importing into it considerations and feelings and relations drawn from a higher plane of existence; true in that higher plane, but false in a lower one. In that sleeping and dreaming world of plants and animals that never wakes to moral consciousness, there is, properly speaking, neither treachery nor cruelty, nor love nor hate, any more than a door is cruel that slams upon one's finger, or a slippery stone is treacherous because one trips and breaks one's leg. And as to the amount of pain inflicted on the insect world—death from asphyxia is as merciful as the ordinary slow death from cold and starvation. The only insurmountable difficulty would be the presence in Nature of gratuitous and purposeless pain. But at least Darwinism has helped us here, showing us the purpose which the struggle for existence with its interminable conflict and death subserves in working out the good of the race and the survival of the fittest.

May we not say that in the discovery of flesh-eating plants we have made one more step towards linking animal and vegetable life together into one chain of being, and grasping the unity of plan impressed on the work of one supreme creative Intelligence who

"of one stuff made us all,
Baptized us all in one great sequent plan,
Where deep to ever vaster deep may call,
And all their large expression find in man?"

And in this constant suffering and dying that others may live and gain fuller completion, may we not find some faint shadowing forth of the great law of sacrifice, which Christianity reveals as the very life of God, and the realizing of which is the highest life of man?

ELlice HOPKINS.

athletes and sophists as Ilissus; and on the present system, and with the present national ἥθος, she never will have anything else.

It is now vigorously asserted in Oxford by Prof. Max Müller and others, that the Arts of Greece were a part of the life of Greece; and that if studied they lead to better understanding of the history and philosophy of Greece; both of which are still of considerable importance to the modern world.

It seems good under these circumstances to recur to the earlier, or Periclean, or Pheidian age of Athens; which has always been held in Greece and elsewhere to have at least approached the Hellenic ideal of human life. Its intellectual teaching was far simpler and less systematic than the sophistic of later days. An inventive eye is seldom very learned, and a great scholar once said to us that a learned age cannot be very inventive. So that there are necessary and insuperable differences between that time and our own. We do not mean to extol it at the expense of our own. A Christian standard of common life does undoubtedly produce a higher level of ordinary morality, and that we possess. But Greek life aimed at an intellectual standard; and that was set up before all Greeks, just as right living is set up before all Christians. They had less superfluity of books; their ideal of living was life, not cost or luxury, or even learning. Pericles expressed that ideal practically by the words—Φιλοκαλοῦμεν γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας, καὶ φιλοσοφούμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας. For the present we have only to do with the first of these pithy antitheses. It may seem—perhaps it did seem—rather daring in the builder of the Propylæa, the Parthenon, and other public works then of late years to talk about economy; in our own times the expression would be as impossible as the buildings. Nevertheless he said it without contradiction. Such enormous expenditure was held to be justified by the results. Athens cared so much for the beauty of her own handiwork as to think it cheap at any cost, and rate it as a national delight or source of happiness, to be freely shared with all Greece, and indeed all mankind, for honour's sake. For good or evil on either side, this seems to be the great difference between the three arts of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, in Athens and in England; that Athens enjoyed them very much; and England only pays for them, and that not very much. It is quite true that England has not so great reason to care for the two decorative arts as Athens had in the time of Pheidias. Then they were sacred; now they are suspected; and not less now than thirty years ago, for they have incurred, perhaps deserved, fresh obloquy since then. And again, the Periclean age and race pursued lines of art in which they sincerely, naturally, and nationally delighted; and our schools neglect or oppress pure landscape, which is the chief branch of graphic art for which Englishmen really care, from high or genuine motive.

Now, if the condition of Art is a fallen one since the days of Pheidias, it began to fall very soon after his days, and certainly by no fault of ours. That in some true sense it culminated with him will not be

denied. The causes of its decline appear to be its connection, then, with idolatry ; in after days with impurity. It stands accused of both in our own time. This evil connection was established in Greece and by Greeks ; and is no fault of ours, except in as far as our artists admit the suggestions of evil thoughts, or pander to them. A well-written and trenchant indictment on this score has lately been set forth ; and though unfortunately the wrong leader was selected, and Mr. Burne Jones was made the object of accusations which he no more deserves than Pheidias, a great deal of truth was sharply told about the modern Renaissance school, which we may again have to refer to.

But as the purity of Pheidian art will hardly be disputed, we have first to deal with its relations to Idolatry, Iconolatry, or that use of visible symbol in Divine worship, and in our thoughts of God, which He has forbidden by revelation, and has taught a few chosen sages or favoured races to avoid in all ages. We do not intend to go of ourselves, or be led by anybody else, into first principles anterior to the Second Commandment ; but to take that as an expression of the will of God, which, like others, needs explanation as to details of obedience. It certainly exercised the mind of the Hebraic division of the Early Church ; and the severest sense of its prohibitions is expressed, perhaps, by Tertullian, *De Idolatriâ*. No representation, he seems to say, is to be attempted of anything whatever. Then he finds himself in rough collision with the great symbolisms or mental images of the Hebrew Law, even to the Brazen Serpent. He at once justifies it as a symbol of the sacrifice of the Lord for mankind ; and then, without noticing any distinction between symbolism and idolatry, returns to the charge in a way which shows that he considered all representation and image-making, graphic or glyptic, entirely involved with idolatrous image-worship ; in which, for the time, he may not have been far wrong. Nevertheless, the exceptional symbols Divinely prescribed to the Hebrew Church, and continued into our own, are proof of the Christian interpretation of the Second Commandment, as allowing some use of symbolic forms ; and, in point of fact, human intercourse and instruction can hardly go on without them. At least, letters are derived from hieroglyphics, and they from symbolic pictures.

In a rude age, or among untaught people, the distinction between actual representation to the eye and symbolic appeal to thought by a visible image, is never understood, however valid in fact. The image is taken as really like the God ; perhaps as good as the God, having his special power in it. That is the fetichistic or simply idolatrous view. Another class of men say, the image makes us think of certain attributes of the God, and gives us a clearer notion and more devout emotions about Him. That is the view of high heathenism, Brahminic or Hellenic : and the difference between it and the Christian sentiment seems to be that of shallower and deeper reverence. We feel that He is not as man ; not to be thought of or projected, in form or shape ; that He is

cognoscible by man only as far as He is pleased to show Himself to man, and if by any symbols, by such only as are taught or appointed by Himself. Our knowledge of Him, what we call it, ends in mystery: even in loving self-manifestation, His name is Secret.

St. Paul probably knew Pheidias, by name and history: but whether he did or not, the 29th and 30th verses of Acts xvii. have direct reference to him as a representative of Greek sculpture. There is no doubt that all the best of it was employed on images of gods or heroes; or that St. Paul's spirit was stirred within him when he saw so many: that the Holy Spirit bade him speak, when he saw the city "full of idols" (margin, v. 16). And he then and there said that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands; and that forasmuch as we are the offspring of God, we ought *not* to think that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver, or stone graven by art and men's device: yet that God had winked at, condoned the ignorance which had so erred about Him. It will be seen that this is virtually the same argument which Minucius Felix used afterwards,* and that it directly attacks that unspiritual anthropomorphism, which was at the root of high Hellenic iconolatry. *How?* Man is made in God's image, it is true; but he is not to make God's in his own. Nevertheless, said the Apostle,—careful to comfort the Greeks for their fathers, and not denying or unconscious of the greatness of their fathers' works,—that ancient time of ignorance till now God has winked at: the fathers were ignorantly worshipping Him all the time; and He is now declared and revealed. And this he said on Mars' Hill, below the Parthenon and its Agalma; exactly at the centre of the world's idolatry; because there the greatest image-makers of the world had done their noblest. Had Rafael ever visited Athens, his cartoon would have represented something more than an academic apostle bawling under a conventional colonnade. He would not have failed to produce some great imagination of the contrast between the worn Syrian ready to perish, testifying against the white temple in its fresh antiquity, with its 500 years counted but as yesterday.

The new effort in Oxford, we say, is to connect the study of archaeological art with her otherwise not incomplete teaching in history, metaphysic, and theology. And it is an important fact in all three, which Professor Zeller has done most to establish, and to which we must proceed, that the Pheidian period, and even Pheidian art, are impressed by an underlying Monotheism. This Professor Ruskin has said also, with equal truth and eloquence: both in the "Queen of the Air," and "Aratra Pentelici." But we mean to assert besides, that the highest art is, and always has been, inapplicable to all the grosser forms of idolatry. Neither Zeus of Olympia, for example, nor Athene of the Parthenon, were ever expected to work miracles by Greeks. Nor were they thought of as anything but gold and ivory works, by Pheidias, son

* Octav. c. 9. :—"What image should I make of God when, if you think aright, man is himself the image of God?" Circ. A.D. 220.

of Charmides, of such a Deme. Greek superstition existed: but it was no more artistic or creative than the weakness of any other race. It went into incantations, and pharmaka, and minor mysteries. Now, one of the best of Goethe's many-sided ironies is the remark, that miraculous pictures are generally rather bad paintings.* Though said on quite another matter, it has often been applied, and unhappily not without reason, to the present use of images in the Roman Catholic Church; and, indeed, to Christian iconolatry from the seventh century downwards. It is sometimes used, we believe, in artistic and literary circles, to imply, as by a side-wind, that the Christian use of art degrades beauty into ugliness. But it only proves this: that religious fanaticism does not enable untaught persons of feeble mind to distinguish between the two, or to care for true beauty in religious worship, more than in anything else. We shall see that it applies to many races and creeds; and unquestionably to classical times, as well as Christian. The Hellenes, whom Goethe delighted to honour, were capable of worshipping actual sticks and stones, and endowed the very rudest Xoana with imaginary power. As Ruskin says, there was a great difference between the Olympian Zeus, and an olive-wood statue which would fall on its knees in supplication if you pulled it off its stand; and we apprehend there is exactly the same interval and distinction between Cimabue's Madonna, which Florence delighted in as a symbol, and the Black Virgin of Yprès, which Belgium, it seems, still worships as a deity.† Goethe was writing on literature at the time. His later style and standard of thought, with its classic charm, had been found less to the taste of the world than the *Sturm und Drang* of his earlier writings; and, as Mr. Lewes says, he found that instead of following him the public went after his most extravagant imitators. So he wrote—

„Schüler macht sich der Schwärmer genug, und rühret die Menge,
Wenn der vernünftige Mann einzelne Liebende zählt,
Wunderthätige Bilder sind meist nur schlechte Gemälde:
Werke des Geists und der Kunst sind für den Pöbel nicht da.“

It is true enough; and the words really mean, as far as they apply to art and religion, that untaught people are not fit to judge of either without guidance; and are in want, not only of sound leaders, but of sense to follow them. But there were Greeks and Greeks in the days of Pheidias; or the same Greek became a changed man under different circumstances. Pheidias did not despise the popular intuition: he thought well to be present when Greece was first admitted to see Zeus at Olympia, and to hear what the judgment of the crowd might be. No one, probably, expected that the sight of the charmed gold and ivory would cure his immediate complaints; but Polybius and Quintilian after him, really thought they experienced, and seriously expressed a genuine feeling that Pheidias had added something to Zeus—that is to say,

* Lewes' Life, p. 313. Ed. 1864.

† See a woodcut in Mr. Wyke Bayliss's *Message of Beauty*, p. 173, and text.

to human conceptions of divinity.* The motive and efforts of Art were then high and sacred, and therefore works of Art were submitted to popular criticism. Sincere interest in the subject made the people's judgment worth having, and Pheidias wanted to hear it. Artists had not to fall back on technical excellences and esoteric beauties, and request the world to receive their work in silence. However, there is a list of fetichistic images, forms monstrous and shapeless, which were worshipped by educated Greeks in the fifth century, B.C. At Athens there was the strange archaic Athene Polias, said to have fallen from heaven, and specially connected with the Panathenæa. There were the Hermæ and the fish-tailed Glaucus, and Pan, and all his retinue. And it seems to have been, on the whole, thus: that some men thought a beautiful statue gave them a notion of divine beauty—an excusable frailty; and others thought a certain fig-tree block, or formless pillar, had Divine power to heal and to do. This we take to be the distinction between symbolic and fetichistic idolatry: and bad unscrupulous men were specially tempted to the latter. For the better sort of Greeks, retaining conscience and moral certainty of the distinction between right and wrong, looked for God as for a moral Being to keep them right; but the tendency and temptation of the lower Sophist school and the able men it produced was either to ignore just gods altogether, or to treat them as fetiches, as unknown powers with unknown tastes; assailable empirically and on no principle, by ceremonial and lustration: willing—perhaps to be compelled—to help any robber who would give them a share of his plunder. Against this for a certain period, and to a certain class of men, the dramatist and sculptor acting together, were genuine preachers of the great doctrines of right living; and from their joint ministry, as Mr. Watkiss Lloyd says, "it became peculiarly characteristic of the Hellenic world to rely in faith on the æsthetically beautiful for guidance to the essentially good and infallibly true."† Yet he goes on to say that Athenian feeling remained subject to low conception of the relations of religion and morality. As ceremonial and the efficacy of special rites gained ground, fetichistic confusion of the block or the image with the god would gain ground also. Superstition cares not for beauty, and the unscrupulous man is superstitious. A Greek might think to get the gods on his unjust side; and such a person would not begin with trying to bribe Athene Promachus or Olympian Zeus. They were new and startling forms, and awakened something like awe or apprehension of higher things; they were not to be got round by Eumolpids or hereditary priesthoods; and the hereditary priesthoods did not love Pheidias. What suited the Athenian scoundrel were ancestral Xoana, which tradition

* C. O. Müller, *De Phidiæ Vitæ*, p. 48. Jovem Olympium Phidiæ Plinio teste, nemo æmulabatur, quippe qui Quinctiliano auctore adjecisse aliquid etiam receptæ religioni videbatur adeo majestas operis deum æquavit. Quint. Instit. xii. 10. Polyb. Exc. xxx. 14. 3. Suidas, s.v. *Φειδίας* and Liv. xlv. 28. Polybius speaks of the effect on Æmilius Paulus; who as a Roman would care much less for images than a Greek.

† Age of Pericles, vol. ii. p. 192 sqq. ch. xlviii.

said had really knelt or winked, and whose attendants knew the proper approaches and fees. There was Diana at Ephesus, and an Apollo at Delphi, both ugly enough, but the god was warranted to be in them. In short, such beauty as the Pheidian sculptures possessed, tending to call out pure awe and vague conceptions of a nobler existence, was altogether against gross superstition and immoral conceptions of Deity. We cannot say how far the persecution and death of Pheidias may not have been urged on by the fetichist or family priesthoods; they can hardly have felt much regard for him, for every idea conveyed by his work went against their power and profits.

The difference between superstitious and religious worship will always be found to be—that the first thinks to bribe, propitiate, and get power with its god; and believes this possible through the adherence or inherence of the god to this or that stock or stone. The religious worshipper, Greek or Goth, thinks that the only effectual way to approach God is to be as like Him as possible; and that His ultimate form is that of a mysterious Perfection. But it is the stronger side of the Greek worship of Beauty, that the Greek did indeed consider human beauty symbolic of Divine. His peculiar and childlike characteristic of wanting to see a visible sign or image of all things, had not been checked by God's definite revelation of Himself as Secret. He knew not that the graven image was forbidden; he was not responsible with the Hebrew and Christian. And there is no doubt that his desire and imaginative faculty of seeing signs of God in Nature, among other things, made him study Nature always and in all forms, with an enthusiasm, an aspiration, and continued success which have never been surpassed. Many of Winckelman's views about climate and its genial influences in Greece are true enough, and Müller rightly adopts them. Beauty and delicacy of feature, fine form of throat and chest, must be assisted by delightful warmth of climate; and the Athenian clearness of air (noted from Euripides to Milton, and last by Lady Strangford) was no doubt conducive to fine senses and subtle temperament. But Attica only produced one Pheidias; and the spirit of graphic thought is something more than azote or ozone. Greek Art only ministered to religion for a limited time, and never ministered, properly speaking, to superstition, which *knows* no beauty, and thinks more of demons than angels. The degraded Athenian, rich or poor, who thought to prevail with his gods by money or ceremonial, was virtually of the same way of thinking as a lazzarone or a Fakeer. He fell away from the cult of Beauty as symbolic of Divinity, as far as the Neapolitan does from right adoration of the Holy Trinity.

Nor did the nobler idolater fare much better in his reliance that the Beautiful would necessarily guide him into the True. It helped to do so, while he sought it by the rules of temperance and moral right; but for a practical test and standard, under strong temptation, it would not avail. Right is never so beautiful when one is going wrong; and

it was asserted and imposed by the hands of the dread goddesses, with torch and snaky scourge. A religion of beauty cannot get on with Eumenides. Greece turned her back on such unattractive sanctions of morality, and applied to Dionysus and Aphrodite, and other deities not too severely fair. A prevailing superstition undermines morality, because it teaches men to think they can evade its sanctions. It destroys the sense of Spiritual Beauty as belonging to God, by nourishing foolish terrors and senseless conceptions of Him. But when it has done its work,—when morality and beauty are both made independent of religion, then social and national life is undermined, and all three will fall together.

The adherence to certain ancestral and rude methods of representing gods and heroes, with refusal to improve in artistic skill by study of Nature, at once and for ever distinguishes Eastern and Greek idolatry; and it is also the crucial division between the use and abuse of Beauty for religious purposes. The art of Egypt was like that of a hieratic Rome for splendour and greatness; and had its own solemn symbolisms of immortality and retribution. But it never advanced: not even to desire to have an Isis as fair as a Greek Juno, or Osiris really like Apollo in veritable marble. No Egyptian within the historic period cared for the difference. Progress in sculpture or painting seems to have been virtually forbidden in very early dynasties, almost, in fact, from the Pyramid period of Lower Egypt. (See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 292-309.) There is no real progress in sculpture from that time to that of the 19th or Ramesean dynasty, which is generally considered the great period of Egyptian art.* Superstition has no objection to stiffness, and never draws from Nature. When Hadrian deified Antinous he was obliged to set up a rigid pseudo-Egyptian representation of him; and Egyptian archaisms began to prevail in Roman temple-sculpture in the early decadence, just as the brief Byzantine Renaissance of Venice came close upon the decaying Gothic. Egypt would consent to worship the Emperor's favourite. But it was only on condition of his being deprived of his natural beauty.† The Greek alone dared to look continually on Nature for Beauty, and having found her, to declare her to be symbolic of the Divine. When he lost heart and hope of the Divine his thoughts of beauty fell to earth and there were defiled, ever worse and worse.

We may fully agree with Goethe then, that beauty and high art have

* The sitting figure of a Memphite scribe in the Louvre is referred to as a masterpiece of the earlier period; apparently progressive in character, and unsurpassed in later times.

† Winckelman: *Arts chez les Anciens*, French ed., vol. i. p. 57, with reference to statues in the Barberini Villa Gardens and in the Villa Borghese; with "une position roide et les bras pendans à plomb, comme les plus anciennes figures Egyptiennes." Even the very beautiful bas-relief with the lotus, now in the Villa Albani (Parker Phot., 980, 981, 2833, see also 2828, 2832): is a Græcised rendering of the Egyptian posture with upraised hand. We notice a highly interesting apology or defence of Antinous, in the *Cornhill Magazine*, which is at all events to be read and considered.

nothing to do with fetichism or gross superstition, and were no more concerned with either in the best time of Athens, than at any other time. And it seems to us that that period, and its brief continuance, proved alike the dependence of beauty on religion, and the utter impossibility of a religion of beauty. Beauty, as Plato can see it on earth, is the beauty of the Sophron, the man who is harmoniously balanced, equally adjusted—in one word, who is right. He is like the gods; therefore some ideal of him in marble may be our symbol of the gods. This would do well enough while men believed faithfully in Sophrosyne, and thought virtue a thing divine. But then the practical contradictions were awful. Alcibiades was handsomest of Greeks: and the best adjusted man in Athens was nearly the plainest, in Socrates' day. The fairest women never had been the ideal of moral perfection. In short, the worship of the beautiful as a moral guide was a high speculation to which you might rise, after a life's discipline faithfully borne; a hard thing indeed for fierce and eager men to aim at. The Greek quest of true Sophrosyne was indeed a quest of spiritual beauty, according to men's lights: but by the time it was understood and proclaimed, few cared to follow it. In the Æschylean period men seemed (to Aristophanes among others) to be, or lately to have been, able to follow virtue, religion, and beauty, as the same thing. It seemed to him that without taking much trouble to distinguish, the men of Marathon had been in full relation with all of them. Such a state of things produced the men who produced the Parthenon sculpture: that art was witness for all the councils of purity and high theism within, and minister to all splendour of idea and material without.

The Athenian Theatre has always been considered a part of history, thus far, that undergraduates are expected to know something about it. But they may not perhaps think enough of the great tragedies as acted plays, or spectacles really seen of men. Their effect depended on the eye as well as on the ear. They are inseparably connected with art, because they were arranged, like the Panathenaic processions, as living sculpture; idealizing like them the flower and beauty of Athens engaged in religious liturgy; by sweet articulate song, and rhythmic form and motion. In the Pheidian age of high tragedy, this worship of beauty and delight was most noble of all Ethnic worships, and had, indeed, its underlying Monotheism in the Unity of morality; as Zeller has shown.

But even the earliest Greek decadence is a melancholy subject. After Mr. W. W. Lloyd's book, we know much more of its progress. Its history is world history: its causes belong to metaphysics and theology; the parallel and significant declension of its art throws a garish light on all. The gradual loss of the Monotheistic idea in theology, the consequent failure of morality, no longer felt as the one will for man of the one *Θεῖον*: the unscrupulous chase for pleasure, and the assertion of man as measure of all things in morals and metaphysics, have their connected parallels in art. It ceased to be the exponent

of men's highest spiritual thoughts, because they ceased to exist; because Athens fell away, under stress of trial, from the standard of faith and morality which really had once been hers. The greatest expansions of Greek imagination end with Sophocles. Homer, in the youth of his race, like other poets, had begun with gladness; Æschylus went on to its manhood of glory and self-sacrifice and belief in a Righteousness; but the age of triumph and delight ends, with the invading Spartan and the noisome pestilence. So, with Sophocles, there are the transitions of deep tragedy, where the glorious sinner feels the heavy hand of forgotten Gods: and with Euripides the age of philosophy begins. Poetry is coloured with doubt, and warns of great problems to be faced. Art declines, and rapidly, from deity no more believed, to tangible athletes and unequivocal pornography. Nevertheless, and through all, the Athenian who is not personally delivered to evil knows, that as sure as the sinewy limbs and maiden face of the Sophron are fair, the upper powers are still fairer; and has hope that in virtue and the golden mean of rightness, is their likeness and the way to them. And if he lays too much stress on comeliness, he knows that the ugliest man in Athens is nearest to true nearness to the gods.

It does seem highly expedient that the Oxford classman in *Literæ Humaniores* should know something of Greek religion; and such knowledge will certainly have its value in the Theological School. The worst is, that both on the Christian and the other side, it has been treated entirely as idolatrous mythology. Nevertheless, if it be so and we are to study it, we must know something about its idols: the student must see with his own eyes what they were like at different periods. Now in Germany this is done in the simplest and most effective way. In Berlin, Leipzig, and Dresden,—in short, every important university,—there are collections of excellent casts of ancient works, in groups representative of periods, a smaller or larger room being generally allotted to each period. There are good handbooks and catalogues, among which Dr. Hermann Hettner's *Museum der Gypsabgüsse zu Dresden* may be mentioned as one of the best (Dresden: E. Blochmann und Sohn, 1872). Lectures are delivered on the casts of each period by artists and professors; and not only every student who is a tolerable draughtsman, but every student who will pay attention and use his eyes, will see what the ideal of human art rose to with Pheidias: the earliest archaism from which it rose in the Lions of Mycenæ; its progress, in the Æginetan marbles: the earlier and later sculptures of the Parthenon: and the decline (in aim though not in execution), through the Praxitelean and later schools. So much knowledge would be obtained with so little trouble, by men engaged in reading their tragedians and their Thucydides, that it seems as if the movement now headed by Professor Max Müller ought really to find favour with the Oxford Executive. And we may be forgiven if we say that this is not only the Hebdomadal Council and the higher official authorities, but more especially the examining body,

chiefly consisting, as it should and must, of College Tutors: for the first distribution of endowment in reward of meritorious study must, we suppose, continue to be on the results of a defined curriculum, though special excellence in special study ought to have its later encouragements, and has not got them yet.

Examining tutors might read O. K. Müller's *Phidias*, and the chapters in art in Mr. W. W. Lloyd's "*Age of Pericles*;" perhaps even stray into the Elgin Room at the British Museum with Lucas's *Parthenon*. Visitors are few indeed at present to those great relics, the central sculpture of the world. Their custodians are apparently selected for impartial absence of interest in the relics entrusted to their care. "Nobody comes here," said one of them to us, "but riding-masters and that, that wants to see the horse procession." Mr. J. A. Symonds' beautiful description of that bas-relief will be remembered; but this struck us as a curious testimony in favour of Greek Realism. It has been often repeated; and by no one more admirably than the lamented Major Whyte-Melville; whose criticisms on the excellent seat and imperfect biting and handling of Greek horsemanship deserve to be long remembered, as they will be by both riders and draughtsmen. It does indeed enable us to call this sculpture central and insurpassable, that it has realized the highest known ideal in detail; and struck the loftiest mark with the greatest exactness. It is beautiful, and it is right.

We well know how great a difference there is between the study of Art, and of Works of Art. The former means to learn to draw and to colour; it belongs to the artist, and, we think, to the skilled or truly educated critic; and, as has often been said, it is daily becoming more necessary for students of natural science, who require delineation and representative symbols, as well as phonetic or word-symbols. But the proper study of Works of Art treats them not only as standards of excellence but as documents of History; and in this sense they have an importance of their own as evidence or record, which is quite independent of their beauty. There cannot possibly be a ruder or baser scrawl than the Graffito Blasfemo of the Palace of Severus; but its importance in both history and theology is very considerable. Painting and sculpture, from the *Parthenon* to *Pompeii*, do undoubtedly bear witness to the religion, morals, tastes, aspirations, and inner and outer life of the generations of men who produced them. Only to study them from casts or photographs, with attentive reading of their literature, will give a new sense, not only of the reality of History, but its continuity. This will lead the student right into a picture, which he only sees at present in far perspective, like a model-map. The *Parthenon* is not only the glorious wreck of a great achievement: it connects the histories of Greece, Rome, Venice, and England. He who has seen it, or even good photographs of it in its present ruin, may think of it as the central standard of Arts to *Æmilius Paulus*, to *Cicero*, and all Roman men of culture. He may restore in thought its unharmed glory to the days

of Hadrian and afterwards, when it was to Romans what St. Mark's or the Doge's Palace may be to England now. He may trace its successive desolations by Byzantines, Turks, Venetians, and, for better reasons, by ourselves. Standing in the Elgin Room, one has before one autograph-holographs by the hand of Pheidias, and that, too, as they stood in his Ergasterium for the eyes of Pericles, finished to perfection in portions which were unseen from the ground; which remained unseen by Athenians, after being raised to their right place in the tympana of the temple fronts.* One can hardly suppose but that any thinking lad might thus gain a new and graphic sense of truth in reading his histories, and realise the continued bearing of the lives of Pericles and Pheidias on his own.

If Oxford has not yet paid much attention to Athenian Art, she may say with truth that Thucydides took no notice of it either, and wrote the *Pentecontaëteris* between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars without a word of the temples and agalmata, which rose with such bewildering rapidity as well as beauty during that time. The exiled Athenian, who had seen *Ægospotami*, and who wrote the story of Syracuse, may be excused for taking no comfort from architecture or sculpture. Oxford has followed her favourite historian's example too literally: but it is in great measure his fault, and she may well repair her error. Another wing, or a park-front to the University Museum would afford plenty of room for a Gallery of Art and Archæology; and that not only for the archaism, progress and decadence of Greek work, but for the history and still surviving records of Greek Art in Rome. It is through Rome and Byzantium that the skill and the models of Attic work have been preserved for the Gothic races, and that transference is an important part of the history of the human mind. It cannot be learnt without well-arranged collections in chronological order, mainly consisting of casts and photographs, but including means for the study of coins, ivories, and fictile works. The cost of these, though it may be considerable, will by no means equal their educational value.

When the Museum was built, chiefly, it may be said, through the persistent labours of Dr. Acland and Professor Ruskin, a kind of alliance was established between Art and Science. Both wanted encouragement in Oxford, and they got it; though in very different shares. The Slade Professorship, though a place of honour, and more than doubled as to appliances and assistance by the munificence of its first holder, is not of itself enough to invite a first-rate painter, or reward a first-rate critic. And we cannot help observing that getting the lion's share of advantages from the University has evoked a rather leonine appetite in her scientific teachers, who are casting off the old connection with art, and want everything, like Rome with her Greek allies. An Art-wing or side to the Museum appears very desirable, formidable as it looks at first sight. A school of drawing in the wide sense should not be far

* See Mr. W. W. Lloyd's *Age of Pericles*, chapter on the Parthenon.

distant from good physiological collections ; for the scientific study of Art and illustrative teaching on Nature will always cross and interweave with each other. We know not what might be done by rearrangement of the lower floors of the Randolph Gallery, but it certainly seems to us that Chantrey's casts are accommodated with rather unnecessary space and splendour, and that their value is rather ethico-historical than artistic. They are more illustrative of English enthusiasm for the Bathos, than desirable as sculptural standards.

Anyhow, a long studio or gallery, with groups of casts, characteristic of different periods, with specimens of pottery at hand, and small cases illustrating coins and medals, ought not to cost very much, and would at once have its effect on education. Authorities are not far to seek from which excellent students' manuals may be compiled ; and Dr. Hettner's catalogue is an example of how much information may be conveyed in a small space. We do not see why the Taste Paper of Literæ Humaniores Examinations should not have an Art-side from Lübke, or Welcker, Woltmann, Rio, Crowe, and Cavalcaselle ; or why a certain percentage of archæological questions should not be added to the Ancient History Papers. Mr. W. W. Lloyd's "Age of Pericles" will open a vein of convenient inquiry to the Examiner, as its great virtue is the illustration of a period in which Art is so especially connected with History.

There must be something wanting, after all, in the historical studies of Oxford, when the great archæological work of Seroux d'Agincourt lies unedited, unnoticed, and unknown in the Bodleian Library. It has been our harmless habit to dig in that quarry for five or six consecutive years ; and, to the best of our knowledge, nobody ever wanted to look at the book excepting ourselves. We do not remember any instance of anybody's taking a volume of it away from our own kindly-assigned table all that time, and that's the truth. Now this book excels most others, to our mind, in this respect ; that its teaching is chiefly pictorial. The author has written a scholarly text, which well bears out the name of his book, "*Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments.*" This, though still of great value, requires re-editing or re-writing ; but D'Agincourt well knew that future artists and historians would enlarge sufficiently on his plates. Lord Lindsay is perhaps their best commentator in the English language, though every writer on the earlier periods of the three Arts makes use of them. Age by age, and race after race, with occasional error in date, but with a vast amount of useful guidance, we have Greek, Roman, Etruscan, Romanesque, and Byzantine, Lombard-Gothic and Northern-Gothic ; Renaissance, both Roman and Barbaric—before our eyes in their chief remaining works, drawn to scale, and illustrated with appropriate text. It is an important work, which Oxford artists and historians should soon begin, to employ the photograph as Mr. Parker has done in illustrative chronology ; and, taking D'Agincourt's plan, to form a collection of prints direct from the object, for reference from

his work ; or form a new edition of it, correct to present date, and with reference to late discoveries. The travelling fellowships which are proposed would be a valuable adjunct, as they would in time provide skilled and learned men, accustomed to travel and adventure, who would, at all events, secure undisputed evidence of the present state of things, and give the student an adequate idea of the interest and the difficulties of Monumental History. This reproduction of a Corpus like D'Agincourt's from the original sources of information is clearly a work of the time. For aught we see, it could be commenced at once, and would be a valuable part of the special education of travelling Fellows.

The whole subject of the transition of the civilized races of Europe through Greek and Roman styles to the early Italian Renaissance (or beautiful Gothic), or to the Northern Mediæval (or grotesque Gothic), and so to the latter Renaissance, is a part of the inner history of man, necessary to be understood in its relation to the outer surface of events. All these names are of what we call Styles ; and Styles are the outward symbolism, conscious or unconscious, of the manners or morals, the Ethics major and minor, of great races and great men ; and if History is worth studying for its bearing on the present and the future, this is what makes it so. At all events, political history is utterly incomplete without this. We are always complaining, with how much or how little reason is known to God only, of want of faith in His Revelation of Himself to men. But the records of all His past dealings are treated with equal inattention, and secular history is no more believed, below the stagnant surface of assent, than what we call Hebrew history, and what Christians look on as the record of a covenant of terms and promises made with men by their Father. It seems all unreal together ; it is as hard to understand the numbers led by Xerxes as the numbers led by Moses,—we know no more in fact, of the countless τέκτονες, πλάσται, χαλκοτύποι, and six or seven other kinds of craftsmen, who worked under Pheidias,* than we know of the bricklayers of Babel. Great historical junctures may be made to look as unlikely as miracles. Reality must always depend on the eye, for seeing is believing, and the study of monuments gives us something we can see.

It would of course add another difficulty to us who hold the Christian faith, if all its churches were in ruins ; because it would shew us that the world had altogether forsaken us. Still those ruins would be important historical monuments ; and have a pathos, for a Pagan or Agnostic generation in possession of their endowments, which would probably be the deepest feeling of which it would be capable. Such a feeling we all experience, at Furness, or Bolton, or Fountains—and we naturally think it peculiar to Gothic ruins ; because subtle associations

* λιθουργοί, βαφεῖς, χρύσου μαλακτῆρες καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ζωγράφοι, ποικιλταί, τορευταί.—*Plutarch, Pericles*, 12.

of our own land mingle with it. There the wallflowers smell sweet, and the foxglove clusters dappled bells, and the short turf is full of thyme or violets, such as lean over our own shepherd streams. Gothic ruin is easier to appreciate than Greek: it takes both study and travel, and perhaps a little artistic training, to appreciate the effect of one of the ruins of all Time. He brings low the cloud-capt towers and gorgeous palaces; but there is a confessed awe about those which have made the longest stand: and when like the Parthenon they are central buildings of the world, representing wide civilisations, and the great deeds and sufferings of many races, that feeling is redoubled. The glorious sculpture and colour, the frieze of Athenian knighthood, beauty, and sacrifice, the ivory and gold of the towering Agalma, are hardly missed as one sits, a stranger in place and time, among the marble blocks which long defied time not in vain, only to be shattered by brute rage of war. All the immeasurable loss matters not—the great landscape with its world-wide associations, the rich all-embracing light, the tender colours of two thousand years are enough for us. Sculpture we think is necessary to our wild Gothic, not here, in the desolated centre of all sculpture. We miss the wallflower scent, and the tall foxglove; but here grows the soft acanthus, “gift of the dust of Greece,”* itself the symbol of immortality, rising from decay among the potsherds of the earth: type of forgotten glory which is not lost before God; pledge of St. Paul’s hope of forgiveness, and yet greater glory for the fathers whose ignorance He winked at. “Yet shall ye be like to the wings of a dove, that is covered with silver wings, and her feathers like gold.”

R. ST. J. TYRWHITT, *Ch. Ch.*

* *Stones of Venice*, i. p. 26.

OVER-PRODUCTION.

DURING the last few years the whole industrial state of England has been subject to a series of extreme and rapid changes. Six or seven years ago there was, or was supposed to be, almost no limit to the demand for all kinds of manufactured goods. The blast furnaces of Cleveland and Glasgow could not turn out iron fast enough to supply the eager demands of shipbuilders and engineers. The coal mines of Wales and Northumberland were insufficient to satisfy the requirements even of our own country. It seemed for a time as if coal-owners and pitmen, ironmasters and puddlers alike, had but to demand any price they thought proper for their goods or their labour, and the public, much-desiring and long-suffering, were only too glad to pay that price.

Wages went up "by leaps and bounds," and at the same time the prices of most things which the wage-receiving class consume went up at a parallel rate. Persons with limited fixed incomes, whose fortune, or misfortune, it was to live within the manufacturing districts, found by painful experience that their incomes would not purchase as much as before, either of the material comforts of life, or of the more intangible, though scarcely less necessary, advantages for which they depended on the services of others. The classes interested in manufactures, on the other hand, whether as employers or employed, found themselves on the borders of an El Dorado of unexampled wealth, the only difficulty being that of seizing the profits quickly enough, and of arranging about the division of the spoil when secured.

But a change came over the spirit of the dream. Gradually the enormous profits of iron steamship and engineering ventures diminished. The ultimate victim, the great mass of consumers, at length, in a quiet but very definite way, struck against paying more for what it consumed than the real worth of the articles. The tide which had risen so high

receded; and, as it went down, left many a fair barque stranded and wrecked, until of late in manufacturing firms prosperity and security have seemed a rare exception, while insolvency, or at least the fear of it, has become the rule.

What have been the causes of the great and sudden decline in our manufacturing prosperity? By what means may the present state of distress be alleviated or removed? These are questions of vital importance, questions to which many answers have been given of greater or less wisdom and clearness. The object of the present paper is to examine some of the views which have been put forward, and in so doing to throw out some hints which may perhaps serve as a help to fuller and clearer answers than have yet been given.

It has been very loudly and confidently alleged that the chief cause of the present inactivity of trade is "over-production." This view has, perhaps, been the most popular one, and has usually been coupled with the further theory that the true remedy must lie in reducing production, the hope being expressed that the limitation of supply will speedily produce an increased demand, and that by this means the golden days will be brought back.

In order to examine this view satisfactorily it will be necessary to lay our foundations very clearly, and to premise one or two very elementary economical propositions, familiar though they are to most.

What, then, do we mean by production? Briefly, we may define production as the process of imparting to some natural object, by human agency, some property of usefulness which in its natural state that object did not possess. This property may be only its removal from a place where it is useless to a place where it is useful. The natural object so increased in value we may call a product or commodity.

What, further, is the object of production? The ultimate object in all cases is human enjoyment; that the property affixed to the natural object in question, or the natural object with the property affixed to it, may conduce to the comfort, the nourishment, or the pleasure of some human being.

What, thirdly, is meant by over-production? Strictly speaking, there is then only over-production of any particular thing when more of that thing is produced than suffices for the utmost necessities or desires of those human beings who are in a position to enjoy that particular product.

In a primitive state of society the articles produced are few in number and simple in character. Food of the plainest kind obtained by cultivation of the soil or by the chase, clothing of equally rude description, these constitute the chief products of industry. All that is consumed by each family or tribe is produced by its own members. The influence of affection, or the stern authority of a master, assigns to each person his appointed task; and, according to the fitness of each, to one the care of the flocks, to another the tillage of the soil,

and to others the spinning of the wool and the weaving of the cloth. In such a community there may be little wealth, even the necessities of life may at times be scantily supplied, there will probably be little advance in science, and nothing that can be called literature; sweetness and light and culture may be conspicuous by their absence, but one evil will assuredly be unfelt—there will be no such thing as “over-production.” For, should it so happen that for a time more food is produced than is required, those members whose chief duty is the production of food will direct their energies to some other branch of labour, and a similar transference will take place if the excess be in any other product. If all the wants of the society be at any instant over-supplied, all the members will diminish their hours of labour, or else employ their spare time in inventing new wants, which will require new industries to supply them.

As, however, the numbers of a community increase, and as their knowledge of the refinements and luxuries of civilized life is enlarged, it becomes not such a simple matter to ascertain the exact instant when any given product is being produced in excess. The introduction of machinery and the consequent extinction of small manufactories in favour of large ones, the increased facilities of transport and communication which render it possible for manufacturers in one country to supply the whole world, tend constantly to render it more and more difficult to regulate any given production by calculations as to the amount likely to be required. Moreover, the greater degree of skill and technical training required in the workman and the larger amount of fixed capital required by the employer, constantly increase the difficulty of transferring either capital or labour from one employment to another. It is thus possible that production may go on in any given manufacture considerably beyond the real requirements of the world.

Such over-production must before long give some certain sign of its existence. The following illustration may serve to suggest the symptoms by which it is ordinarily manifested.

Every person must live. In spite of Dr. Johnson’s views to the contrary, this is accepted by all as true, in regard at least to their own case. In order to live each person needs at least food and clothing and house-room. The higher his station in society the more numerous are his wants in addition to these bare necessities. He has not skill to produce for himself all the things he wants, and if he had the skill he would not have the time, for his energies would be frittered away, and his time wasted in the multitude of different occupations. A tacit agreement is accordingly made that each man shall devote himself to that work for which, either by position or natural ability or inclination, he is best fitted; that he shall produce as much by his labour as will supply his own wants in that particular kind of product, and as much more as he can exchange with others for the things which they produce, and he wants. Thus each man in a civilized community produces some

one thing while he consumes many; the distinction, in fact, so often made between producers and consumers is for the most part fictitious. Even the man who lives on his means is in a very important sense a producer, for it is his capital invested remuneratively that is used for, and is necessary to, the production carried on by those to whom he has lent it. Every man must produce so much by his labour or capital as will replace the capital employed in the production, supply his own wants in that particular product, and leave a surplus sufficient to exchange for all the other things which he requires.

This exchange is carried on by the intervention of money, which, for the purpose of this discussion, may be considered as simply a set of counters of no value or use to their possessors, save for a universal agreement to take them in exchange for goods. The number of these counters given for any article is called its price, and at any given time the values in exchange of different articles may be estimated by their prices.

The process by which the price of any given article is determined may be illustrated by an imaginary case. Suppose, for instance, that in a given open market there are only fifty loads of coal, while sixty householders desire a load apiece at the price they have been accustomed to pay. The owners of the coal finding the demand so brisk, ask for a higher price. Some of the poorer householders cannot afford to buy a whole load at this higher price, and consequently the whole demand is now for less than sixty loads. The coal-owners will continue to raise their price until the purchasers are just able and willing to take the fifty loads at that price. Unless the sellers have a monopoly, or all act in combination, they will dispose of their coals at this price; for, if they ask a higher, some of the coals will remain unsold in virtue of the continued diminution of the demand.

Thus if there be at any time less coal in a given free market than the public require at the current price, the price will rise. On the other hand, if the supply of coal be in excess of the demand the price will fall, the price finally settling at that level at which the public will pay for all the coal that is offered. This final level is affected also by the fact that the amount offered will depend considerably on the price obtainable. Suppose, for instance, that in the above illustrative case the coal-owners were at first obtaining a reasonable profit on their transactions—that is, a profit which was sufficient to induce them to continue the process of mining—when the price rises their profits will be at once increased, and there will thus be a greater inducement than before to invest fresh capital in coal-mining operations: fresh pits will be sunk, old ones will be reopened, more coal will be won, and the supply of coal in the market will be materially increased. The supply will thus obviously become equal to the amount demanded, before the price has risen so high as it would on the former supposition of a constant supply. It may even happen that the influx of capital and labour may

be so great that the price of coal shall after a time sink below its former level, in which case the new capital and some of the old will be unremuneratively employed, and will, as soon as possible, cease to be employed in coal-mining at all. Thus a rapid rise of price in any commodity is apt, after a short time, to produce a depression and this again a rise, just as a solitary wave produced by a disturbance in still water spends itself in a number of succeeding waves of less or greater violence and height.

What has been said in the case of one product applies equally to any thing that is offered freely in an open market. Among other commodities, and not the least important, must be mentioned the labour of those who have nothing else to offer, of those who are commonly, though somewhat improperly, called the working classes. An indication of the amount required of any given commodity is afforded by the price which it will command in an open market. If that price suddenly falls below a remunerative level it indicates over-production in that direction. If, on the other hand, the price rapidly rises, it indicates under-production.

If in any given manufacture or manufactures this indication of excess of production exist at any time, it becomes an important question to decide whether the capital and labour thus unremuneratively employed shall cease altogether to be employed, or whether it is more desirable that, as far as possible, they shall be turned into other channels: whether, in fact, it is possible for over-production to exist universally, or, on the other hand, whether over-production in one or more branches of industry is not a sure sign of under-production in some other branches.

In order to consider this question in as simple a form as possible, let us imagine a society whose wants and productions are limited to three branches—food, clothing, and fuel.

By arrangement, voluntary or compulsory, the members of this society will be divided into three classes of persons, employed respectively in producing these three classes of commodities. The man who produces food will work so long as to raise food for his own use, and enough surplus to exchange with others for the clothing and fuel which he requires. The intervention of money disguises, but does not alter in essence, this process. The money which each man receives for what he produces may be looked upon merely as a State certificate of the amount of work he has done.

If too large a number of persons be employed in producing food, they will presently find that their labour does not procure them the necessities of life, since owing to the fact that the whole amount of surplus food—that is, food not required for the producers' own use—is large in proportion to the whole amount of surplus fuel or clothing, they will be obliged to give a great deal of food for a very little clothing or fuel. Disguised by the intervention of money this fact would appear in a great lowering of the price of food, or raising of the prices of clothing and coals.

Such an over-production could be remedied by a diminution in the amount of food produced, or by an increase in the amount of the other products. In a perfectly free community, both processes would probably be adopted. Some of the food producers, presumably the least skilful, would shift their talents to other less crowded spheres of labour, a balance would be effected, and each fairly industrious workman would be able to produce enough to gain a satisfactory living.

It is impossible, in fact, that there should be at the same time too much surplus food to exchange for fuel and clothing, too much coal to exchange for food and clothing, and too much clothing to exchange for fuel and food. General, or rather universal, over-production is impossible, unless every individual is fully, and more than fully, supplied with all that is necessary to render life happy and comfortable; and this reasoning will evidently apply if there be a thousand wants and a thousand corresponding industries.

If then, in any civilised state, there be at any time so much production in any large branch of industry that stocks remain on hand unsaleable, it does not at all necessarily imply that there is more even of that particular kind of produce than mankind would gladly consume, still less that there is a general over-production of wealth; but it shows ordinarily that the industrial forces of the world are being wastefully and disproportionately applied, that, in fact, there is under-production of some other thing as well as, and partly in consequence of, that particular over-production.

What is really the meaning of the cry of distress which comes from Lancashire, from Sheffield, from Northumberland, from most of our manufacturing towns and districts to-day? Is it not that the workman cannot get the necessities of life in return for his share of the value of the articles which he assists in producing? Is not the real distress caused by the impossibility of getting milk and meat in exchange for the wages received, rather than by the superabundance of cotton in one district or coal in another? When every want of every industrious man and woman in the country is satisfied, and more than satisfied, there may be general over-production, but until that time arrives, any symptom of over-production in one thing can only be a symptom of under-production in some other, a beacon of warning to us to direct our capital and our labour into other channels than those in which they are now employed.

It is of course possible that under a system of free trade there may be over-production in all or almost all the articles produced by the dwellers in any one country. Thus England produces more coals, iron, and calico than suffice for English use; while, on the other hand, the home-grown food is totally insufficient for home necessities. It is conceivable that in England we may have been producing our staple manufactures in too large quantities. If this be so, it does not follow that we have produced more than other nations would gladly possess, but

that we have manufactured more than they can pay for in food or other articles which we require.

We may certainly infer from the state of depression of trade now existing, either that there has been large over-production in many branches among ourselves, or that the competition of foreigners has driven us out of the field. The latter supposition appears hardly admissible to any large extent, in face of the admitted and obvious fact that commercial distress exists to as large an extent in similar branches of trade in other countries. We are driven then to the conclusion that, in some way, and to some extent, there has been what is called over-production of some of our chief products; which must, as we have seen, be simply the index to under-production in other things.

As a remedy for the existing state of low wages and profits, it has been very strongly urged that all the mines, and factories, and workshops in the kingdom should by common consent work short time, and that the amount of production being thus limited, the demand would rise, profits would rise, and wages would rise with them.

This view has been put forth especially as a temporary expedient, good for the present distress, but it has also been advocated as a general principle by which the status of the working classes can be permanently raised.

From the first point of view, *provided that we could be sure that foreigners would not rush in to fill up the gap caused by our diminished supply*, there is much to be said for, and but little against, the scheme, which but for that probably fatal element of foreign competition would stand a fair chance of success.

In looking at it as a suggestion for the permanent arrangement of our industry in the future, widely different considerations come into play, and widely different results may be predicted. To give the plan the slightest chance of permanent success, it must of course be adopted universally in all manufactories of the same kind which at all come into competition with one another. For a factory with a given number of machines working only half time will only produce the same amount of goods as a factory of half the size working full time; while the expense of production in the first case will exceed that in the second by the interest on half the fixed capital in the larger factory. Thus a manufacturer working full time will have such an advantage in point of cheapness of production over one who works half time or short time that before long the latter is sure to be ruined.

In order, however, to secure permanence, short time must not only be universally established in any one manufacture, but must be co-extensive with the whole manufacturing field. For, if short time be introduced into any one or more branches of manufacture and not into others, the profits of the capital employed in the former branches will immediately sink below those of the capital employed in the latter, unless the wages of the workmen are at once reduced in a larger

proportion than that in which the time is shortened. The latter supposition is, of course, not contemplated by those who have been most earnest in advocating the scheme, and may therefore be dismissed from consideration. The capital becoming less profitable will gradually, in spite of the friction which opposes its flow, find for itself other and better employment. The number of workmen, on the other hand, in these trades of lighter toil and shorter hours, will have a tendency to increase, and thus before long we shall have less capital to provide wages and more workmen to demand them, the speedy effect of which must be a reduction in the amount paid to each man, in spite of any arbitrary rules of trades unions or other bodies to the contrary. The scheme would as infallibly break down as any scheme for keeping at different levels two parts of a pond which communicate with one another.

It should be understood that these remarks will not apply to a shortening of the hours of labour, when by such diminution the efficiency of the labourer is increased; but only to a diminution below a fair day's work for a competent workman, intended simply to diminish the amount produced.

"Restriction of production," to have any chance of success, must be universally adopted. The whole wealth of the world will thus be diminished. The sum total of the material enjoyments and comforts of all classes will be diminished, and in this diminution the working classes will assuredly not have the last nor yet the smallest share. To say nothing of the impracticability of so universal an agreement to restrict production, the scheme can only be described as a wild chimæra, false in theory and hurtful in results, and most hurtful to those whom it most professes to benefit.

The scheme has, however, thus much of truth at the bottom, that the remedy for over-production in any one manufacture must be the diminution of the amount produced. This diminution will, however, be better effected by reducing the number of labourers and the amount of capital employed in the particular trade considered, than by enforcing shorter hours for men and smaller use for machines. The most efficient labourers and the most profitably employed capital must be retained in the trade, and the rest must be allowed to go to some other occupation. That this process cannot be effected without much suffering and loss is a fact to be deeply deplored, but furnishes no reason for opposing the process. A mistake of the magnitude which we seem as a nation to have committed cannot be remedied, any more than revolutions can be made with rose-water. The law of the survival of the fittest is as powerful and as beneficent on the whole in the business as in the natural world. It should be the object of philanthropists and economists to mitigate the sufferings of those whom this law, inexorable in its operation, compels to leave the work to which they have been accustomed. All lawful means should be used to provide such with

other, and more advantageous, fields of employment; but the most cruel kindness possible is that which is displayed in the attempt by arbitrary rules to forbid men to sell their labour, or to use their capital on the best terms which they can obtain. Such rules can only result in, at least to some extent, the substitution for the law of the survival of the fittest of the very different law of the survival of the unfittest, a law of which the consequences will not be altogether advantageous, even to the unfittest themselves. The natural friction which impedes the flow of capital and labour from one channel to another is great enough without having its power for harm increased by artificial obstacles placed in the course of the stream.

To return, however, to the alleged fact of existing over-production in some of our manufactures. No one will affirm that as a nation we have of late been over-producing all articles of wealth, using that word in the strictly economical sense. It is patent on all hands that the necessities of life are not too plentiful among us, and that only a select few have enough of its comforts and luxuries. What, in fact, is the object which induces our operatives to labour, and our capitalists to employ them, but the desire for other things which they trust that their wages or their profits will enable them to procure? The alleged over-production of English manufactures simply implies a great and overpowering desire on the part of those engaged in them for other things which they do not produce; and further implies that they are unable to procure these other things with the results of their own labour.

During the last year or more the money value of our imports has considerably exceeded that of our exports—that is to say, the rest of the world has not been willing to give us all the food and other articles which we require from them merely in exchange for the goods we have been able to make and offer. We have been obliged, in addition, to pay some of the money we have stored up in former years. As a nation we have been to that extent growing poorer. We have been consuming more than we have produced; and, on the whole, must therefore have been under-producing rather than over-producing. Such a process as this, whether in the case of a nation or an individual, can have but one termination if carried on long enough—national or individual bankruptcy. It is, then, a matter of vital importance to us to consider what course can be adopted to prevent the continuance of the present state of trade.

One suggestion that may be made at the outset is, that the remedy will certainly not be found in the entire cessation of work, which appears to be setting in on all hands just now. Better far for both capital and labour to receive inadequate remuneration for what it produces than to cease to produce at all. Even if stocks accumulate, the world will need them some day; and if the goods are honest and unadulterated they will fetch something, and bring that proverbial half loaf which is so much better than no bread. On economical grounds,

apart from moral considerations, industry misdirected is better than no industry at all.

Yet it may be safely asserted that a more excellent way will be found in the transference of labour and capital from those branches which seem to be overstocked into others where the national wants appear to be greater and less fully satisfied. We have seen that the symptom of over-production is excessive lowness of price in comparison with the cost of production. This symptom at present exists in regard to many of our largest industries—the coal, iron, and calico trades for instance. But there is a large class of articles of food of which the prices have for some years been steadily going up, and show no symptom of falling, articles such as meat, milk, vegetables, and fruit, which form a great part of the necessities of life to all except the very poorest, and the tolerable abundance of which is an absolute necessity to any population which is long to retain its vigour and health. What a very different command of the comforts and necessities of life would the present low wages give to the operative classes if the prices of such articles as the above could be reduced to what they were thirty, twenty, or even ten years ago.

These articles, it may be noticed, from their very nature, can never be the subjects of exportation or importation in the same sense, or to the same extent, as coals, corn, or calico. Each nation must mainly depend on its own resources for their production. This will be less the case as the means of communication improve; but vegetables and meat brought across the Atlantic cannot, without some change in our present methods of carriage as great as that from coaches to railroads, do more than prevent the prices of these things from rising above a certain high level. We must look to ourselves and to very neighbouring countries for our supply, and chiefly to ourselves alone. What has been our course in this respect in recent years?

Between the years 1861 and 1871, in spite of the large increase in the total population of England, there was scarcely any increase in the rural population. In some districts there was even a decrease. This shows that during that time the labour of the country was drifting from agricultural to manufacturing pursuits, and the proportion of the produce of agriculture to that of manufactures was continually changing. The population to be fed remained the same or increased; there was no similar increase in the provision made at home for supplying them with food.

Nay, further, the great extension of manufacturing towns and works tended in another way to diminish the sources of food supply. Dwellers in or near London, or in agricultural districts, can have no idea of the enormous amount of absolute waste of land for food-producing or any healthy purpose, that is entailed by the presence of the factories in and around such towns as Manchester and Sheffield, or the works of various kinds that line the banks of such rivers as the Tyne and the Tees. Thousands of acres of naturally fertile land and many miles of naturally fertilising streams are rendered barren and useless

by pollutions which, it may be believed, are only accidents belonging to, and not the essence of, these great national industries. In such districts cottage-gardening, to the extent that may be seen in Surrey or Hertfordshire, is absolutely prevented by the almost everlasting canopy of filthy smoke, and the sulphurous vapours which, "Noxious Vapours Acts" notwithstanding, defile the air and blast the trees. In such districts the husbandman needeth truly long patience, and too often his patience is rewarded only with a scanty crop and blackened corn.

In these different ways we have for years been steadily diminishing our food supply, and steadily increasing our supply of other things, which, whatever else they may do, will certainly not keep us alive in famine. One means of relief to our present state may perhaps be found in the attempt to some extent to reverse this process—to increase our supply of food, and to turn as far as we can our surplus labour into the direction of its production.

Of course we shall be told that the agricultural interest is as depressed as the manufacturing interests, and that an additional influx of labour will tend to depress it lower. This argument would be fair were it not that the question, or rather questions, of land tenure come in the way of the operation of the laws of supply and demand. At present the proprietors of land get, we may concede, but a low interest on the price the land would fetch in the open market, the tenant farmers get but small profits, and the agricultural labourers have to be content with shamefully low wages. But this rather proves that the whole system of our agriculture is wasteful and corrupt, than that it is impossible to make our land produce more food. The question of the right of absolute private property in land of which there is only a limited quantity altogether, is not an easy one to discuss, and is certainly not ripe for a practical legislative settlement at present. The smaller questions of the retention or abolition of the law of primogeniture; the simplification and cheapening of the process of transfer of land and of division of land into portions of different sizes, so as to render possible the existence of a class of peasant proprietors, such as has carried France so triumphantly through the strain of the great war, and the recent trade distresses; the compulsory granting of leases which shall afford security to the farmer against hasty and causeless ejection; the enforcement of compensation for unexhausted improvements at the termination of the lease: such questions as these are for legislators to consider deeply, and to decide wisely. By resolving these questions, and in addition by preventing all needless and harmful pollutions of our rivers, our land, and our atmosphere, for the mere purposes of private gain, much may be done to remedy the under-production of wholesome food, and then we shall have little to fear from the over-production of other things.

W. STEADMAN ALDIS.

THE DISENCLOSURE OF THE "ANGLICAN PADDOCK."

NOW that there is a truce in the great controversial conflict which raged both within and without the Anglican Church on the two points, briefly stated, of the nature of the two Sacraments and the doctrine of "Apostolical Succession," it is possible to judge of the results of that conflict. Two of these results may be said to be a weariness of mind with regard to the controversy, and a general agreement on the great fundamental doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, and the necessity of the two Sacraments. A greater unity of belief and opinion exists among English Christians than perhaps is generally supposed, or than has existed for many generations. Thus, for example, putting aside some few and small sections of the Anglican Church and of the Nonconformist body, we may enter the churches of "High Church" or "Low Church" persuasions, and the chapels of Nonconformist congregations, and hear, if the writer may judge from his own experience, sermons which might, as regards their doctrine, have been interchanged. At two Baptist chapels, each in distant parts of the kingdom, the writer has heard discourses which, while they did credit to the ability and learning of the preachers, might have been delivered without offence in the pulpits of the Established Church. Mr. Spurgeon himself, to judge by some of his reported sermons, often preaches as a clergyman of the Established Church might well preach. Extravagance or recklessness of statement, one-sided teaching, violence of denunciation against differing persuasions, ignorant and fanatical rant, narrow-minded sectarian bigotry of opinion, are now in our pulpits. One may pretty commonly hear doctrines of Christianity practically enforced by church and chapel. Why, then, thus far agreeing, believers practise inter-communion? Why should

they not worship together, and join in that great symbol of unity, the breaking together of the loaf of the Lord's Supper? Surely this agreement in the great doctrines of Christianity is of more importance than agreement on the nature of the Sacraments or on the doctrine of "Apostolical Succession;" and might, if party-spirit, passion, and interest permitted, form a sufficient basis of common worship and Christian intercourse.

The breach, however, which parts asunder Christians, thus far agreed, remains, and is one of the most signal and lamentable exploits of the spirit of discord. Men agreed upon the most solemn and most comforting truths, accepting the Scriptures as containing the undoubted Word of God and as the great external guide of belief and practice, neither join together in worship as those very Scriptures ordain, nor even to a great extent in the intercourse of common and daily life. The rift runs right down through all the strata of the community. Members of the Established Church for the most part remain aloof from the society of even orthodox Dissenters, nor can the latter be said generally to entertain very friendly feelings towards the members of the Established Church.

This great division of the Christian population of the kingdom reaches down even to the grave. In our cemeteries we see, as we pass by them, two separate buildings, each devoted to the obsequies of the respective section. If we enter their grounds, we may observe a strict line of demarcation drawn between the plots in which the members of these two great divisions are respectively laid to rest. Surely this spectacle, in which the mutual alienation of the two great divisions of our Christian people is stereotyped in stone, gravel walks, and iron fencing, must be painful to all religious minds, while all enemies of the common faith can point to it with a smile or a sneer. The great religious and even social division existing among Christians in this country must, one would think, astonish an intelligent heathen who should come amongst us and observe our habits and manners; but we ourselves are so accustomed to it that we can hardly look at it abstractedly and in its true and sad import, and seem almost to regard it as a part of the necessary and fixed order and course of things, although it took its rise no longer than about two hundred years ago!

While, however, this alienation of feeling and practical separation exists between the adherents generally of the Established Church and the Trinitarian or Orthodox Nonconformists, a considerable number of educated Churchmen are yet ready to recognize as brethren in the faith the members of the Romish and of the Greek Churches, with whom they differ in matters of doctrine more important than those in which they differ from the great body of Trinitarian Nonconformists! They believe, in fact, that the Romish Church and the Greek Church are more fatally wrong in fundamental doctrine than the Trinitarian Nonconformists; and yet because those Churches are supposed to

possess what is termed the "Apostolical Succession," they regard them as true branches of the Christian Church, while they deny that character to the aforesaid Nonconformist communions.

Yet that the doctrine of "Apostolical Succession" has not always been held in the Established Church as a necessary note of a true Church, is evident from various facts. Previously to the Act of Uniformity of 1662, there were continuous instances in which Presbyterian ministers were admitted, without re-ordination, to benefices in the Anglican Church, and received into communion with its members. It was that Act of the secular legislature, not of the spirituality, which, by making episcopal ordination indispensable, has cut us off from communion with other Reformed Churches, both here and in other lands, and has fortified the enclosure of the "Anglican Paddock." That "Apostolical Succession" is not necessary to the constitution of a Christian Church was evidently the opinion of Bishop Cosin, who held the see of Durham in the time of Charles II., and who is an authority to whom High Churchmen often appeal. This estimable prelate's sentiments on the subject may be gathered from the following extract from his will, dated 1672:—

"In what part soever any Churches are extant bearing the name of Christ, and professing the true Catholic faith and religion, worshipping and calling upon God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost with one heart and voice, if I be now actually hindered to join with them, either by distance of countries or variance among men, or by any hindrance whatsoever, yet always in my mind and affection I join and unite with them, which I desire to be chiefly understood of Protestant and the best Reformed Churches."

The bishops who were appointed in Scotland in the year 1661 were apparently of the same opinion on this subject with their contemporary Anglican prelate; for there is no evidence to show that they required the Presbyterian clergy, over whom they were placed, to be re-ordained, and to receive the mystic virtue of the "Succession." Here the negative evidence is conclusive; for, had these bishops insisted on the re-ordination of their Presbyterian subordinates, such a storm of opposition would have been raised as would surely have found its place in the annals of the period, particularly in the pages of the observing Bishop Burnet, himself a man of Scottish birth. In Ireland at the same period Archbishop Bramhall showed himself to have been of the same opinion with regard to the non-necessity of episcopal ordination for the due discharge of ministerial functions; for on his appointment to the see he proposed that the Presbyterian ministers, whom he found in possession of benefices, should be re-ordained, merely, as he expressly stated, in order that they might be enabled legally to claim the dues of their benefices, and not as though they were disqualified for the exercise of the pastoral office.

At a later period, in the year 1719, Archbishop Wake of Canterbury, who, with a truly catholic spirit desired the inter-communion of

the Anglican Church, not only with the Gallican but also with the French Reformed Church, wrote to M. Le Clerc, a minister in the latter communion, in the following terms, which show that the writer had no sympathy with those who stickled for the necessity of "Apostolical Succession." I translate his Latin, which will be found in a note below.*

"I am ready to symbolize with the Reformed Churches, although they differ in some respects from our Church in England. I could wish indeed that they had all of them retained episcopacy in a moderate form. God forbid that I should be so hard-hearted as to think that all inter-communion between them and us ought to be broken off on account of what you must pardon me for calling such a defect, or that with some violent writers in our communion I should pronounce them as devoid of all real and valid sacraments, and so scarcely Christians at all. I should wish to obtain at any price a closer union among all the Reformed."

That the necessity of this "succession" is not a received doctrine of the Anglican Church, appears also from the fact that from the Reformation down to our own days the Bishops of Winchester recognized the French Protestant Churches in the Channel Islands as under their jurisdiction, and the pastors of those churches, though not episcopally ordained, as competent to exercise the pastoral office. Thus, in these islands Presbyterian congregations formed actually a part of the diocese of an English bishop and were embodied in the Anglican Church. Yet this notion of the necessity of Apostolical Succession, though without countenance in the formularies or sanction from the precedents of the Anglican Church, and repudiated by several of its highest authorities, is the cause of the alienation of a large body of educated Churchmen, both lay and clerical, from religionists in this country with whom they are at one on the vital and fundamental truths of Christianity, and agreed in rejecting the traditions and inventions with which the Papal Church has obscured, neutralized, and counteracted those truths.

The fault, however, of this great division of the Christian population of England lies not, as we have hinted, wholly at the door of the members of the Anglican Church. Among the nonconforming Christians there is still to be found too much of that "keen hatred and round abuse," "a little" of which, some forty years ago, a leading Nonconformist teacher recommended his co-religionists to exhibit towards the Established Church and its clergy. Many of the Nonconformists, including men of much popular talent and of great activity in agitation by pen, pulpit, platform, and conference, have been

* "*Eclesias Reformatas, etsi in aliquibus a nostrâ Anglicanâ dissentientes, libenter complector. Optarem equidem regimen episcopale bene temperatum ab iis omnibus fuisse retentum. Absit ut ego tam ferrei pectoris sim ut ob ejusmodi defectum (sic mihi absque omni invidiâ appellare liceat) aliquas earum a communione nostrâ abscindendas credam; aut, cum furiosis quibusdam inter nos scriptoribus, eas nulla vera ac valida sacramenta habere, ideoque vix Christianos esse pronuntiem. Unionem arctiorem inter omnes Reformatos procurare quovis pretio vellem.*" The whole of this letter may be found in the sixth volume of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, at pp. 200, 201.

making a violent attack on the establishment and the endowments of the Anglican Church. They are indignant at its temporal privileges and rejoice over its spiritual disabilities. They raise the cry of religious equality, although in the matter of liberty they are better off. They cherish an undisguised envy of the social status of the clergy. They are angry, according to one of their own organs, at the application of the term "clergyman" to Anglican priests, while one of their own ministers might be termed the "Dissenting parson." Surely this is wrong and even childish. Surely it is unworthy of men who have a heavenly calling and whose "citizenship is in heaven." The Christian Church is described by its inspired teachers as an army fighting under Christ's banner against sin, the world, and the devil, against spiritual ignorance and unbelief; and here we have members of it quarrelling about names and fighting together over the commissariat! Our Nonconformist brethren are openly jealous of the political dignity and status conferred by our traditional institutions upon the chief pastors of the Established Church. They hate to see them sitting as lords spiritual in Parliament. They say that this "lordship" tends to unspiritualize, to secularize them. They forget, however, that the exaltation of the chief pastors of the Church to this dignity was intended as the homage of the State to religion. Even before the toleration and establishment of Christianity by Constantine, the bishops occupied a considerable civil status in the estimation of the Christian population of the Roman Empire in being made judges in questions of civil right between Christians, in pursuance of St. Paul's directions to the Christians of Corinth; and Constantine simply confirmed their civil position by giving to their decisions the force of law. To this act of the first Christian Emperor of Rome the civil dignity of bishops is to be traced. But an exalted civil status has by no means necessarily the effect of "unspiritualizing" and "secularizing" the holders of it, whether clerical or lay. A bishop who should thus be deteriorated by his civil elevation would have been already very wanting, not merely in spirituality of character, but in good sense and balance of mind, and the fault would lie at the door of his nominators as well as at his own door. Christians are citizens not only, though primarily, of a heavenly polity, but also of a worldly one; and it is in the necessity of well discharging the duties of this double citizenship that their trial often chiefly lies. The notion that the two capacities are incompatible is, indeed, the fallacy which lies at the bottom of the monastic system, which was in truth mere spiritual selfishness and "other-worldliness." Christians may be and constantly are called upon to discharge the duties of earthly citizenship, no matter whether in a higher or a lower degree—whether, for instance, as lord chancellors or special constables; and to say that Christian ministers may not undertake civil duties is to maintain that noxious distinction which separates, as a caste, Christian ministers

from Christian laymen. No effect in the way of "unspiritualizing" or "secularizing" has been produced upon many a civil dignitary of the laity, living or dead; nor upon many a minister of the Church advanced to temporal dignities. No such effect was produced on men like Bishop Andrewes, or on Ken or Frampton, and the other non-juring bishops, who for conscience' sake gave up their dignities and retired into poverty and obscurity. Although no consistent Christian will care greatly about worldly honours, yet no reason exists why he should refuse them when offered by authority from respect for religion or for purposes of public policy. The great Apostle of the Gentiles valued and turned to account his Roman citizenship, which at that time was a great honour in the civilized world, quite as great as amongst us is the position of an alderman or of a member of Parliament,—an honour which had to be "obtained with a great sum." He used his privilege of citizenship, not merely as a means of self-preservation, but as an aid to him in the furtherance of the Gospel. There can be no doubt that religion is recommended to the ordinary mind when its ministers are seen to be treated with respect by authority and clothed with secular dignity. There is truth as well as satire in the meaning of Pope's saying—

"A saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn."

No example is more beneficial and attractive than that of a man of saintly character in high place. He is eminently a city set on a hill, seen and admired by all men. It is no detraction from the merits of enthusiastic but benevolent and eloquent Fénelon to say that his example would have been less edifying and his reputation less extended had he not been noble by birth and noble as Duke and Archbishop of Cambray. In this position he preached well, wrote well, lived with simplicity, and laboured with diligence for the advancement of religion and piety, often, in his walks about Cambray, collecting around him a chance assemblage of rustic hearers, and giving them spiritual instruction and kindly advice. Of course he might have done all this in a humble position in life; but unquestionably the exalted post which he filled gave him greater advantages for the effective discharge of his spiritual labours of duty and love. It was generally regarded as a great opportunity lost for recommending Christianity to the people of Hindostan, when the first Bishop of Calcutta, the excellent Middleton, was allowed by the Government, from motives of policy and commercial interest, to land on the banks of the Hooghly as a private passenger from England. The natives argued, not unnaturally, that if the ruling powers treated thus disrespectfully the chief minister of their religion, it had but little title to their respect. Secular dignities, just as wealth, intellect, and other gifts of nature or Providence, greatly as they may be abused, are still powerful instruments for the highest purposes. These worldly

advantages are, as Bacon observes, "*impedimenta virtutis*," the baggage or *matériel* of virtue; and though, as he also observes, they sometimes act, like the baggage of an army, as "*impediments*," they are yet means and appliances which virtue can and does employ with beneficial effect in the furtherance of her objects.

The religious enemies, however, of the Established Church grudge the secular dignities, the social status, the emoluments of the clergy. They cannot conscientiously accept all the formularies of the Established Church, and therefore they cannot share in its temporal advantages. Truly, they cannot; and this brings me to my point, that those formularies should be so altered as to allow all Trinitarian and Orthodox Nonconformists to accept them, and so to be in a position to share in the honours and endowments and social status of the National Church, which would then become more truly national than it now is. The "Anglican Paddock" would thus be beneficially disenclosed in the interests of both parties. The great proportion of Protestant Nonconformists would be able to enter the enclosure and participate in those secular advantages and prospects, the exclusive possession of which they now appear to envy; the clergy of the Anglican Church of all shades would be benefited by the enlargement of their ideas, and, in a multitude of cases, by the relief of their consciences, which now, to the writer's knowledge, are burdened by the obligation to accept and use formularies with which their convictions are at variance; the Established Church would be strengthened by the infusion of new and vigorous blood; and, above all, what is the grand consideration after all, the cause of Christianity would be immensely advanced by the union of these sections in the advocacy of the common faith, and by the direction of their energies, not to mutual hostility, but to the warfare of the Christian calling, and to the defence of their common Christianity against the simultaneous assaults of its various and mutually-opposed enemies. Concessions must no doubt be made on either side; Churchmen must give up their exclusiveness, Nonconformists must abate their bitterness; but in such a cause what real Christians would not be willing to make all the concessions and sacrifices which may be requisite?

It may be of more than a mere historical interest to trace some of the attempts which, in the past, have been made towards what I will now term this "disenclosure." When the flaming zeal, or rather the fanatical loyalty and religious resentments, of the first House of Commons of Charles II. devised the purposely-exclusive terms of the Uniformity Act of 1662,—the real Enclosure Act of the Anglican Paddock,—the Lords, though ineffectually, attempted to soften the important clause so as to admit the moderate Presbyterians to Church preferments. Five years afterwards (1667) an attempt was made by Sir Matthew Hale and a few other of the wiser men of that age, lay and clerical, to alter the same clause in favour of the Presbyterians.

"But," says Burnet, "whatsoever advantages the men of comprehension might have in any other respect, the majority of the House of Commons was so possessed, that when it was known that a Bill was to be offered to the House for that end, a very extraordinary vote passed, that no Bill to that purpose should be received." In the reign of James II., when both Churchmen and Nonconformists were temporarily united in defence of their common faith against the King's attempts to re-establish Popery, an understanding was entered into between the leaders of the Church and the leaders of the Nonconformists, that measures should be taken, when the common danger had passed over, for comprehending the latter in the Established Church. The seven bishops, in their celebrated petition to James, expressed their willingness "in relation to the Dissenters, to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit when the matter comes to be considered and settled in Parliament;" this "temper," in the language of the day, importing an admission of Dissenters by an extension of the terms of clerical conformity. Accordingly in 1689, after the expulsion of James II., a Bill for the comprehension of Nonconformists was brought into the House of Lords, and passed by them; but when it came down to the Commons it was got rid of on the grounds stated by Burnet, as thus: "they set it up for a maxim, that it was fit to keep up a strong faction both in Church and State; and they thought it was not agreeable to that to suffer so great a body as the Presbyterians to be made more easy or more inclinable to unite to the Church"! At the same time a proposal for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer in a sense favourable to the Nonconformists was brought before the Convocation of the Clergy, but was laid aside through the opposition of the High Church party. It may be mentioned that among those who joined in this proposal were some of the most eminent prelates and divines of the Church at that time, including Patrick, Sharp, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Burnet. This was the last serious attempt made to promote religious unity in England—defeated, as on former occasions, by the joint forces of political faction and religious intolerance. Since then, and during the present century, some of the leading spirits of Nonconformity, like Tarquin's Sibyl in the old story, have gone on raising their terms, and now no longer demanding comprehension in the Established Church, they raise the cry "Down with it!" This purpose of destruction they hope to accomplish by the combined aid of a variety of confederates. There are the Destructives of the State, headed by an ex-premier. There are the Ritualists of the Church, who, reckoning on the security of their life-interests, desire the "disestablishment and disendowment" of the Church in order that they may have a Romanizing Free Church of their own, exempt from the authority of the Pope; there are the Romanists; there are the avowed infidels. Upon the aid of these heterogeneous allies the destructive Nonconformist leaders naturally rely in their anti-ecclesiastical strate-

getics; but it remains to be seen whether they will be supported in these bellicose operations by the great body of their brethren.

After all, however, one chief cause both of the failure of former designs of doctrinal reform and religious reunion, and of the non-revival of similar designs, has been our constitutional sluggishness, our "native phlegm," and the state of indecision in which the English mind has loved to dwell, its habitual tolerance of anomalies, and the disregard of logical consistency with which other nations charge us. The established religion was described, in 1772, by Lord Chatham, with some of the exaggeration indeed necessary in the manufacture of a pointed saying, as comprising "a Calvinistic creed, a Popish liturgy, and an Arminian clergy." The established religion was indeed born of a compromise, made under Elizabeth, between the doctrines of the Romish religion and those of the Reformation, with the politic view of pacifying the Reformers' party without alienating the adherents of the Romish persuasion. Neither of these parties, indeed, were satisfied with this compromise; and Puritanism and Popish plots were its consequences. The nation, however, characteristically acquiesced in it. In virtue of this compromise we have the Lutheran 17th Article, that on original sin, and that on justification by faith alone, placed in the formularies side by side with the mediæval doctrines of the *opus operatum* in infant baptism, of the absolving power of the priesthood, and the power of bishops (first claimed in the eleventh or twelfth century) to give the Holy Ghost in Ordination. Strange combination of the Augsburg Confession and the Romish Missal! In one place we have the Real Presence apparently recognized, in another place we have it expressly denied. The maintainers of the *opus operatum* doctrine of infant baptism, and those who reject it, can each of them appeal to expressions in the formularies as favouring their respective views. The established religion is, to a great extent, a jumble of conflicting doctrines, as it is described in a quotation from one of Latimer's sermons: "It is but a mingle-mangle, a hotch-potch; I cannot tell what, partly Popery and partly true religion. They say in my country, when they take the hogs to the pig-trough, 'Come to the mingle-mangle, come, puz, come.' Even so do they make a mingle-mangle of the Gospel." After Latimer's time all this "mingle-mangle" was increased by Elizabeth's settlement of the formularies, and by the revision of the Prayer Book in 1662, which was reactionary in the direction of mediæval doctrine.

The consequence of this confusion is similar to that of the conflicting precedents of our common law, which often make it impossible to ascertain what the state of the law is on a given point. In like manner it is in some points impossible to determine what is the doctrine of the Anglican Church; and one can only come to the conclusion that it is self-contradicting. The discrepancies between the Prayer-book and the Articles have often been noticed. It has been

suggested that these discrepancies were not perceived when the Articles and Prayer-book were first placed in juxtaposition, and an equal assent was required to both of them; but that these discrepancies were left to be worked out by a more thoughtful generation like the present.

In this state of doctrinal compromise the Anglican Church has continued to the present day; and its continuance in this state can be accounted for only by the slothful indifference to logical consistency which characterizes the national mind, as though

"Truth were for it too serious an endeavour,
Content to dwell in "equipoise" for ever."

This compromise, however, cannot much longer continue in an age of inquiry, in an age when religious earnestness and cultivated thought are brought to bear upon religious questions more searchingly and powerfully than in any former age.

Undoubtedly this state of compromise effects a sort of comprehension and *modus vivendi* for differently-minded religionists; but it is not a comprehension rightly come by, or satisfactory to the intelligent and conscientious mind. Such a mind may in certain portions of conflicting formularies recognize statements to which it fully assents, but in other portions it must find statements which can only by great violence done to the accepted meaning of terms be twisted into an apparent agreement with its own convictions of truth. Great is the misgiving and the pain of spirit caused to a Christian minister by the conflict of his convictions with the statements of formularies which he uses in his ministrations. The writer can state that the late Mr. Gorham, after the conclusion of his contest with Bishop Philpotts, and towards the end of his life, felt that his own arguments, though in law successful, on the ground of the baptismal formularies, were not satisfactory. The writer saw not long since a letter to a mutual friend from an intelligent Evangelical incumbent, which gave a painful picture of his state of mind after reading a learned and able work urging a "Revision of the Liturgy." The earnest minister who goes on using religious formularies to which his convictions are opposed must suffer not only pain of mind, but also a distortion of the moral sense, and a loss of usefulness in the pastoral office. And there is this further great drawback to our present comprehension by compromise, that it opens the door to accusations of dishonesty from opposing parties in the Church each against the other, and from others without the Church against both parties. Dean Stanley has observed, in one of his pamphlets, that when the two parties in the Church break out into controversy with one another, each party rouses "the sleeping dogs" of a literal interpretation of the conflicting formularies, and charges the other with dishonest conformity. He went on to say that if such an interpretation were insisted on, "they

must all go out, from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the humblest curate." The Dean seemed to think that this would be a practical *reductio ad absurdum* of a literal interpretation. The present writer would submit that it is a logical conclusion from the Dean's own premises.

The writer must here, in passing, disclaim any intention or wish to attempt the easy task of "drawing an indictment" against the Established Church or its clergy. He fully recognizes the great services which, in spite of drawbacks, it has rendered to the nation—its grand theological literature, the ability and learning of many of its clergy, both in higher and lower stations, at the present day; the zeal and self-abandonment of many, of which he has personally known some striking examples; and that "Church of England piety," earnest, sober, and consistent, which has attracted the notice and called forth the unqualified admiration of eminent persons without its pale. It has been observed that by means of the ancient standards of doctrine, the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, and the Gloria Patri, retained in its formularies, the Established Church has beneficially exercised no little influence indirectly on the doctrinal attitude of Nonconformist communions around her. No candid observer can deny its missionary activity, or that its great means of usefulness are, by the clergy and, I may add, by their families, employed to the spiritual, moral, and temporal benefit of the community. The writer believes that its usefulness will be greatly increased by such an extension of its doctrinal basis as will relieve the consciences of many of its ministers, draw within it a large number of religionists now without its pale, and remove stumblingblocks from the path of those who are within it, and many occasions of intestine and suicidal controversy.

To a scheme of comprehension by extension it may be expected that parties at both poles of the religious hemisphere will meet in objecting. Such is the frequent fate of attempts at pacification. The party within the Established Church, denominated Ritualistic, would object to the elimination of those passages in the Liturgy which afford them the standing-ground on which they can maintain their tenets. The party without the Church, who clamour for its "disestablishment and disendowment," would, it appears, oppose such comprehension, as tending, by the removal of doctrinal anomalies, to the preservation of the Established Church. Is it, then, true that these religionists, while believing that the Church teaches in its formularies certain fatal errors, would yet insist on their retention, simply because they see that their retention would hasten its downfall? Is it the fact that Christians, believing that the English Church contains in her formularies particular doctrines perilous to men's spiritual interests, and which, as they believe, are sprung from the father of lies, would yet perpetuate them till such time as they think they can destroy the

Church Establishment? that they would bind the Church to go on teaching what they believe to be false in order that they may more speedily procure her disestablishment? Such policy seems hardly to be from above. It seems rather to be akin to the maxims of the Florentine statesman, to the Jesuitic code which teaches that "the end justifies the means," and to the notion of "doing evil that good may come."

I do not desire to reproach such religionists—I would only ask, is not such policy as this, on their own religious principles, a "destroying those for whom Christ died?" Is it consistent with the interests of Christian truth or the claims of Christian charity?

An ally of this party lately said, and, I think, with truth, that ominous "cracks" are sounding in the fabric of the Church Establishment. Benefices are being resigned. Patrons sometimes have difficulty in finding presentees; nor can patronage be sold well, as of yore. "Great prizes" in the Church are not sought with the eagerness of old. The same interest as before is not felt in the Church in regard to the persons who shall be appointed to vacant sees. Bishoprics are not so great an object of desire as in past days, and are even refused or resigned. Nor is the office held in the same reverence with which it was regarded within the recollection of thousands still living. The late Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Jeune, risked the prophecy that, "if he lived ten years longer, he should be the last Bishop of that see." He did not live ten years after this utterance; but it showed the estimate which an acute and powerful mind formed of the chances of the duration of the Established Church. After the death of Bishop Wilberforce it was well observed that only by his wonderful eloquence, activity, and personal influence, the Church of England had been saved from the fate with which it was threatened. Young men of education commonly show a decided disinclination to enter into holy orders, and their fathers commonly prefer for them other occupations in life. Few only of the distinguished and promising young members of the Universities will undertake clerical functions, which forty and even thirty years ago attracted a considerable proportion of this class. The conflicting nature of the formularies repels logical and conscientious minds from the expression of assent to them. A great right honourable controversialist once asked in this REVIEW the question, "Is the Church of England worth Preserving?"* Let those whose memories extend forty, thirty, or even twenty-five years back, imagine such a question coming from an attached member of that Church!

Far indeed is the present writer from desiring the catastrophe portended by these signs of the times. On the contrary, he believes that the Established Church is indeed "worth preserving" as an original part of our national institutions, intertwined with our past history, our traditions, associations, memories, and habits; as a source of great

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, July, 1875.

good in spiritual, social, and temporal respects to the people of this country; and as capable, through a timely revision of her formularies, and extension of her area, of becoming a still greater blessing to the nation. Her power for good in the parochial system, ramified over the whole country, her endowments, the educated intelligence and social status of the parochial clergy, and the large private wealth possessed among them, and liberally, often munificently, used for religious purposes and in promoting the temporal welfare of the poorer classes, give the Established Church advantages for usefulness such as no other National Church in the world enjoys, advantages which a far-seeing wisdom would not throw away, and so make "a ruin in the land," and destroy one of its ancient glories. Reform is better than destruction. It is easier to break down than to build up; and, according to the old saying, "Church-work goes up upon crutches and comes down post-haste." If, however, the Established Church is to be preserved, certain reforms and, if I may use the word, simplifications of her heterogeneous and complex formularies must be carried out, so as to extend her communion. Those who have had opportunities of learning the real sentiments of the educated and sober-minded but undemonstrative laity of the Church will agree with the present writer in believing that there is a wide dissatisfaction with the formularies in many particulars, as they now stand. For two instances out of several that might be quoted, I would ask how many of such laity really believe in the efficacy of godfathers and godmothers, or would approve of the unintelligible or materialistic petition in the Baptismal Service, "Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin"? The body of laity in question would hail with satisfaction the excision of these and other repulsive particulars from the formularies. They would be glad if they had any means of enforcing their sentiments on the subject, and would willingly support, if they saw any chance of success in supporting, a movement in favour of such excision. They have no belief in the supernatural powers or "sacramental energy" of the priesthood, in stated confessions and absolution, or in spiritual regeneration by infant baptism, or in sponsorial stipulations for infants, or in the real presence of Christ's body under the form of consecrated bread and wine, or in the "giving of the Holy Ghost" in Ordination. They know and feel better than to believe in such dogmas. Though they are attached in the main to their Church, they would gladly see such doctrines purged from it, and endure the retention of them only because they feel that they cannot get rid of them, and practically have no redress. They say in despair, "What can *we* do? how can we help the existence of such doctrines in the Church-services? The Bishops will not stir in the matter, and the House of Commons naturally hates all theological debates." Thus they suffer, in silence, publicly, though not privately. An expurgation of the formularies in the sense here intended would content such persons, would retain in the Anglican Church many of

the more earnest minds who constantly quit its communion, and would throw its doors open to thousands who now feel compelled to remain without.

Such a comprehension, such a disenclosure of the "Anglican Paddock," would not meet with the approval of passionate partisans of the Ritualistic section, for, though they themselves would be relieved of the burden of subscription to articles from which they dissent, they would lose their standing-ground in the formularies. As little would it be approved by those political Nonconformists who unhappily desire to fix in the Established Church dogmas which they themselves believe to be false and pernicious. It would however be accepted heartily by the moderate, sensible, serious, and sober-minded members of the Church, and by candid-minded members of other Protestant Trinitarian denominations amongst us; it would work towards the preservation of the Established Church, and towards the furtherance of the Christian Faith not only in England, but also in those large portions of the globe to which her influence extends in religious as in other matters.

The writer is well aware that his notions of Christian comprehension will by some be thought too narrow. He submits, however, that "the line must be drawn somewhere"—while he would have it drawn much lower than it has been drawn by those who at different past times framed the Articles and Liturgy of the Established Church, and settled its present terms of clerical conformity.

It has been argued that Church comprehension, founded on an extension of the doctrinal basis of the Established Church, would lead to controversies inimical to "the peace of the Church." Valuable however as peace may be, truth is still more valuable; and peace effected by a compromise of truth with error has been found by experience to be no peace at all, but a feud constantly recurring.

It has also been argued that the Established Church is a complex organism, composed of heterogeneous materials; and that the touch of reorganization would destroy it. It has been compared to an ancient fabric which hangs together as it is, but which, if a stone of it were meddled with, would at once collapse. If this comparison expressed a fact, the writer would join with the destructives, and would say, Let it be destroyed, and let a better edifice be raised in its stead. He disbelieves, however, that the fabric is in the rotten and rickety condition thus described. On the contrary, he maintains that by a timely renewal of its foundations and strengthening of its supports it may be preserved to the spiritual and secular benefit and glory of the nation.

J. R. PRETYMAN.

HOW TO MAKE OUR HOSPITALS MORE USEFUL.

IN a recent number of this REVIEW* an article by Mr. William Gilbert was published, entitled, "The Abuse of Charity in London : The case of the Five Royal Hospitals." The author points out with great clearness and force the enormous value of the endowments possessed by the five Royal Hospitals, and the comparatively small results that are accomplished by all this wealth. In the main, we have no doubt Mr. Gilbert is right. So far as the two Royal Hospitals for the relief of the sick poor, St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's, are concerned, we can endorse his statements. Our object in this article is to show what direction reform should take, and how much more might be done for the sick poor—and, indeed, for the nation at large—by these and other similar institutions, if they remodelled themselves according to the requirements of the present day.

Taking then St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's as our starting-point, and accepting Mr. Gilbert's statements respecting their wealth, we propose to consider the direction in which medical reform has been lately tending, and the plans which might be developed by such resources as they possess.

Whether these great hospitals are fulfilling the terms of their charters is a point which, as Mr. Gilbert shows, may fairly be questioned. But even if we grant that they ought to be allowed some latitude, that they ought not to be too strictly tied down to the letter of their charters, still it must be conceded that the innovations which have been introduced are of a very important kind.

Of these we shall mention two. In the first place, large medical schools have been attached to the hospitals; and, in the second place, a new department has been introduced for the relief of out-patients.

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, March, 1878.

We are far from saying that these changes are hurtful, or that they have not been called for by the social requirements of the nation. We only assert that they are innovations.

Indeed, it seems very natural that schools of medicine should form themselves round the great hospitals. It is for the good of the nation that those who have a desire to practise as medical men should be thoroughly and skilfully trained; and who are so capable of giving this training as the physicians and surgeons to the chief hospitals? They must of necessity have large experience; they have great facilities for noting the progress of disease, and for observing the effect of remedies; and they need the help of many hands to enable them to carry out the minute care which their patients require. What, therefore, is more natural than that the staff of such a hospital should gather around it a circle of pupils? But these pupils are in turn very useful to the hospital. They perform a multitude of minor offices for the patients, such as dressing their wounds and applying their bandages, which would otherwise require an increased staff of nurses. Nor is this all. In all cases, surgical and medical alike, they take notes from day to day, and register the results of treatment in a way which enables the hospital to contribute very materially to the advancement of medical and surgical science. Again, if a hospital has around it a large number of students drawn from different parts of the country, the name of the institution is spread abroad, its fame rises, and the number of its supporters is increased. In these ways it is obviously for the advantage of a hospital to have a medical school attached to it. It is no wonder, therefore, that the governors of St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's have been pleased to see medical schools growing up around them, and that they have been willing to meet the authorities of the school half-way. Thus the hospital has, as it were, taken the school into alliance with itself, and the school has become almost an integral part of the institution. It is scarcely fair, therefore, that the school attached to a large hospital should be called, as Mr. Gilbert calls it, "a private speculation." It is in truth a part of the public institution, over which the governors exercise control; it submits to their regulations; and it could at any time be shut up by their orders. If, therefore, the governors, having regard to the more efficient care which the patients derive from the school and its teachers, choose to assist it out of the funds at their disposal, they have a right to do so, and no one has any ground of complaint. The great object for which the institution exists is thereby materially advanced.

This is one of the chief innovations which have been introduced into these great hospitals. We believe it to be quite within the spirit, if not within the letter, of their charters; and it conduces, in no small degree, to the welfare of the patients and of the nation at large. Care must, of course, be taken that the patients do not suffer in any way from the proximity of the anatomical rooms, or any of the other buildings which are necessary for medical teaching. But if due caution is

exercised on this point, the addition of such a school ought to be nothing but an advantage to our great hospitals.

The other innovation, to which I shall now allude, is the establishment of the out-patient departments.

That the physicians and surgeons to a hospital should see *some* patients besides those who reside under its roof is almost a necessity. That there should be *some* sort of out-patient department can scarcely be avoided; because, when patients are discharged, it often happens that they need to be kept under observation for a time, and to be supplied with medicines until their recovery is complete. If we have in view such large hospitals as St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's, we can easily understand how these patients would soon become so numerous as to require to be placed under some definite regulations. Thus an out-patient department is formed, but it is at first of a strictly limited character, and the patients are seen by the ordinary visiting physicians and surgeons, under whose care they have been when they were inmates of the hospital, not by any special officers appointed for the purpose.

But what could be more obvious than to extend this department so that poor persons should be admitted to it, who needed medical advice and medicine, but were not so ill as to require to be received into the wards? Certainly, before the State undertook to provide for the medical wants of the sick poor, it must have been futile to raise any objection to such an extension of the charity. So the doors were thrown open, and the sick poor of the neighbourhood began to flock to the out-patient departments.

This speedily necessitated the appointment of special officers—assistant physicians and assistant surgeons—under whose care these out-patients were to be placed. To advance from these beginnings to the out-patient departments, as they are at present organized, was only a natural development. As the number of such out-patients increased, it became necessary to classify them, and thus special departments were formed; and the reputation of the physicians and surgeons presiding over these departments tended rapidly to augment the total number of the out-patients.

This is what has happened not only at the two Royal Hospitals, which we have named, but also at Guy's and at the other older hospitals. Half a century ago their out-patient departments were of the most limited kind: now they reckon their out-patients by tens of thousands. And yet within this period the wages of the working classes have risen 40 or 50 per cent.

Of course the many general and special hospitals which have been started during the last fifty years have also adopted the model of the existing hospitals. This was only what was to be expected. How could they have entered into competition with them, unless they offered equal advantages? So that, if we look round the whole circle of the hospitals, we shall find at the newer, no less than at the older, that there are large out-patient departments.

Thus it has come to pass that, in the course of a single generation, the character of our hospitals has been materially altered, and their out-patient departments have become a most onerous part of their work.

When, a few years ago, it was stated that the number of out-patients at the various London hospitals was not less than one million, the statement was received with incredulity. But now it is fully admitted, for it has been verified by many independent inquiries, and it has been found that in other large cities throughout the country the same proportion holds good.

Now, as the cost of each out-patient may be estimated at 1s. 6d., it is obvious that these out-patient departments have added very seriously to the expenses of the hospitals.

But are the out-patient departments either necessary or desirable?

To a small and strictly limited extent they are, as we have said, necessary. Besides the necessity that those who have left the hospital relieved, but not fully cured, should be kept under observation and treatment, it may also be conceded that there is a grade of the struggling poor, who are just above the level of parochial relief, but who are not in a position to pay anything for themselves, to whom the hospitals may properly extend the hand of charity. But both of these classes are strictly limited; and beyond these limits a free charitable out-patient department is certainly by no means an unmixed good. For, beyond these limits, who are the persons who resort to it? They are, for the most part, well-to-do working people with trifling maladies. That a very large proportion of them are of this class has been shown by careful investigation; and that the vast majority are affected by only trivial complaints, every one who has served on the staff of a large hospital knows only too well. Now, these persons have not such a claim upon charity that our great hospitals need go out of their way to open special departments for them. Indeed, they belong to a section of society to whom charity should be administered with great discrimination; for inasmuch as, under ordinary circumstances, they do not require it, it is likely to do them more harm than good.

We have said that there is a class of struggling poor to whom the hospitals may well extend the hand of charity, and we have indicated the limits of that class. It seems probable that under the fluctuations of trade, and the many exigencies of social life, there must always be persons in this position, at least in the great cities. Still, as far as our means of judging have yet gone, it appears that if the provident system were fairly established, such a class would speedily melt away. Some few would pass under the care of the parochial medical officer, but the greater number would find it for their advantage to keep up their provident payments, even in their straitened circumstances. The report of the Charity Organization Society, upon the social position of the out-patients at the Royal Free Hospital, contains the following statement:—
“With regard to Class 3 (those who are described as ‘proper appli-

cants') we are bound to state that in the opinion of those who conducted the investigation, the whole body of the out-patients is really divisible into two sections: (1) those who might reasonably be expected to pay something for their medical relief, and (2) those who ought to be referred to the parish. So much allowance has been made in respect to the cases which have been called *proper applicants*, that it may be confidently asserted that many of them could pay a trifle for themselves, while the rest would have no difficulty whatever in obtaining a parish order; and now that so many improvements have been introduced into the administration of parochial medical relief, there need be no hesitation in referring them to the parish." In proof of the correctness of this statement we may mention that when the St. George's Dispensary, in Mount Street, was placed upon the provident principle, a guarantee fund was subscribed to meet the case of persons who, although not entitled to Poor Law relief, might be unable to make the payments at the dispensary. Of this fund no use whatever has been made. The class whom it was intended to benefit had no existence except in the imaginations of the benevolent persons who advocated their cause. Further experience may, and very probably will, confirm this result, and show that there is no such class as that which we have called the struggling poor, to whom the doors of the hospitals should stand open. But at present we would rather err in making too large an allowance than in drawing the line too close.

But, it may be asked, if the out-patients at the metropolitan hospitals now amount to a million, and if, as we affirm, they ought to be very much reduced in number, what is to become of this multitude of sick folk? Though they may be above the level of charity, and though their maladies may only be trivial, still they need some medical attendance, and how are they to get it?

Ten years ago it would have been difficult to answer this question, or at least the answer would have been unsupported by experience. But now we can reply that this large class of the community ought to be provided for by means of provident institutions on the principle of mutual assurance, and we can point to many places where this is being done in a satisfactory way.

There are now so many provident medical institutions or Provident Dispensaries scattered throughout the country that there is no need to explain in detail what is meant by them, or how they carry on their work. Suffice it to say that the members are enrolled as in a club; that they pay a small weekly, monthly, or quarterly subscription; and that in return they are entitled to medical attendance and medicine, when they are ill. It is, in fact, an insurance against the medical expenses of sickness, and this insurance is open to all who belong to that special grade of society for whom the Provident Dispensary is intended. This grade is clearly defined. A fixed rate of weekly earnings is taken as the upward limit. This rate varies in different places

according to the nature of the industry in which the working people are engaged, and according to their wages. In some agricultural districts it is placed as low as 20*s.*; while in some large cities it is placed as high as 40*s.* This is the upward limit. The downward limit is always the same; no one who is in receipt of parochial relief is eligible as a member. Thus the boundaries of the class are marked out with considerable accuracy; and it is necessary that the managers should adhere strictly to the limits they have laid down for themselves; otherwise Provident Dispensaries are liable to serious abuse. But within these limits all are eligible. None are refused because they are ill, or because their work is attended by special dangers. In fact, all the maladies of the working classes, short of those which require admission into hospital, can be treated at Provident Dispensaries.

The payments which are required at these dispensaries are so small that they come within the reach of the great mass of the working classes. Speaking generally, one shilling a month may be said to be the amount which is required at most Provident Dispensaries in order to make a man, his wife, and his whole family members. Mr. George Howell has told us* that it is a high average to set down the earnings of the skilled London workman at 35*s.* per week. Let us, therefore, estimate them at 30*s.* Surely out of £6 a month one shilling might be set aside for the family subscription to the Provident Dispensary. And if the system of provident medical relief became general, there can be no doubt that the scale of payments might be reduced to a yet lower figure. Moreover, if it became general, there would be no great difficulty in bringing the special, as well as the general, hospitals within the range of the system, so that working people might have the benefit of a specialist's advice, when it was needed. Again, if this system were cordially adopted throughout the country, it would be easy to give such facilities that, wherever a working man went, he might find a Provident Dispensary to which he might be transferred. Thus, it might not only supply the medical wants of the working classes as efficiently as they are now provided for by the charitable hospitals, but upon a much more certain and definite plan.

Such Provident Dispensaries as these have been rapidly multiplied during the last eight years; not that they were altogether unknown before that time, for some have existed for thirty or forty years, but since the changes which were made in the Poor Law by Lord Cranbrook's Act of 1868 they have received a larger amount of public attention and pecuniary support. The old Poor Law, by the harshness of some of its enactments, and by its want of discrimination between different classes of sick and infirm paupers, excited public sympathy on their behalf, and led to the establishment of many charitable hospitals and kindred institutions. But these defects were removed by the Act of 1868. At the present time, the provision made for the sick and infirm paupers

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, June, 1873.

leaves little or nothing to be desired. The infirmaries which have been built under the Act are constructed according to the best plans, and are furnished with every appliance for the scientific treatment of the sick. As Mr. Gilbert truly says in speaking of the Poplar and Stepney Sick Asylum, "in excellence of construction and sanitary appliances no hospital can excel it; no cost has been spared in thoroughly adapting it for hospital uses." In like manner, the provision for slighter cases has been much improved, and is now carried on in a most satisfactory manner through the forty-six Poor Law Dispensaries scattered over the metropolitan area. Thus it will be seen that for those sick persons whose poverty brings them under the action of the Local Government Board an excellent and efficient system has been provided.

There is, therefore, no need for our charitable hospitals to make provision for this class of sick persons. The State has already provided for them in a very efficient manner; and it is best and wisest to leave them in the hands of the Poor Law medical officers, who, in virtue of their office, and from their relation to the parochial system at large, can often do more for them and obtain for them more permanent relief, than the medical officers of even the wealthiest charitable hospitals. We may, therefore, conclude that sick paupers of all sorts may, without the least hardship, be left to the medical provision which has been made for them under Act of Parliament.

If, now, we were to deduct from the total number of out-patients those who properly belong to the pauper class, being in receipt of parochial relief, we should find that they amounted to a very considerable number. From the best information within our reach, there is reason to believe that they would constitute about fifteen per cent. of the total. This would at once make a great reduction in the out-patient departments.

But of whom, or of what class, is the remainder composed? Here again recent investigations help us to give something like an exact answer. Almost fifty per cent. have been found to belong to that class who might reasonably be expected to contribute towards the expense of their own medical treatment. In other words, they do not in ordinary circumstances require gratuitous assistance, and to such persons charity should be administered with great care and discrimination.

Now, if we deduct these large percentages from the total number of the hospital out-patients, there will remain only about one-third who can in any way be considered proper applicants for charity. In fact, the out-patient departments ought to be reserved, as we have said, firstly, for those who have been treated in the wards, and whom the physicians and surgeons desire still to keep under observation; secondly, for those who may be deemed suitable for admission, and may be awaiting their turn; thirdly, for those who may be sent to the hospital for consultation, or who may for some special medical reason be allowed to attend; and fourthly, for poor persons of that limited social

grade whom we have described as the struggling poor,—those who are above the level of parochial relief on the one hand, but who, on the other, from some exceptional cause, cannot reasonably be expected to pay anything for their own medical attendance, and to whom charity may properly be extended. In short, the admission to the out-patient departments should depend, firstly, upon the medical necessities of the case, and secondly, upon the social condition of the applicants.

By thus remodelling the out-patient departments, the hospitals would save a large sum of money, and many who are now employed in seeing out-patients as assistant physicians and assistant surgeons would find their occupation almost gone. Certainly it would not be necessary to have so large a staff at each hospital as at present. There would, therefore, be both money and skilled labour at the disposal of the governors. How could these be better employed than in helping to develop a system of Provident Dispensaries grouped around each hospital, and served in part, if not in whole, by the junior members of the staff? At present, when a Provident Dispensary is about to be opened, the first and foremost difficulty that it meets with is the competition of the free medical charities in the neighbourhood. The second difficulty is, that a certain sum must be raised by subscription to meet the primary expenses, and to carry it on until it is thoroughly established. These, we may say, are the only obstacles in the way of such institutions. But if, as we have suggested, the great hospitals would themselves undertake to open Provident Dispensaries in their several districts, neither of these difficulties would be felt. They would not even present themselves to view. There would be no competition from the hospitals—competition would be changed into cordial co-operation; and there would be no need to ask for special subscriptions, because the money saved by the reduction of the out-patient departments would suffice to set on foot a proportionate number of Provident Dispensaries. Further, if the hospital authorities retained in their own hands the appointment of physicians and surgeons to these provident institutions, they might obtain the co-operation of all the best medical men of the neighbourhood, and also retain them in relation with the great centres of medical learning. That this would have a good effect in stimulating them to keep themselves up to the requirements of the day, and raising the whole level of medical treatment throughout the district, we cannot doubt. Nor would it be without a beneficial effect upon the hospitals themselves, for the junior staff would thus be considerably increased, and there would be a larger number to choose from in making the higher appointments, while the Provident Dispensaries would furnish a better field for the practical training of the medical students than the present out-patient departments supply. They would afford experience in the *home* visitation of the sick poor, and in the treatment of many simple but common ailments, the absence of which

is an admitted defect in the instruction given under the present arrangements.

Wherever a Provident Dispensary has been opened at a reasonable distance from the free medical charities, and wherever it has been efficiently worked, the industrial classes have shown no disinclination to enrol themselves as members. We may, therefore, feel assured that if the upper classes, more particularly those who are the governors and supporters of the charitable hospitals, would use their influence to create a general system of provident medical relief, the working classes would not be slow to appreciate their efforts.

To carry out this object, the first step would be to put the out-patient departments under some such limitations as we have suggested, and then to affiliate the existing Provident Dispensaries of the neighbourhood to the hospitals, or, if need be, to open fresh Provident Dispensaries. At some of the great metropolitan hospitals this might be easily effected; for example, there are already three or four Provident Dispensaries grouped around St. George's Hospital, and the governors of the hospital have shown some disposition to consider the question of administrative reform. Now, if this disposition went so far as effectually to curtail the out-patient department, and to refer the working classes to the Provident Dispensaries, the fundamental principles of the reforms we advocate would be at once established. The governors of the hospital might indeed proceed to affiliate these Provident Dispensaries, and in return might demand some advantages for the junior members of their staff and for their medical students. But if any one should object that it is not the province of a hospital to establish Provident Dispensaries, or even to accept them in a subsidiary relation to itself, then we should reply that, even without such active assistance, their cordial co-operation and friendly feeling would supply all that is needed. The industrial class would in this way feel that they were no longer treated as objects of charity, but that all their minor ailments were met by their provident payments, and that it was only when overtaken by prolonged or serious illness that they had to rely on the generosity of their richer neighbours. In saying this, we assume that the provident payments would cover all the cost of treatment at the dispensaries, and there can be little doubt that, if the system became general, such would be the case. At present Provident Dispensaries have to ask for the benevolent aid of the upper classes, but that is chiefly because a comparatively small number of working people have enrolled themselves in them; and the number is small just because of the competition of the free medical charities. But if this competition could be changed into friendly co-operation, Provident Dispensaries would soon become entirely self-supporting institutions. As an example of what the working classes may do for themselves by means of such institutions, even under the existing state of things, we may point to the Royal Victoria Dispensary, Northampton. From its report of the year

1877 we learn that the amount received in payments from members was £2356 7s. 8d., these payments having increased more than twenty per cent. during the last four years. On the other hand, the amount received from honorary subscribers was merely £184 7s. 6d. At this rate of progress, it is evident the institution may soon be independent of even that small amount of assistance. Though the Victoria Dispensary at Northampton has been singularly successful, many others might be mentioned which have attained a fair degree of prosperity. These facts are sufficient to show that the provident system, if it were relieved of the difficulties with which it has now to contend, would be capable of doing all that we have claimed for it.

In Manchester a most interesting experiment is now being tried. An Association has been set on foot, called "The Manchester and Salford Provident Dispensaries Association," the object of which is to open a Provident Dispensary in each district, and at the same time to induce the charitable hospitals to co-operate with it, by restricting their out-patient departments, and by referring the working classes to the dispensaries for the treatment of all their trivial ailments. At present the Association has opened six Provident Dispensaries, and four of the principal medical charities in the town are acting in conjunction with it. Lists, containing the names and addresses of the applicants for out-patient relief at these four charitable institutions, are forwarded to the office of the Association. The cases are then investigated, and those that are found to be above the level of charitable assistance are referred to the Provident Dispensaries.

The report for 1877 says:—"The dispensaries are becoming better known by the working classes; and, as the members are learning by experience that by small weekly payments they can obtain whatever medical assistance they may require, at a cost proportionate to their income, they are becoming much more willing to continue their subscriptions, even when there is no immediate prospect of any benefit being required in return. Their confidence in the system could not be developed by any mere explanation of its advantages, but only by its proved adaptability to their circumstances. . . . The Medlock Street Dispensary has been self-supporting during the last year and a half. The other five dispensaries required a subsidy from the funds of the Association. The payments of the members at these six dispensaries during 1877 amounted to £2365 4s. 5d., and the sum received by the medical staff was £1411."

Certain general principles have been adopted in investigating the cases of applicants, but no hard-and-fast rules are laid down. The special circumstances of each case are considered, and care is taken to treat with consideration all applicants upon whom immediate hardship would be inflicted by a too rigid adherence to the rule.

The effect of these systematic investigations has been that those who have no claim upon charity hesitate to ask for it. "In 1875, when the

investigations were first made, 40 per cent. of the people seen were found to be able to pay the dispensary charges; in 1876 the proportion fell to 21 per cent., and in 1877 to 19 per cent. It is evident, therefore, that persons who have no right to medical charity are ceasing to apply for it."

Even those medical charities which stand aloof from the Association have nevertheless found it necessary to make some inquiry into the social condition of their out-patients. Thus the Association is doing an indirect as well as a direct good.

"It has been pointed out," the report says, "that the Infirmary, the Children's Hospital, the Clinical Hospital, and the Hospital for Incurables, are the only charities which co-operate with this Association by refusing to assist those who can, by the payment of one penny per week, procure medical assistance through the Provident Dispensaries. Whilst it is to be regretted that such should be the case, it is a matter for congratulation that the principle is becoming more generally acted upon; that it is wise, not only in the interests of the hospitals and the medical profession, but of the patients themselves, to give medical assistance to those only who, after inquiry at their own homes, are found to be unable to procure it for themselves. Many working people are unable to obtain this assistance for themselves so long as they have to pay the fees required in ordinary private practice, but most of them could procure it through the Provident Dispensaries. If, then, it should be the case that any of the medical charities are refusing to take cognizance of this Provident Dispensary class by giving relief to all but those who can pay private fees, they are needlessly teaching a large section of the community to rely upon charity rather than upon their own exertions. It is not to be supposed that these patients would suffer by being referred to the dispensaries, as by far the greatest number of persons applying as out and home patients at the charities are subject to mere ordinary and well-known complaints, which can be treated by any qualified practitioner."

In conclusion, the Council of the Association "ask for support because they think that this system is the only effectual remedy which has yet been discovered for the abuse of the free charities, because it is not only just but advantageous to the medical profession, and because it is of great and lasting service to the poor."

This experiment, which is being carried out at Manchester, is of the most important kind. Unhappily, the institutions which stand aloof from the Association hinder the good work. But enough is being done to show how beneficial would be the effect of a general and harmonious system. The medical charities would be relieved of the excessive number of out-patients, the misuse of charity would be prevented, and a very large number of persons would be encouraged to provide for themselves by becoming members of the dispensaries. In such a town as Manchester the fact that the payments to the dispensaries amounted in one

year to £2365, is of very great value ; and, if all the medical charities were working in harmony, this sum might well be trebled or quadrupled. Every provident institution, be it of what kind it may, is a stone added to the foundations of our social fabric. The more we can induce those who, although not able to pay the usual professional fees, can afford a low mutual-assurance rate, to enrol themselves in such societies, the more we give firmness and stability to the working classes, which form such an important element in the nation.

The success of this experiment at Manchester has been such that Birmingham has taken the matter into serious consideration, although at present nothing beyond preliminary inquiries has been accomplished.

The great difficulty which has met the Manchester Association is the want of co-operation on the part of the medical charities, and the Birmingham Committee seem to hesitate before encountering similar obstacles. The first step, therefore, towards any general reform is to secure the goodwill of the governors of the medical charities. Where there are a dozen such charities in a single town, the difficulty is sufficiently great ; but when we turn to the metropolis, where there are more than a hundred, it becomes almost insuperable. We must not, therefore, wait till all are favourable to these changes. Let a few set the example, and the rest will follow in due time.

To what hospitals can we look to take the lead in these measures of reform so naturally as to the Royal Hospitals, St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's ? They have a position and a standing which would make their action felt throughout the whole series of the medical charities, and they have endowments which raise them above the fluctuations of "voluntary contributions." Each of these great hospitals forms the medical centre of a large and populous district. If the governing body of one of these hospitals were inclined to put itself at the head of the movement for hospital reform, there would be no obstacle in its way which would be worth mentioning. At St. Bartholomew's, the returns show that there are a hundred and forty thousand out-patients per annum. Now if we say that each out-patient costs on an average 6*d.* for drugs alone, or that the total cost of each out-patient is 1*s.* 6*d.*, we shall probably be taking an estimate which is well within the bounds of truth.* At this rate the out-patients at St. Bartholomew's cost £3500 per annum for drugs alone ; or £10,500 per annum, if we include their total expense. But at least two-thirds of this sum would be saved by adopting such plans as we have suggested, and how could it be employed to greater advantage than in forming new Provident

* Since this was written Dr. Robert Bridges has published, in the 14th volume of the St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, a detailed account of the out-patient department. He says the number of out-patients approaches nearer 200,000. On the other hand, he sets down the cost of drugs at a much lower figure than I have given above. Dr. Bridges' paper is a very important one, and should be carefully read by all who are interested in the subject of hospital out-patient reform. The picture which it gives of the manner in which "medical charity" is administered in the Casualty Department of St. Bartholomew's Hospital shows how urgently some change is needed.

Dispensaries in the neighbourhood, providing suitable buildings for them, and aiding them by a subsidy until a sufficient number of members have joined to make them self-supporting? Thus, St. Bartholomew's might, after making provision for a limited out-patient department, surround itself with a group of dispensaries, which would be under its own control, officered, in some measure at least, by the junior members of its own staff, and attended by its own medical students; and, while doing this, it would provide for the wants of the sick poor of the district in a far more helpful and elevating manner than it now does by its indiscriminate relief. On the other hand, so long as it exercises its abundant charity, without putting a single question to the recipients, no provident medical institution can maintain itself in the neighbourhood.

What we have thus sketched for St. Bartholomew's, might in like manner be done by St. Thomas's, by Guy's, by all the great general hospitals. Each of these, by curtailing its out-patient department, would find the means of opening a proportionate number of Provident Dispensaries, and in truth it would not always be necessary for the hospital to undertake the opening of such dispensaries. Supposing it were one of the unendowed hospitals, one of those which are supported by voluntary contributions, and which have difficulty enough in keeping their wards open, such an institution might save at least three-quarters of the money that is now expended upon its out-patient department, if only it would act in friendly co-operation with such Provident Dispensaries as benevolent persons might open in its neighbourhood. Few hospitals make more urgent appeals for funds than the London Hospital, Whitechapel Road; yet it is said that a provident medical institution, which was lately opened in the neighbourhood, was unable to maintain itself in consequence of the competition of the London Hospital. In like manner, the Marylebone Provident Dispensary, which had existed for forty years, was recently closed, because it could not hold its own against the Welbeck Street Dispensary and the Middlesex and University College Hospitals. In this way, very few of the existing Provident Dispensaries have had a fair chance. Working men will not pay even a penny a week for that which they are pressed to receive as a free gift. If the medical charities were to put a just limit on their out-patient departments, not only would a host of fresh Provident Dispensaries be set on foot, but those already existing would become at once flourishing institutions, and we should then see what the system of provident medical relief could really do for the country. The committee of the Metropolitan Hospital Fund, in a recent letter, state "that the accounts of the various medical charities show a deficiency of nearly £75,000." But if the plans we have suggested were adopted, this deficiency would be speedily removed. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* (July, 1877) estimates the number of working men in London at 696,147, and of working

women at 461,529. Now, if we take these figures as the basis of our calculation, and reckon the men at one penny and the women at one halfpenny a week (exclusive altogether of the children), the total would amount to more than £200,800 per annum. Thus we see how much the working classes might do for themselves in this matter without the slightest hardship, and to how large an extent the charitable hospitals might be relieved. All that is needed is a well-devised system, and cordial co-operation on the part of the hospitals.

But if a system of Provident Dispensaries became general, and if the industrial classes found that by this means they were able to provide for themselves in the lesser ailments of life, they would not stop here. The feeling of independence which had been created in them would induce them to go still further. They would wish to provide for themselves, at least in some degree, even when they were overtaken by more severe illness. Provident hospitals, partially or wholly self-supporting, would spring up in connection with Provident Dispensaries, or arrangements would be made whereby the provident members might be received into existing hospitals at small and fixed rates of payment. Thus the British workman would have some share in providing for himself in almost all the ailments of life. Indeed, this is what has actually happened in several places. At Torquay, a small hospital has recently been opened in connection with the Provident Dispensary. At Devonport, the out-patient department of the Royal Albert Hospital is conducted upon the provident principle, and patients are admitted into the wards, when they require it, in virtue of their provident payments. At the North Staffordshire Hospital the workpeople of the surrounding districts make regular contributions to the funds, and have a claim for admission, if it becomes necessary. At Battersea, the progress of recent medical reforms has been well illustrated. About four years ago, a dispensary which had been carried on for twenty years upon the charitable system, was converted into a provident institution. The success which followed this change was such, that a few months ago a desire was expressed for a hospital to be founded on the same principle, where the members would obtain the benefit of in-patient treatment. As a means of meeting this want, Canon Erskine Clarke secured a suitable house on the verge of Wandsworth Common, on a spot which is four miles from the nearest general hospital. This house will, it is hoped, eventually be opened for the reception of patients, each of whom will pay according to a fixed scale. The out-patient department of the hospital will be carried on as a Provident Dispensary for the surrounding district. Of course, a fund raised by special donations is required at starting, but when once the institution is in full operation, it will be the aim of the managers to make it as nearly self-supporting as possible. It is obvious that such a hospital is only suited to the well-to-do working class, of whom there are a large number in and around Battersea. The sick paupers must still use the excellent provision which is made for them by the Local

Government Board, but for the industrious and thriving poor such a hospital as we have described ought to be an unmixed boon, raising and strengthening their moral character, while it provides in the best possible way for their medical necessities.

Supposing that the measures we have recommended are desirable, who are the proper persons to initiate them? Not the medical men. They may influence the decision, no doubt; but they cannot decide the matter. At some hospitals they are allowed no part whatever in the management, and at all the ultimate decision upon such a change as this must rest with the whole body of the governors, amongst whom the medical men form a very small minority. And, in truth, the question is not one upon which the medical officers are specially qualified to judge. Unless they have taken pains to inform themselves, they have no more knowledge of the social position of their out-patients than other persons. They attend the hospital or dispensary to treat the sick, not to investigate their circumstances. They have neither the time nor the inclination to act as inquiry officers. Indeed, it often happens that their interest lies all in the other direction. They have no wish to curtail the number of their patients, because the larger the number the wider is the field of experience, and the more chance there is of "good"—that is, interesting and instructive—cases presenting themselves.

The paid officials of the hospital cannot be expected to take an active part in bringing about a change of this kind, for it is contrary to their interests. They naturally desire nothing so much as the growth and extension of the institutions with which they are connected; and, unhappily, the public have got into the way of measuring the good which a hospital is doing by the number of persons who resort to it. Hence we can hardly open a newspaper without seeing advertisements of the hundreds or thousands who attended this or that hospital during the past week or the past year. But this is a very fallacious test of the real usefulness of such institutions, for we are not told to what class the applicants belonged, nor do we know whether the medical relief they obtained was equal to the pauperizing influences to which they were subjected. It is to the whole body of the subscribers to our medical charities that we must look for reforms, more especially to the councils, boards, and managing committees to whom the subscribers entrust their authority; and I am persuaded that, as public opinion becomes more matured upon this subject, the managers of hospitals and dispensaries will find it for their advantage to make special arrangements to meet the case of those who are well able to pay a small sum for their own medical attendance.

But would such a movement be acceptable to the medical profession? To this question an affirmative answer may confidently be given. For many years past the reform of the medical charities has been discussed in the medical journals and reviews, with a growing disposition to such changes as we have advocated. Indeed, it may be said there is now

but little difference of opinion amongst medical men on this subject. If any one is interested in this inquiry he will find in Sir Charles Trevelyan's pamphlet upon "*Metropolitan Medical Relief*," a variety of documents embodying the opinions of Sir William Gull, Dr. Acland, Sir Rutherford Alcock, Mr. Prescott Hewett, Mr. T. Holmes, and many other representative men.

With the endowments and subscriptions which the metropolitan hospitals and dispensaries can show, a magnificent system of medical relief might be constructed. The cost of systematic inquiry and classification would be comparatively trifling; the payments derived from the patients would be considerable; and these, together with the endowments and subscriptions to which we have alluded, would enable the medical charities to perform their work in a way which would be a model to the civilized world, and would be constantly tending to upraise the lower ranks of society. The investigation into the condition and circumstances of the applicants would enable the managers to apply the relief to each individual case in a way which is at present impossible; and thus the charity administered by the hospitals, if it were confined to a smaller number, would be more thorough, more judicious, more truly beneficent.

Nor need there be any delay in putting these proposals into practice. A simple resolution—or a series of resolutions—at the next annual general meeting of any given hospital would effect all that is necessary at that particular institution.

It is not a case which need wait for an Act of Parliament, or for an alteration of charters. If a majority of the subscribers were unanimous upon the subject a beginning might be made without delay. If such a beginning were made by one of the leading hospitals, the example would speedily be followed by others, for public opinion upon this subject has advanced so much of late years that it is now ready for the introduction of a widespread system of reform. If London took the lead, the provincial towns and rural districts would not be slow to follow. Then a system of Provident Medical Relief would become general, and the effect which this would have upon the moral and social condition of the people it would be hard to calculate. Many plans have been devised of late years for encouraging general habits of forethought and thrift. These have no doubt been very useful in their measure and degree, but a system of Provident Medical Relief would be even more far-reaching in its consequences. It might be brought home to almost every individual; families might be trained to regard it almost as a necessity, and thus it would not only bring about an improvement in the administration of our charitable hospitals, and in the arrangements which are made for the care of the sick poor, but it would strengthen and elevate the whole tone of the working classes, and through them would exercise no slight influence upon our national character.

WM. FAIRLIE CLARKE.

ANCIENT EGYPT.

IV.

THE Nineteenth Dynasty closed in anarchy: the first king of the Twentieth restored the Monarchy, and, after a short reign, left the reconstruction of the Empire to his son Ramses III., the last of the great Pharaohs. This king has bequeathed to posterity, in the inscriptions and sculptures of his temple at Medeenet Haboo in Western Thebes, and in the statistical Harris Papyrus, abundant materials for the history of his reign. These materials have, however, not received as much attention as they deserve from the difficulties they present: the style of the texts is usually very inflated, and wanting in a clear historical outline. It shows the luxuriance of a declining age. Hence these large materials have not all been properly combined, and the incidents of the reign are differently related by the modern authorities. Here it is only necessary to deal with what is well ascertained; for this, happily, is enough for the present purpose, which is the illustration these monuments and texts afford of the relations of the Egyptians and the maritime nations of the Mediterranean. Wars with these nations, allied with others of Libyan race, occupied the earlier years of the reign of Ramses. Recent archaeologists had come to the conclusion that the maritime enemies of Egypt were to be identified with well-known pre-Hellenic nations. Dr. Brugsch has thrown doubt upon the subject, and advanced a new theory that they were of Colchian and Carian stock. It is, however, certain that they inhabited the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and probably only those of its eastern basin. Consequently, the Egyptian evidence bears upon the state of Greek countries, if not of Greek or kindred nations, some centuries before the First Olympiad (B.C. 776), where sober criticism had agreed to place the starting-point of Greek history. The effect of Dr. Brugsch's criticism is that we must not now speak of Achæans or Sikels as enemies of

Egypt, but of Akaiusha and Shakalasha, using the terms of the hieroglyphic texts without attempting to decide on their classical equivalents. To use such equivalents before the judgment of Egyptologists has been pronounced on Dr. Brugsch's theory would, of course, be begging the question. Perhaps, however, the reader, from a mere statement of the facts, may form an opinion of the relative probability of his theory, and that which it is intended to supersede.

The wars of Ramses are part of a long series which had for their object the defence of Egypt against successive invasions, usually from the west. Though thus defensive in their general character, one or more may have been a counter-attack on the territory of the enemies. The special value of the records of Ramses III. is that they comprise sculptured representations of these foreign races that are almost wanting elsewhere. This is why the problem of the relations of Egypt and primitive Greece has its solution in the time of that monarch rather than in any other during the period of the invasions.

There is not much difficulty as to the date of the invasions of Egypt in the reign of Ramses III. The accession of this king may be placed between B.C. 1300 and B.C. 1250, these being, in all probability, the limits of uncertainty. If the Exodus took place under Menptah, as shown to be most likely in the last article, B.C. 1280 would be the latest possible date for the accession of Ramses III., and the chronology of subsequent reigns will scarcely allow an earlier period.

The Egyptian documents would lose nearly all their interest if we could not use them to discover the historical elements of Greek tradition. The first question, therefore, is what Greek sources we may venture to employ in our comparative inquiry?

Those who still think that there are no historical elements in what the Greeks related of the age before the First Olympiad, may be reminded that it is unreasonable to imagine a sharp transition from pure myth to pure history. Between the night of myth and the day of history there must have been in Greece, as elsewhere, a twilight of tradition. No criticism could, however, extract the light of history from the darkness of myth in the native stories of the traditional age, without the aid of independent external records of a purely historical character. Until lately this aid was wanting, and hence the despair of sober critics, who, like Grote, refused to believe in the possibility of Greek history before the First Olympiad. Lately the needed aid has been afforded by the Egyptian records, and more recently by the startling discoveries at Mycenæ. The Egyptian records give us the condition of the eastern Mediterranean in the thirteenth century before our era; the discoveries at Mycenæ prove that the ancient power and splendour of that city at an age long before the time to which we had assigned the infancy of Greek art, is a historical fact, not a mythic fancy. Art, be it remembered, as a measure of civilization, is positively historic. With these aids, cautiously used, the history of the early popula-

tions of Greece may be carried up at least five centuries before the First Olympiad.

Our Greek written sources may be best limited, in the present state of knowledge, to the Homeric poems. There is so much evidence that the myths had undergone change by the age of the tragedians, that we cannot safely use any but the earlier sources: of these the Homeric epics are not alone the most ancient, but are also amply sufficient for our present purpose.

The first point to be determined, as nearly as may be, is the date of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Their authorship is beyond our scope; and it may be admitted without argument that they cannot be widely apart in time.

These poems are earlier than the use of coinage, which, in Asia Minor, may be carried up to about B.C. 700 (Head, *Coinage of Lydia*, 11). Probably before this date there was a time during which unstamped pieces of metal circulated in Asia Minor as a rough medium of exchange. Thus, while the certain lowest date thus obtained is about B.C. 700, the probable one is within the previous century.

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* know nothing of the Olympic festival. It may be presumed, therefore, that they are at least anterior to B.C. 776, which we know was not the date of the institution, but was the beginning of a reckoning by Olympiads. It is true that for some time after the First Olympiad the festival was merely local, but could even such a local meeting have failed to strike the imagination of a poet who, like the writer of the *Odyssey*, must have been well acquainted with what went on in Elis?

The foreign geography of the poems affords evidence of their age, partly positive and partly negative in character. In their whole horizon there is but one great foreign monarchy, Egypt, and its capital is Thebes, cited as the highest type of wealth and warlike power. This could scarcely apply to any time much after the Empire, which closed about B.C. 1200, certainly to none after the one prosperous later reign of Shishak or Sheshonk I., which began about B.C. 970, and probably lasted twenty-one years. After his time, until the middle of the seventh century B.C., Egypt was powerless, and Thebes was deprived of its preponderance and shorn of its glory. Hence we are justified in placing the poems not much after the middle of the tenth century B.C., when the memory of the Empire was yet fresh, and its greatness had been for a moment restored. Assyria nowhere appears in the poems. This seems to exclude the ages of the two Assyrian Empires. Now the earlier Assyrian Empire reached the Mediterranean, and partly, at least, reduced Phœnicia to submission under the first Tiglath Pileser (B.C. cir. 1130-1090); but his reign ended in disasters, and it was not till the age of the Second Empire that the Assyrian armies, under Assur-nazir-habal, in about B.C. 866, again penetrated to the Phœnician coast, at this time making all the great merchant-cities pay tribute. If we may venture to rely on exceptionally strong negative evidence, this absence of

the great and menacing power of Assyria from Homeric geography would point to a time at which the First Empire had passed out of the memory of man, and before the Second had won Phœnicia, that is, between B.C. 1000 and about B.C. 866.

The archæological evidence of the poems points in the same direction. The description of portable objects of art is undoubtedly derived from contemporary works: they were of Phœnician fabric. The most remarkable of these, the shield of Achilles, can, from the fulness of the description, be compared with Phœnician works of similar character of which we know the dates within not very wide limits. The metal bowls from Cyprus figured by General Cesnola, with one exception, show decided Assyrian influence, and are not likely to have been executed before the rule of the Sargonides which began B.C. 721. The similar bowls from Nemrood, which show an earlier style, are probably of the date of the king in whose palace they were stored, Assur-nazir-habal, who reigned from B.C. 882 to 857. In this whole series of Phœnician works, the subjects are such as those which adorned the shield of Achilles, although we must make allowance for poetic amplification as well as condensation of many subjects in one great typical picture. In the centre we sometimes see the sun and stars, in the concentric friezes such incidents as a city besieged by a twofold army, cattle swimming in a river, bulls attacked by lions, and, as a border, the wavy lines of the ocean. A shield from Cyprus presents a scene of lions seizing bulls. A very early Egypto-Phœnician bowl shows us a sacred dance. This last work alone seems anterior to even the Nemrood bowls, otherwise we have no metal-works of this older date which can be compared with the shield of Achilles. It may be safely said, on archæological grounds, that the description of this shield cannot refer to anything much anterior to B.C. 900.

On this evidence, taken altogether, the Homeric poems may be referred with great probability to the earlier part of the ninth century, a date a little before the beginning of the period to which Grote would assign them, between B.C. 850 and 776.

The importance of this date is obvious, for unless the Homeric poems are within traditional reach of the age of the wars of Ramses III. they are useless for the purpose of comparison. If, however, these wars took place between B.C. 1300 and 1250, and the probable date of the poems is early in the ninth century, the experiment of comparison is not unreasonable. In an age of oral tradition a period of at least a century may be allowed for the recollection of earlier events, and thus the interval between the facts of Egyptian history and the Homeric allusions to them may not much exceed two hundred and fifty years. Though it may thus be argued, that while in speaking of historical matters, these poems may be true of a century before they were written, yet we must repeat that, in describing actual objects, especially such as were portable, they must describe the art of their time. Virgil wrote as an archæologist, not so the older poet.

It would be disheartening to try and construct history out of Homer had we no aid beyond that of our Egyptian sources. The discoveries at Mycenæ have finally proved that there is a historical basis in the poems, and afford us what we may call the material side of the Greek evidence. It is needless here to repeat more than the result of a previous inquiry as to their date.* They are of the tenth century B.C., if not older. They present the works of art and weapons of which the poet speaks, with such modifications as might be expected in an earlier period.

Having thus endeavoured to obtain the dates of our documents, we cannot immediately compare them. There is still another preliminary work. It is worse than useless to talk vaguely of the nations with whom the Egyptians warred. We must, as far as we can, define the Egyptian geography of the Eastern Mediterranean. All that is certain or highly probable may be stated in a small space, and it is quite enough for the main lines of the theory. A list of the Egyptian names of their chief Mediterranean enemies will be given at the end of this article.

The attacks which the maritime nations made on Egypt are like the barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire. Nations which seem to have been before unknown, with but three exceptions, suddenly appear, and persistently strive to conquer and to occupy the Delta. They are savages, and all their men are warriors. They bring their women and children with them. Like the Northmen, they are equally at home on sea and on land. The neighbours of Egypt either join them or are carried away by their resistless stream. It is not the least of the achievements of the Egyptians that, attacked on their western and then on their eastern border, and menaced along their defenceless northern coast, they again and again beat back the invaders, or drove them out when they had settled in the Delta, although in the end success was not wholly with the defenders.

The Egyptians divided mankind into four races, who are portrayed in the mural paintings of the Tombs of the Kings. These are the red Egyptians, the yellow 'Aamu (Shemites), the black Negroes, and the white Tamehu, the Libyans, and other races of the Mediterranean, or at least of its eastern portion. It is to the Tamehu that all the maritime enemies of the Egyptians belong. They are represented as fair, with aquiline nose, blue eyes, short red beard, and hair formally curled. This type is maintained, with some variations, in the greater or less aquiline profile, the longer beard of some, and the partly or wholly shaven faces of others, indicating, perhaps, a scantier beard, throughout the representations of the individual nations of this race, the type sometimes approaching the characteristics of the higher Aryan races, sometimes in the prominence of the nose, and the largeness of the lips, reminding us of the Shemite. The nose, however, in these instances, is marked in the bridge, and has not the Shemite droop at the tip, and

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, January 1878, p. 344, sqq.

the forms, generally, are much harsher. These comparisons are of course made between Egyptian representations.

One of the nations of the stock of the Tamehu appears in pictures of the Old Monarchy, where we see the Rebu (Lebu), or Libyans, performing feats of strength. It is very remarkable that at this period they are represented as a brown and not as a white race, whereas, in the sculptures of the Twentieth Dynasty they have a type which is that of the Tamehu, who are painted light in the pictures of the Tombs of the Kings. Did the type change in the interval through the arrival of a lighter population? Certainly the typical Libyan races of our time are fair.

The Tamehu, or white men, are divided into two races, the Tahennu, or Libyans, comprising the Rebu (Lebu) and other cognate north Africans, and the islanders and coastmen of the northern Mediterranean, who are not qualified by any general term, but are linked together by the designation "of the sea" following their names. It may be possible to separate the nearer and remoter of these nations, and to indicate which of them were islanders and which coastmen, but this is at present difficult, and would draw out the article to an unreasonable length.

Under Thothmes III. we have the first hint of the coming conflict. In a panegyric inscription, Amen, the god of Thebes, enumerates the nations of the known world as given by him to the King of Egypt to be subdued: these include the Tahennu, coupled with "the isles of the Tana," a nation whose name is written in later texts Taanau. The term Tahennu, as just noticed, describes the white nations of the north coast of Africa: the Taanau appear later as maritime enemies of Egypt. Thus early, therefore, the commercial or warlike activity of Egypt had come in contact with one of the seafaring nations who afterwards invaded the country.

It is not, however, until the time of Ramses II., while he was co-regent with his father, Setee I., that we read of an actual conflict, and this conflict is an invasion of Egypt. The Shardana and Tuirsha, maritime nations, with the aid of the Libyans, broke into the Delta. This is the first instance of those great confederations which characterize the history of these wars. Of course a confederation of small organized states against a powerful enemy is frequent in all history, and in no part of history more so than in that which tells of the conquests of Egypt and Assyria. The confederations of the Canaanites against the Israelites are equally characteristic. The confederation of uncivilized tribes is far less usual: it may be said to be the exception rather than the rule. Yet it is the characteristic of all these invasions of Egypt, and it is equally the characteristic of the legendary wars of Greece, and was not lost in the historic times, until the state had taken the place of the nation. Its last Greek expression was the confederation against Xerxes. The same instinct is seen in the legendary wars of Italy, where its last expression was the confederation of the Italic tribes in the Social War.

Who were the Tuirsha and the Shardana? The general opinion of Egyptologists has identified them with the Etruscans and the early Sardis, though it would be unwise to fix their position at this time to Etruria and Sardinia. M. Maspero, in fact, has considered these settlements to have been due to their successive repulses from Egypt. Angles came from Danish Angeland, and gave their name to England. So Etruria and Sardinia may merely be the final homes of Etruscans and Sardis. The identification of the Tuirsha with the Etruscans is by no means hazardous. The ordinary form of the name is thought by M. de Rougé to be an exact representation of the Tursce, Turscer, of the Oscan version of the Eugubine Tables, whence Tusculum and Etruscus (*Rev. Arch.*, N.S., xvi. 92). It may be that the Biblical Tarshish, rather than Tiras, originally meant the same race (*Ibid.* 94). If so, the ancient maritime fame of the Tyrrhenians would explain the expression "Ships of Tarshish." It would equally account for the Tuirsha taking the head of the second maritime confederacy, that against Menptah. The identification of the Shardana with the Sardis is philologically sound; its historical probability depends upon the question who were the Tuirsha, and the nations afterwards associated with both.

Ramses II. defeated the invaders and incorporated in his body-guard the Shardana who were taken prisoners.

The great war of Menptah, when, about seventy years later, the maritime enemies of Egypt took up again the enterprise which Ramses his father had crushed, is the second invasion in the series. It is much more formidable than the earlier one. The confederacy is larger than before. The Tuirsha take the lead. Allied with them are three maritime nations, the Shardana and Shakalasha being now named with the Akaiusha, who appear in this war alone; and the Reka (Leka). The king of the Rebu (Libyans) joins them with the forces of two other nations, one of whom is the Libyan Mashuasha. The Shakalasha have been identified with the Sikels, a view which derives some support from their close association in the Egyptian texts with the Shardana, if the Shardana were Sardis; for Sikels and Sardis were probably natural allies, and may have been neighbours before their occupation of Sicily and Sardinia. The Akaiusha "of the sea" but not of islands are, of course, Achæans; but Dr. Brugsch has recognised them in the Colchian Achæans; and, for the present, De Rougé's identification must be reserved for future discussion. The Reka or Leka are of great importance, as figuring also in the confederacy of the Hittites of the Orontes valley against Ramses II. They are thus a link between the eastern and the western wars; and if they are the Lycians, their final settlement in Lycia is suitable to these historical appearances. Of the Libyan races, it may be added that there can be little doubt that the Mashuasha are the Maxyes of classical geography.

The invasion seems to have taken the King of Egypt by surprise.

The enemies had already advanced as far as the south of the Delta, and settled there before the Egyptian army met them at Prosôpis. They were routed, and thus the second war ended. The narrative of Menptah shows circumstances of barbarity, such as mutilation of the slain on the pretext of counting them, which are unusual in Egyptian wars, except in this remarkable series, from this invasion onwards. They were wars with nations not far above the savage state; and the Egyptians fought for their national existence.

A fresh incursion of this kind appears to have marked the disastrous close of the Nineteenth Dynasty, for the next war in the series, the first of those which occupied the earlier years of Ramses III., was the consequence of a long Libyan occupation. It is, therefore, here that the thread of Egyptian history is resumed: the last article had brought it down to the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty, though it has been necessary to retrace our steps, in order to present all the known wars of Egypt with the maritime nations in one view.

It is in the sculptures of the temple of Ramses III. at Medeenet Haboo that we see the maritime enemies of Egypt, and can compare their aspect, their dress, and their arms with what Homer tells us of the early Mediterranean nations. Whether these invaders were Greeks or not, they lived in the Greek islands and neighbouring coasts; and these pictures of them stand nearest to the time of Homer as illustrations of what he describes.

The earliest war of Ramses III. was similar to that of Menptah. The Libyan Mashuasha and Rebu (Lebu), with other tribes, no one of which can be certainly identified, had again settled in Egypt, in the west of the Delta. That this must have been during the troubles at the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty seems evident, from the statement that when Ramses attacked them in his fifth year they had been already "many years" in the country. Again they were driven out.

It is not certain that the maritime nations took any part in the war last mentioned. In the next, the fourth invasion, they attacked Egypt from the east by land and sea. This is the most instructive of all the campaigns, for it clearly proves the strength of the enemy on both elements, even when deprived by land of the support of the Libyans, who seem not to have recovered from their recent disaster. The date was in the eighth year of Ramses. The enemies were the Pelesta, Tekkariu, Taanau (Daanau), Tuirsha, Shakalasha, and Uashasha, maritime nations of the Mediterranean. The Pelesta were first identified with the Philistines, then with the Pelasgi: perhaps they are both. The idea that the great Philistine settlement in Palestine had its origin at this time is worth attention. The race is marked among those around it by striking peculiarities. Its wars with the Israelites have the same savage character as those of the maritime races with the Egyptians; the parallel being true to the detail of mutilation of the slain. Yet, like the Shardana, the Philistines were faithful mercenaries of David their conqueror,

if not his very body-guard. In the Bible the Philistines do not appear as a nation, or at least not as a warlike nation, before the time of the Judges; and this agrees with the theory that their migration from the Isle of Caphtor, probably Cyprus, took place at the time of Ramses III. Nor is their connection in the ethnic table of the tenth chapter of Genesis in race or habitat with the Lehabim, or Lubim, less significant. It well accords with their place among the nations who, in all other confederacies, had the aid of the Libyans.*

The Tekkariu have been identified with the Teucrians. If this is correct, we need not follow those who make them Teucrians of Troy. It is evident from the Teucrid origin of the kings of Salamis of the house of Euagoras, that there was a Teucrian stock in Cyprus, whether allied to Trojans or not we cannot tell.

The Tuirsha and Shakalasha have been, as already noticed, thought to be the Etruscans and Sikels.

The Taanau (Daanau) have been identified with the Danai or Daunians, and the Uashasha with the Oscans. The Daunians and Oscans go well together, like the Sards and Sikels.

The invaders landed on the Syrian coast, and conquered the Hittites of the Orontes valley, the people of Carchemish and Aradus. These, no doubt, had confederated to repel the invasion, as they were leagued before against Ramses II. Having encamped in the conquered country, and levied forces among its population, the northerners passed into Egypt by land, supported by their fleet. At a fort on the eastern Egyptian border they were met by the army of Ramses, while the two fleets fought a battle at sea. The Egyptians achieved a complete victory.

Yet one more invasion, the fifth, had to be met before these persistent enemies were repelled. In the eleventh year of Ramses, the Libyans again invaded Egypt, aided by the Tuirsha and Reka (Leka), and were again defeated.

Thenceforward we hear no more of these terrible invaders. The Empire was secured by the energy of Ramses, or some other movement drew them away. Ramses was thus able to carry a war of reprisals into the enemy's country, and subdued islands of the Mediterranean, and perhaps also the southern coast of Asia Minor. In his list of conquered towns, Dr. Brugsch with reason identifies names of places in Cyprus, and more conjecturally in Asia Minor.

A few words must be added on the arms and manners of these nations, as learnt from the Egyptian sources.

The Pelesta, the Tekkariu, the Taanau, and the Uashasha, are characterized by a helmet or cap in the form of a crest rising at once from the head. The Tuirsha have pointed helmets, the Shardana, rotund

* M. Chabas objects to the identification of the Pelesta with the Philistines on the ground that the type of the people of Askalon, as represented on a sculpture of Ramses II., is distinctly Asiatic. (*Ant. Hist.* 2nd ed. 234,5.) Is it, however, certain that the great Philistine migration had been accomplished at this time? The double identification with Pelasgi and Philistines seems the best.

helmets, decorated with a crescent and a ball rising from the crown. The pointed helmet or cap is found on very early Etruscan and Cyprian figures. The head-gear of the Pelesta and their allies looks like the prototype of the Greek crested helmets. The spoil of the Akaiusha included a kind of armour, which is not expressed by a written word but by a symbol, which, in De Rougé's opinion, represents a greave. If this is correct, and it is difficult to imagine that the symbol can be anything but the picture of a greave with its strap, then the Akaiusha can only be the well-greaved Achæans of Homer. The buckler of all the nations is round and small. The usual weapon of offence is a short and very broad two-edged sword, tapering to its point, but long swords were taken in spoil from a Libyan nation, who alone seem to have used the bow. The javelin is a common weapon, the spear an unusual one. This would be characteristic of nations living rather by the chase than trained for war, and, indeed, the same may be inferred from the use of the short sword rather than the long one. The material of the swords, and the heads of the spears, whenever stated, is bronze. The body-armour is a corslet of bronze, or a kilt, probably of thick linen, but perhaps of bronze.

The ships, unlike the Egyptian galleys, are high in prow and stern, both of which terminate in a bird's head, and, like the Egyptian, have a single mast and square sail. The wives and children of the invaders in the second war with Ramses III. are carried in primitive ox-cars, square in form, made of wood, as well as of wicker-work, and having two solid wooden wheels.

We know little of the civilization of these nations. It was certainly much lower than that of the Egyptians, and the objects of art enumerated in booty taken from them may have been merely a recapture of what had been previously seized in Egypt. Yet they were not mere savages. Their power of organizing and of making long voyages and land marches shows a higher condition. It may be inferred from their carrying their wives and children with them that they had no settled state for the protection of their families, and did not fear to bring them into the dangers of war. It is an error to call these expeditions piratical; they were not made for warlike gain, nor for booty, though war and plunder were inseparable from them. It was the pressure of growing population that caused them, as it caused the conquest of the Roman Empire by the barbarians.

Before the Homeric poems can be compared with the information of the Egyptian sculptures and texts it may be reasonably asked how far the geography of the *Iliad* and that of the *Odyssey* extends. It may be noticed that the *Odyssey* seems to show a greater acquaintance with the West than the *Iliad*, and to be more precise in what it relates of Egypt. It is as if the centre of the poet were further east in the poem of Troy than in the story of Odysseus. But it may be affirmed of the geography of both poems that its horizon includes Greece with western

and southern Asia Minor and shows some acquaintance with Egypt* and the intervening islands, and less with Libya. Italy and Sicily are lands of shadows. Probably it comprises the whole eastern Mediterranean as far as the Adriatic, to the west of which all is obscurity. The Sikel nationality appears, and their character is that of slave-dealers, but their country is not fixed: there is a possible allusion to the grim smile of the piratical Sardinian.

It is therefore reasonable to compare the Iliad and Odyssey with the Egyptian records of the maritime nations. Of course in the interval between Ramses III. and the poems the maritime nations may have moved farther west and passed out of the epic geography. Still, on the whole, we should expect that the view in both cases would not be altogether different.

Proof of this assumption is afforded by the feigned story which Odysseus twice tells at Ithaca, a story like an incident in the maritime invasions of Egypt told by the invaders. An islander of Crete, he was impelled with a desire to go to Egypt, and having joined a party of pirates he sailed to the river Nile, where he harboured his nine ships curved at both ends, if we may so read *νέας ἀμφιέλισσας*, like those of the maritime foes of Egypt. In a night descent his comrades slay the men of the country and carry off the women and children. At dawn the neighbouring city is aroused, and the whole plain filled with horse and foot. The depredators flee: some are slain with brazen weapons, others carried away to work in forced labour, like the captives of Ramses III. The leader throws down his arms and begs the king to spare him, who takes him into his car and carries him home. In Egypt he remains seven years and amasses great wealth, according to the longer version of the tale. Similarly Kapur the Libyan king throws down his arms when attacked by Ramses III., no doubt in his car, for so the Egyptian kings always made war in the plains. The incident is not irrelevant, for it shows that the Libyan chief expected quarter, though it seems he did not receive it; and this is a proof that these wars of Ramses III., savage as they were, did not reach the ferocious conditions of those of the kings of Assyria. Like the hero of the tale of Odysseus the captives were sometimes allowed to settle in Egypt and become important colonists.

The arms of the Homeric warriors are the same as those of the enemies of Egypt, with such difference as time and variety of race would explain. The comparison would be difficult had we not the discoveries at Mycenæ for illustration, which undoubtedly stand much nearer the date of Ramses III. than do the poems, and we may

* The description of the harbour of Pharos would be strongly in favour of his view, were it not for the expression

Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε
τόσσον ἀνευθ', ὅσσον τε πανημερίη γλαφυρή νηὺς
ἤνυσεν, ἢ λιγύς οὖρος ἐπιπνείησιν δπισθεν.

But why is not Aegyptus here the Nile, and the mouth of the Canopic Branch?

with certain reserves use the still more ancient remains from the Troad.

The Homeric names of the sword and similar weapons are curious as indicative of their origin. *Ξίφος* of no certain Greek derivation is probably the Egyptian *sef(t)*, the sword.* *Μάχαίρα* the dirk, again not proved to be Greek, may be from the Hebrew *mechérâh*, מִכְרֶה, if, as is most probable, that difficult word is to be rendered "sword," though we need not follow the Rabbins in deriving the Hebrew from the Greek, as where the occurrence in the song of Jacob is thus commented on by Rabbi Eliezer, "He (Jacob) cursed their sword in the Greek language" (שָׁקַל אֶת חֶרְבָם בַּלִּשָׁן יוֹנִית), *Pirke, R. Eliezer*, 38), thus showing his extreme anger with Simeon and Levi. *Ἄορ* or *ἄορ* and *φάσγανον* are obviously Greek.

The bronze swords from Mycenæ show two types, one a very long and narrow two-edged weapon, originally over three feet in length, without the hilt. One blade measured 3ft. 2in., and must therefore have been originally with the hilt 4ft. long. The Egyptian monuments do not show in their pictures of the maritime enemies any swords of this type, but in the list of the booty taken from the Mashuasha we find "swords of 5 cubits 115, swords of 3 cubits 124." (*Dümichen Hist. Inschr.* xxvii.)† If we take the measures to be by the royal cubit they would represent respectively 8½ft. and a little over 5ft.; if the lesser cubit, which does not seem to have been the official measure‡ is intended, these dimensions would be reduced to 7ft. 4in., and about 4ft. 2in. The last dimension is that of the longest swords for Mycenæ. The longer weapon was probably a sword-blade fixed in a long shaft like a sword-bayonet attached to a rifle.

The shorter sword from Mycenæ, which is the far rarer type, appears to have been broad at the lower part, tapering to a point, and in one case about a foot long in the blade (Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, 282), but we cannot say with certainty what was its average length. The maritime and Libyan enemies of the Egyptians carry a sword of this form.

The rare one-edged sword of Mycenæ has the shape of a falchion in the Egyptian pictures, where it is not a common weapon. It is not certainly recognized in the Homeric poems.

Homer knew rather the short spear than the javelin; the enemies of Egypt carry a spare javelin; they rarely hold a spear. The spear-heads of Mycenæ, having lost their shafts, may belong to either class of spear.

The bow is not so common as other weapons of offence in the Homeric poems; in the Egyptian pictures it is characteristic, as already remarked, of the Libyan nations.

* The Arabic *seuf* a sword, which is a Semitic word (cf. the Hebrew שֶׁפֶר) is not likely to be the origin of the Greek word, as we do not trace it in this sense in Palestine.

† These dimensions are so extraordinary that it may be well to mention that they are accepted by Chabas (*Ani. Hist.*, 2nd ed., 244) and Brugsch (*Hierog.-demot. Wörterbuch*, 1213).

‡ De Rougé, *Chrestom.*, Eg. II. 120, from which the dimensions are computed.

The Homeric shield is evidently very large, unlike the shields of the enemies of Egypt. The solitary shield from Dr. Schliemann's excavations in the Troad is small and round, so also is a shield from Cyprus, which is probably of about the seventh century B.C. One of the very remarkable gold signet rings from Mycenæ shows a warrior covered by an enormous shield. The Etruscan shields are round, but far larger than those portrayed on the Egyptian monuments as borne by the maritime peoples.

In the Bible are indications confirmatory of the Egyptian records. At the time of the Exodus (before B.C. 1300) there was war on the Philistine coast. During the interval between the Exodus and the conquest of Canaan some mysterious scourge, "the hornets," weakened the Canaanites and made their conquest easier. Was this the overthrow of the Hittites and Amorites of the Orontes valley by the maritime confederacy in the time of Ramses III., probably within forty years after the Exodus, which would have prevented these northern Canaanites from joining in the southern and northern leagues against Joshua?

Let us now look at the broad historical features of the ages in which the records have been reviewed, though any but a brief outline would tend to disturb the progress of inductive research. In the time of the Ramesides, from about B.C. 1400 to 1250 roughly, the Mediterranean nations were passing from a stage which was probably that of hunters into that of warriors seeking more fertile lands. In the age of Homeric tradition they had attained the settled stage, and the few who retained the old restlessness were pirates. The three stages are easily paralleled in the history of the Northern nations of Europe. If the Homeric poems do not describe the same races as do the Egyptian records, they describe but another phase of the history of the same part of the world. Yet the reader will do well to hesitate before he abandons the interpretations of De Rougé, which have a solid coherence in themselves, and are singularly consistent with Homeric tradition, in favour of Dr. Brugsch's novel views, which though they begin with a contradiction of his predecessor end in a compromise. If he is curious to pursue the inquiry he will see in the list appended to this article that all *prima facie* probability is in favour of the system of De Rougé. It is to be hoped that the controversy will not be allowed to rest until it has been finally settled. The prolonged silence of Egyptologists on this vexed question would throw a lasting discredit on their critical skill and their interest in the gravest problems suggested by the ancient Egyptian texts and monuments.

List of Principal Maritime and Libyan Enemies of Egypt.

	<i>De Rougé, &c.</i>	<i>Brugsch.</i>
Akaiusha	Achæans	Achæans of Caucasus
Mashuasha	Maxyes	Maxyes

	<i>De Rougé, &c.</i>	<i>Brugsch.</i>
Pelesta	{ Pelasgi Philistines }	Prosoditæ
Rebu (Lebu)	Libyans	Libyans
Reka (Leka)	Lycians	Ligyæ
Shakalasha	Sikels	Zagylis, people of
Shardana	Sards	Sardones, Chartani
Taanau (Daanau)	Daunians, Danai	Teneia, Taineia, people
Tahennu	Libyans	Marmaridæ [of
Tekkariu	Teucrians	Zyges, Zygritæ
Tuirsha	Etruscans	Taurians
Uashasha	Oscans	Ossctes.

REGINALD STUART POOLE.

BAD TRADE, AND ITS CAUSE.

I.

THE DISCREDITING OF SILVER.

ENGLAND has now entered upon the sixth year of commercial and manufacturing distress and decadence. There is as yet not a single ray of light shooting up through the dark mercantile horizon. A crisis without parallel in the experience of the present generation not only rests upon us, but intensifies as time rolls on. When a condition of affairs baffling all experience acquired in previous times of prostration exists, it is surely our paramount duty to investigate and to inquire whether this prolonged distress may not be traced in large measure to some special or peculiar cause.

My object in writing this paper is to call attention to the serious injury inflicted on our commerce by the discrediting of silver; and my contention is, that the practical cutting off of silver from the world's money has been at the root of much of our distress during late years, and is now one of the chief hindrances to the return of prosperity. Undoubtedly, our declension in 1873, 1874, and part of 1875, was the natural revulsion from undue extension, and from the unduly high prices paid for labour, and the products of our industry. Since 1875 these causes, however, have ceased to operate. It is undoubtedly true that hostile tariffs and the competition of several nations (particularly the United States) have greatly curtailed the demand for our manufactured goods which previously existed within their borders; but we have a large and open field almost to ourselves in many quarters of the globe; and the lamentable fact is, that in these regions, peculiarly our own, trade continues to languish as it does elsewhere, and the demand for our goods is greatly restricted and diminished.

It will not be questioned that the large increase of the world's money, due to the Australian and Californian gold discoveries, led to

a great extension of the world's commerce. The interchange of commodities was marvellously stimulated; labour had for many years a greatly augmented recompense; the material comfort and welfare of mankind were greatly promoted; real and personal property increased enormously in value all over the civilized world; the foreign commerce of England alone rose from £250,000,000 in 1852 to £650,000,000 in 1875; the foreign commerce of many other nations rose in like proportion. From the surplus gains of our commerce in those years we invested many hundreds of millions of pounds sterling in State and Corporation bonds, railways, and industrial enterprises, and in property and mortgages in foreign countries—leaving us immeasurably wealthier as a nation, notwithstanding many foolish investments, such as Turkish, Peruvian, and Paraguayan bonds. It is difficult to believe that so great prosperity and increase of national wealth had proceeded from a cause apparently so inadequate to produce results so fabulous. Such, however, was in large measure the result of the enlarged reservoir of the world's money created by the accession of gold from the Australian and Californian mines. It acted as a stream of warm blood impelled through all the arteries of the world's commerce, vitally and powerfully stimulating the vast organisms of trade and industry.

We have in this, our late national experience, a direct contradiction to the theories of some political economists who assert that, after all, international commerce is only barter, and that money has little or nothing to do with its extent or volume. The very small measure of truth underlying this assertion has led many intelligent minds astray. It is because the largely increased supply of money had guaranteed to men and nations the payment of large international balances that the volume of the world's trade, prior to 1874, had augmented with such marvellous rapidity. And now it is in great measure because the world has of late greatly restricted and diminished the capacity of its money reservoir that distress and calamity augment and intensify around us. A large portion of the life-blood of commerce has been artificially congealed. The whole organism has felt the shock; but the financial intellect has become so beclouded and benumbed as not to have fully realized, even yet, the cause of the deadening paralysis which has overtaken it.

Let us present for consideration the diagnosis:—The world, of late years, traded on an effective metallic capital estimated at £1,400,000,000. Of this, we have good evidence for believing that about

£750,000,000 were Gold Coins and Bullion
and £650,000,000 „ Silver Coins and Bullion.

Now, we assert that the world, of late, has been committing the suicidal act of discarding, discrediting, and cutting off from performing its wonted functions one of the two agents or solvents for the liquidation of balances of international indebtedness. In other words, the world, acting under the legal injunctions of the leading monetary

Powers, has divorced from its monetary system that silver which, from time immemorial, has, conjointly with gold, formed its "money." Widespread suffering has been the inevitable result of its folly.

Our unwise legislation of 1816, which made gold sole legal tender in England, has been the underlying cause of all this evil. For years we played upon the currencies of Europe; and often swept away large quantities of silver for transmission to India, where, with an admirable contradiction in our monetary legislation, we have enforced a silver currency. While availing ourselves of the stores of silver belonging to our Continental neighbours, we constantly vaunted about the superiority of our gold currency, and stimulated them to follow our short-sighted example. Even a Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lowe) boasted in full Parliament, in the year 1869, that he had made a convert of France. Germany, however, stole a march on France in the insane career which we had pointed out to them as the high road to success, and in 1874 decreed the demonetization of silver and its substitution by gold. France, which had, in conjunction with the States of the Latin Union, provided for the world an equilibrium or par of exchange between the two metals, by means of her free-mintage system and making both metals full legal tender on the ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold, thereupon suspended the free coinage of silver. France was driven to this act by the unwise monetary legislation of powerful neighbours. The par of exchange provided betwixt gold and silver money was thereby lost to the world. Silver was dethroned. War to the knife was declared against that metal. Gold now reigns supreme and omnipotent.

The results have been disastrous in the extreme. The hard money capital of the world has been practically reduced from £1,400,000,000 to £800,000,000, and yet men are at a loss to account for the greatly reduced interchange of commodities, and the greatly reduced prices now paid for property, for goods, and for labour!

A large and influential committee of merchants in Liverpool is now investigating this question, and the following are the conclusions they have arrived at in so far as the effects of the discrediting of silver on the world's commerce are concerned:—

1st.—"That the recent shrinkage in value of the world's silver money, measured in gold, is very large, and there is every reason to fear that, with the prospect before us, the depreciation will continue to increase.

2nd.—"That there has been, besides, much diminution in the value of investments of English capital in the public funds, railways, &c., of silver-using countries.

3rd.—"That we are now compelled to look upon the silver of the world as in large measure cut off from its previous sphere of usefulness as one of the two agents for the liquidation of international indebtedness.

4th.—"That the serious diminution of the world's money, caused by the disuse of silver, may, in the future, lead to frequent panics, through the inadequate supply of gold for the world's wants.

5th.—"That the uncertainty regarding the course of exchanges, in the future,

largely prevents the further investment of English capital in the public funds of silver-using countries, or in railways, industrial enterprises, and commercial credits.

6th.—“That the friction and harassment now attending business with silver-using countries, as India, China, Java, Austria, Chile, Mexico, and others, naturally lead merchants to curtail their operations in the export of our manufactured goods, and to restrict the employment of English capital in such business.

7th.—“That this is a most serious question for India, which many believe to be so impoverished as not to be able to bear increased taxation.

8th.—“That the depreciation of silver seriously affects the power of silver-using States to purchase English manufactures, and leads to increased taxation, thus further curtailing the trade which has hitherto been carried on in English commodities.”*

These conclusions by no means exhaust the category of untoward results. The picture could be greatly heightened in colouring, but they are enough for our purpose, accounting as they do for the greatly diminished demand there now is for our textile fabrics, railway materials, machinery, and other things from vast and populous regions of the globe, whose money is now useless to us, and unsuitable for the discharge of our trade accounts. Merchants are at their wits' end. They are shut up to refuse credits in silver-using countries. They are baffled in all their exchange calculations. They are driven to restrict their operations. The malign and adverse influence acts and reacts. The distress intensifies. Manchester warehouses are filled to repletion with unsaleable stocks. Iron rails go down to a point lower than ever known. Many good opportunities for developing the resources of other countries, and of investing English capital, pass unheeded and unavailed of. Men inquire what will the silver dollar or the rupee be worth six months or six years hence in the London market; and the deduction from late monetary legislation prompts the reply that there is no bottom to the fall. India may be ruined—our investments may be worthless; and the inevitable conclusion is that we must minimise our risks, restrict our operations, draw in our capital from silver-using countries, and let

* The Special Committee of Inquiry at Liverpool was nominated a few weeks ago by the Chamber of Commerce, but the selection was not confined to members of that body. The Committee numbers seventeen merchants and bankers—men holding positions of the highest influence in the community. Since these pages were written they have investigated the main facts regarding the production of the two precious metals, and they have found that whereas the supply of silver from the mines of the world early this century was in relation to gold as 3 to 1, the relative production was reversed twenty-five years ago, when the yield of gold amounted to £33,000,000 per annum. At the present time the production is reduced to less than £19,000,000 of gold—while silver is also falling off, and may now be taken at about £13,500,000.

Their investigations are not yet concluded, but the Committee have (when this note is being written) passed the following additional Resolutions, which, without attempting to foreshadow their ultimate conclusions, must inevitably point to the necessity for the rehabilitation of silver in the world:—

“That the recent great fall in the price of silver is principally to be attributed to the suspension of free-mintage in France and the States of the Latin Union, consequent upon the adverse action of Germany in demonetizing silver.

“That the bi-metallic system of France and the other States of the Latin Union, in conjunction with free-mintage, prior to 1875, tended to provide an equilibrium between the two metals, and to give stability to all exchanges betwixt England and silver-using countries.”

things take their chance. The *Economist* and Mr. Giffen prophesied three years ago that trade would soon mend. They ridiculed our fears and what they called our heroic remedies. But the world now knows they were prophets who prophesied pleasant things because men loved to have it so.

But where can an adequate remedy for all this mischief and evil be found? Our reply is: Restore again to its proper place the metal that has been dethroned. Let it have a joint sway with gold in a fixed and determinate proportion, established on a broader and surer basis than ever before. In other words, rehabilitate silver to the rank of "money," in conjunction with gold, in Europe, Asia, and America. Let England, France, the States of the Latin Union, the United States of America, and India adopt the bi-metallic money system, by solemn international covenant, and the difficulty is solved. The congealed life-blood will again dissolve and flow through the arteries of commerce. The lost part of exchange with silver-using countries will be established more effectively than ever before. India will be rescued from impending bankruptcy. The sun of prosperity, now greatly obscured, will shine again on the face of the earth. And the sum of human happiness, so far as material comfort is concerned, will again be greatly augmented.

On the other hand, do nothing; follow still longer the teachings of the *laissez aller* prophets of 1876, and our misfortunes are prolonged; and the gloom, which now as with a thick mantle covers our distressed industries and commerce, becomes intensified.

Let it be remembered that the evils which now exist were all foretold with marvellous exactitude by the advocates of bi-metallism. In 1869 Mr. Ernest Seyd, in his able pamphlet entitled the "Depreciation of Labour and Property which would follow the Demonetization of Silver," warned European financiers of the dangerous character of the projects which were then the subjects of discussion. His warnings were unheeded. Surely this incontrovertible fact entitles the Bi-metallic School of Economy to demand a more dispassionate consideration of the remedial measures they propose than has up to this point been accorded to them by the leaders and guides of public opinion.

Aversion from touching their currency laws is, on the whole, a safe state of mind for a people to cherish. It is, moreover, easy to be orthodox, and it requires some degree of moral courage to face the charge of heresy. This is the only explanation that can be offered for the impatience with which, in almost every quarter, a fair hearing has been hitherto refused to the advocates of the bi-metallic money system. The aversion was sententiously epitomized by the late Mr. Bagehot in the *Economist* of 30th December, 1876, in the following words:—"The English people, rightly or *wrongly* [mark the true English obstinate orthodoxy in the use of the word *wrongly*] will never consent to change their currency"! That this was the determined attitude of the English mind has on such-like evidence or

reasoning, re-echoed by the press, been apparently taken for granted by our rulers, and the assumption is the only excuse for their recent course of action. It doubtless accounts for the fact that at the late Monetary Conference held in Paris, our delegates appeared with instructions binding them "to take no part in any vote which would call in question the maintenance of our single gold standard." Thus it has happened that England, the greatest monetary Power, rendered abortive a Conference which, if it had been prepared *ex animo* to consider the questions presented for solution by the United States, might have rendered the very highest service to mankind.

But time keeps rolling on. No daylight appears. Adversity intensified lifts up her voice and becomes a hard but yet a true teacher. What if, after all, it be found that England has not even dispassionately considered the question, while certain financial dogmatists have proclaimed that she has emphatically pronounced against the bi-metallic money system? I put this as an interrogation. I desire that it shall be considered on good grounds as an affirmation. England has *not* pronounced against the international adoption of bi-metallism. The press, led by the *Economist*, has, it is true, been against us; but there are now hopeful signs that a better state of mind is beginning to prevail. The English people are ever ready to adopt such wise and salutary measures as are most likely to advance their material prosperity; but the question is too technical for popular discussion, and not having been submitted to the popular judgment it is an utter fallacy to maintain that the English people have taken any resolution whatever in regard to it. From absolute knowledge I aver that the ranks of the bi-metallists have, during the past few months, been greatly augmented, and that our views have of late in many influential quarters made very important and satisfactory progress. It is no breach of confidence to say that one of our deputies to the Paris Conference writes to me that he finds much less aversion from our views in the City than he imagined had existed, and my belief is that if the Government had had any idea of the preparedness of the public mind calmly and rationally to face this question, the instructions given to the Paris delegates would have been couched in terms altogether different from those they carried with them across the Channel.

Nature again, which it was popularly imagined for some time had pronounced against our cause, has come to our assistance. The Nevada mines have really all along been uttering a plea for bi-metallism. It ought to be known that the ore produced from these mines yields almost exactly 50 per cent. value in gold, and 50 per cent. value in silver. That is to say, the weight of the pure metal when smelted is about fifteen or sixteen of silver against one of gold. This ought to have been received as the language of encouragement. She now speaks in accents of warning, for the yield of gold from the mines of the world is markedly falling off. The annual value is now only about

£18,000,000, against £22,000,000 a few years ago, and £33,000,000 in the year 1852. The yield of silver is also falling off. The American yield of silver in 1878 was \$37,000,000, and the yield of gold \$37,000,000, while the estimates for 1879 are pointing to considerably diminished quantities of both metals. These important facts have not escaped the attention of Mr. Giffen, the statistician of the Board of Trade. Mr. Giffen in 1876 was one of the propagators of the *laissez aller* doctrine in regard to the demonetization of silver. He is now calling public attention to the fact that the gold supplies are markedly falling off. He deprecates the further disuse of silver, and hints at the necessity for our Government turning their attention to the serious questions involved in the diminution in the supply of money.*

I will now proceed to deal with the difficulties, real or imaginary, which are popularly understood to be a barrier to the rehabilitation of silver as "money," in addition to those which I have already incidentally disposed of.

First.—It is objected that it is beyond the prerogative of nations to fix a ratio of valuation or exchangeability between the two metals; and that it is practically impossible for them to do so.

To this objection we reply that it is as much within the sphere of national prerogative to choose both metals for money as to elect one; and seeing that it is of world-wide importance that both gold and silver shall continue to be used, it is impossible to form the unit "money" out of the two metals except by means of a fixed legal ratio or propor-

* Statistics have been published showing the downward tendency of the prices of many commodities of late, and it is alleged that decreasing values must be attributed to a rise in the value of gold. Amongst these figures we find a place assigned to silver, and it is contended that its reduced value shews that it has only shared the fate of many other commodities. The hope is held out to us that when the tide of prosperity returns, silver will rise in price just as corn or cotton may be expected to advance. Such reasoning is altogether fallacious. The statistics to which I allude refer chiefly to variations in the prices of commodities that are annually produced in quantities more or less adequate for immediate use and consumption. The prices of these commodities are governed by laws altogether different from those which, prior to 1876, governed the relation between gold and silver money—a relation which it is now our effort to get restored on a stronger basis than ever existed before. Let me illustrate this difference and at the same time the hopelessness of the present position of silver. If we have a twenty per cent. short wheat crop this year in England and France (as may occur), and if the United States' crop is short, we may see the price of wheat rise—even in these bad times—from forty shillings up to fifty-five shillings or sixty shillings per quarter. If the United States' cotton crop were to fall off twenty per cent., we should undoubtedly see the price of cotton rise in the Liverpool market at least one penny per lb., or about the same per centage. But if the yield of the silver-mines were to fall off twenty per cent. this year, and if India has no large trade balance to receive (as may be the case), instead of seeing silver rise in price, we are likely, notwithstanding the diminished production, to see it continue to go markedly down as reckoned in gold—even much under the present quotation. Why? Simply because the laws which were wont to govern the relation between gold and silver having been abrogated or suspended, the discredited metal becomes mere merchandize, and *must* go down in price in the London market. Before silver was discredited as money, it was maintained with very unimportant oscillations in a fixed ratio to gold, by French monetary law, whatever the variations were in the yield of the mines. That ratio is now lost to the world, and silver will ere long be only worth what the silversmith may choose to pay for it—perhaps one shilling or two shillings per ounce. Until the two ideas of "money" and "commodity" are distinctly separated, there can be no clear thought on the subject. I have considered it best, in order not to break the continuity of my main argument, to put these observations in the form of a foot-note.

tion betwixt them. We allege, moreover, in the words of the Italian Delegates to the Paris Conference that "since the French law established such a relation, none but unimportant oscillations occurred in the relative value of the two metals (till the law was suspended): consequently if the French law obtained by itself such a beneficent result, *à fortiori* such a relation would be established on a basis that would remain unshaken, from the date on which nations as France, England, and the United States, agreed by international law to fix the relative value of the two metals."

Second.—It is alleged that if a few nations remained outside of the international covenant they might at any time endanger the equilibrium.

We reply to this objection that the adoption of the bi-metallic money system is only proposed on the understanding that the leading monetary Powers shall agree to it, and that on a uniform ratio. It is essential for absolute safety that France (perhaps with the States of the Latin Union, Belgium, and Italy), England, with her colonies, the United States, and India should adopt it. Now these countries are, and are likely to be, the great absorbents of money. Holland would undoubtedly join us. Germany cannot keep the bullion she recently acquired, not as the reward of industry but as the spoils of war, and can never endanger the equilibrium. Russia, Austria, Spain and Portugal, Brazil, the South American Republics are all internationally indebted to the leading monetary States. They are consequently never likely to be able to play on the currencies of the Great Powers. It is much more likely they will all fall in with the money system adopted by the latter, as that which will afford the greatest safety; and we know some of them are ready to do so. We therefore say that it is capable of demonstration that no power on earth could upset the equilibrium established on such a basis as we propose; and in the face of the enormous advantages we can point to as likely to be obtained through its adoption, we maintain that it is a suicidal policy on the part of England to hesitate and hold back. She is the nation most deeply interested, and she is suffering more than any other from the ruinous consequences of the mono-metallic propaganda which her financiers inaugurated.

Third.—It is sometimes said that the fixing of a ratio, and making either metal unlimited legal tender, may be unfair to the creditor, as the debtor will naturally discharge his obligations with the cheaper metal.

To this stock objection we reply, that after the adjustment of such an international covenant as we have indicated, there would thenceforth be neither a cheaper nor a dearer metal. It is capable of mathematical demonstration that the ratio will remain absolute and unshaken. An ounce of silver will be equal to the 15th or 16th (or whatever the ratio be fixed at) part of an ounce of gold; and an ounce of gold will be identical in value and power to 15 or 16 ounces of silver. If silver

can be made unlimited legal tender on such a ratio, it would be absurd to imagine that the producers of it will take less than the ratio guarantees, so long as the mints of the world are open for automatic coinage without charge into legal-tender money. Nor would it ever be needful to pay more than the legal ratio for bullion, seeing that coin of full value would be available for trade purposes when wanted. When the potency of the French equilibrium during seventy years is considered, and when we reflect on the very small oscillations that occurred, notwithstanding the very great variations in the supply of the two metals, we surely ought to be entirely free from apprehension if the proposed ratio be established on the broad and solid foundations which have been suggested. Once establish the ratio with automatic coinage free of charge, and the term "price," as applied to either gold or silver, is for ever abolished. They become "money." Men use money to acquire property or commodities, or to lend it on variable terms. They will never *sell* it. Consequently, to speak of "price," or of the "cheaper" or "dearer" metal thenceforth, will be found to be either a paradox or a misuse of terms.

Fourth.—It is said we thus propose to create two standards, and that this is a wholly artificial arrangement which cannot be advocated on scientific grounds.

We reply, that all monetary arrangements are, in a certain sense, artificial, and that it is no more unscientific for nations to choose both metals for their money than to rest their currency on one metal only. Much may be said on purely scientific grounds in favour of a preference for the use of both metals. And in regard to the term "standard," we affirm that the world has often suffered from the senseless jargon of political economists. The term "standard," in respect of money, ought logically to have reference only to the weight and fineness of the coin. In this sense only was it understood when first introduced. As for the rest, let the eminent Hamilton, Secretary of the American Treasury in 1792, speak to us again, as he did then, in the following words of world-wide significance and wisdom :—

"Upon the whole it seems to be most advisable, as has been observed, not to attach the unit exclusively to either of the metals: because this cannot be done effectually without destroying the office and character of one of them as money, and reducing it to the situation of a mere merchandize To annul the use of either of the metals as money, is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full with the evils of a scanty circulation."

The "unit" created by bi-metallism is legal-tender "money," composed of the two elements or metals, gold and silver, conjoined by an absolutely fixed link or ratio of relative value attached to them, according to our proposal, by the force of international monetary law.

Fifth.—Objections to bi-metallism are sometimes made on the ground

that perhaps there may be a very large development in the production of one of the metals, and not of the other.

Our answer is—the more the better for the world. It matters not whether the colour be white or yellow. Both are “money,” and the world has ample room for the employment of much more money than it yet possesses.

Sixth.—It is sometimes urged as an objection to our views, that as this is a question of “supply and demand,” we somehow contravene the principles of Free Trade in our contention.

To this objection we reply, that it is entirely a question of *law*, and not of demand and supply. Where law prevents the use of a metal in the monetary system of any country, there can be no demand for it, except for manufacturing purposes. The principles of Free Trade were rather contravened by the innovators who fostered the propaganda for a universal gold currency in Europe, the injury caused by whose teachings we are now seeking to counteract by this plea for a return to the world’s old conservative method of basing its currencies on both the precious metals—gold and silver.

I understand that at the Paris Conference Mr. Goschen rightly admitted that the “cost of production” theory has no place in this question. It would be a waste of time and space to deal with this or any of the other inappropriate objections which, on reflection, will be seen to be without force or application.

My hope is now strong that some of our leading statemen will discover, and go along with the current of public opinion, which in many quarters is now running very markedly in the direction of the views I have thus inadequately advocated. That England is determined to adhere to gold only as “money,” to her own enormous loss and prejudice, will, I believe, be found to be a popular delusion. Englishmen in the past, though slow to move, have, in the end, been ready to adopt any wise measures likely to promote their material prosperity. The time has fully come when the serious consideration of our wisest men must be turned to our monetary legislation; and I am not without hope that these few pages may be at least useful in turning the attention of some earnest men to what I conceive to be the best method of solving the most vital economic question of our time.

STEPHEN WILLIAMSON,

(Messrs. BALFOUR, WILLIAMSON & Co.)

LIVERPOOL, March 22nd, 1879.

II.

THE EASTERN TRADE AND THE PRECIOUS METALS.

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2. *An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals.* By WILLIAM JACOB, F.R.S. Two vols. London: 1831.
3. *Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons upon the Depreciation of Silver.* Parl. Paper: 1876.

OF the many fascinations which the East has held over the thoughts and imagination of mankind, the chief and underlying element has been its reputation for vast wealth in gold and silver. The fanciful "Tales of the Genii" have been almost rivalled by the legends and "travellers' tales" of Oriental magnificence—of the wealth and pageantries of the Courts of the East, from the "Persic pomp" of Horace to the glories of the Great Mogul and the mediæval fables of the Court of Prester John. In authentic history some of the most exciting and romantic chapters are those which narrate the daring enterprises by land and sea by which the young world of Europe strove to reopen communication with the grand old kingdoms of Asia after the earliest and direct routes through Syria and Egypt had become closed and barred by the races which overthrew and established themselves upon the ruins of the Eastern empire of Rome and Byzantium. It was the fame of the Great Khan and the Golden Horde in the depths of Upper Asia and of the Mogul Emperors in India which led Marco Polo, Mandeville, and other bold adventurers to undertake their marvellous expeditions into the unknown solitudes of the Old World,—into the realms of heathendom, of paganism, and Mahound, and which first brought back tidings of Cathay, a new world of civilization lying at the extremity of Asia. It was to reach the Indies and Cathay and the fabled Court of Prester John that the Portuguese mariners toiled and Vasco da Gama succeeded in circumnavigating Africa, unknowing at the outset whether that Continent did not extend to the Southern Pole, for the classic records of its circumnavigation by the navies of the Pharaohs and Carthage were still unknown to reviving Europe. It was with the same object that Columbus, forced to adopt another route than that just discovered, and conceded in monopoly by the Pope to Portugal, faced the wild Atlantic, steering his little squadron through the region of the great calm and of the grassy sea, and stumbled upon a New World. And, well-nigh forgotten though it now be, it was the same object—viz., to reach the Indies, and by a route unmonopolized by Spaniard or Portuguese, that the ever-memorable search for the North-west passage was begun by the mariners of England and the North, who hoped to reach the golden Indies by rounding the American Continent on the north as Magellan and the Spaniards had done by the south. Even the North Cape was turned and Spitzbergen discovered in

a similar search eastward along the ice-bound coast of northern Asia. The Indies, in short, were the golden goal of daring discoverers for several centuries both by land and sea.

At the present day, although fable has died out, and India is no longer a land of gold, the importance of communication with the East is recognized as fully as ever; and the Eastern trade, as we shall see, has played the grandest rôle both in commercial and monetary affairs throughout the remarkable epoch of prosperity which the world has witnessed since the birth of the present generation. One of the greatest mechanical triumphs of the age has been the construction of the Suez Canal—reopening a water-way between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean in better fashion than had been done in ancient times by the Pharaohs. And still the work of opening communication with eastern Asia goes on. The Egyptian Canal is a vast improvement upon the route by the Cape of Good Hope, round which the navies of mediæval Europe, and more recently our fleets of Indiamen, used to toil by a six months' voyage. But even the new Canal is not enough for the commercial wants of Europe and the imperial interests of England. The Syrian route and the Euphrates Valley railway will ere long carry the steam-car on the track of the camel and the caravan, along the earliest routes of commerce,—awakening the echoes of the long-silent solitudes where once stood mighty Nineveh and Babylon, and their evanescent successors Seleucia and Ctesiphon, and restoring Bagdad and Bussorah to some of their old grandeur and more than their old prosperity.

Moreover, this trade with the East has played, and still plays, an important part in connection with the flood of the precious metals which has poured into the world since the discovery of the gold-mines of California and Australia, and the equally rich, though less extensive silver-mines of Nevada—an influx of metallic wealth which has been by far the most striking feature in recent history, and which has given to Europe a Golden Age even more remarkable than the Silver Age, produced by the discovery of America, three centuries ago. It is impossible to understand the monetary events and history of the last thirty years, the most memorable period in modern Europe, and probably the most prosperous which the world ever experienced, without possessing a knowledge of the contemporaneous trade with the East and of its influence upon this tide of the precious metals. This trade itself has undergone a remarkable expansion during the present generation, constituting one of the most striking effects of the gold discoveries; and this expansion of commercial intercourse with the countries of Asia has proved the monetary salvation of the Western world, while improving the material condition of East and West alike. Also, within the last half-dozen years that trade has become seriously complicated—subjected to new conditions, which have chiefly produced the fall in the value of silver which now troubles both Europe and America, and which most injuriously affects the fortunes of India,

together with the interests of many thousands of our fellow-countrymen resident in that country.

For three centuries or more—ever since civilization began to revive in Europe—there has been a steady flow of the precious metals to the East. About the beginning of the last century the fact became observed and commented upon by historical and other writers of a reflective cast of mind. But at first, indeed for a considerable time, it was a mystery. The current was manifest : there it flowed, a flood of gold and silver ever running Eastwards, breaking and disappearing upon the shores of the Levant and the Indies. And as the fact became investigated, it clearly appeared that this Eastward current of the precious metals had been long in existence, and was a permanent phenomenon. But how was it to be accounted for? Easy as the explanation may be nowadays, the fact at first was simply recognized without being explained. It was a mystery. Gold and silver seemed to be attracted to the East in somewhat the same inscrutable manner as the baser metal iron is attracted to the Poles.

What added to the mystery was, that this drain of the precious metals to the East was a great change from what had been the course of things in the ancient world. Europe had obtained almost its entire stock of gold and silver—which was so large under the first Roman Emperors—from the countries of the East. The East was proverbially the prolific mother both of gems and of the precious metals. Classic poets had long preceded Milton in singing “the wealth of Ormuzd and of Ind.” Babylon and Egypt had amassed vast stores of gold and silver, while Europe was still “the Dark Continent,” a waste and howling wilderness. In the royal palace which Diodorus saw at Thebes—doubtless the Ramessium—the King, the great Ramses, was depicted “in glorious colours,” offering to the gods the produce of his mines of gold and silver, the quantity there recorded amounting to no less than six millions sterling. And did not the famous Semiramis erect a temple at Babylon to the supreme god, Bel, whereon stood three statues of the chief deities forty feet in height, all of beaten gold, with an altar before them, forty feet long by fifteen in breadth, likewise of gold, and plenished by large golden censers and drinking-vases : the quantity of gold employed in this single work being equivalent, according to the Abbé Barthélemy, to no less than eleven millions sterling ! Was not the great Median capital and fortress of Ecbatana a glittering mass of plated gold and silver, the very tiles being of silver, the capture of which place yielded Alexander the Great forty millions sterling in the precious metals ; and, after being three times plundered, did not its mere *débris* yield to Antiochus gold and silver which, when coined, amounted to upwards of a million pounds of our money ? Likewise Persepolis yielded to Alexander twenty-seven millions sterling of treasure, nearly all of it doubtless derived from its palaces. Of the gold and silver in their greatest seat of all—viz., Babylon—there is no record among

the spoils won by Alexander; the great Macedonian doubtless preferring to maintain intact the golden glories of his capital instead of adding them, like the spoil of other cities, to his treasure-chest. Even the little kingdom of Judea, during its brief heyday, under Solomon, shared in this abundance of the precious metals. The Temple and the House of the Forest of Lebanon blazed with gold; the throne was of ivory covered with the best gold, all the vessels of every kind were of pure gold—"none were of silver, for that metal was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon—the king made silver to be as the stones in Jerusalem."

Next to Egypt, under its kings of the ancient race, India and Bactria, or Upper Asia, appear to have been the chief gold and silver producing countries. "In the north," says the Father of History, "there is a prodigious quantity of gold, but how it is produced I am not able to tell with certainty." The old peoples, whoever they were, who occupied Northern Asia prior to the desolating conquest of that region by the Tartars (about 150 B.C.), although ignorant of the use of iron, had long ago worked the gold-beds in the Ural mountains and Siberia, only re-discovered during the present century. Recent travellers have come upon those old workings; and Gmelin, speaking of the remains of the works which had belonged to old silver-mines in Eastern Siberia, remarked that the lead with which the silver had co-existed in the ore was all left, while the silver had been extracted, and only small particles of it had been suffered to remain mingled with the scoriæ. As regards India, Herodotus mentions a gold-working people who lived near the sources of the Indus,—probably in the region now known as Chinese Thibet, from which all strangers are rigidly excluded by the Chinese Government, but which Andrew Wilson and other recent travellers strongly suspect to be rich in veins of the precious metals; and they mention this suspected fact as probably explaining the determined jealousy of the Chinese authorities, who dread that a discovery of this mineral wealth would occasion a large influx of unruly foreigners into this remote part of the Celestial Empire. Speaking apparently of India Proper, but using names unknown to us of the present day, Pliny says, "the Dardaneans inhabit a country the richest of all India in gold-mines, and the Selians have the most abundant mines of silver." "In the country of the Naræans, on the other side of the mountain Capitalia (the Vindhya Mountains?), there are a very great number of mines, both of gold and silver, in which the Indians work very extensively." The abundance of the precious metals in India in those days is evidenced by the fact that small, and comparatively poor, as was the part of it subject to the Persian monarchy (not exceeding the Punjab and Scinde), the annual tribute of treasures sent to Darius from the Indian satrapy, after defraying the expenses of the local administration, was £600,000, the largest tribute of any of the provinces of the empire, the metropolitan district of Babylon excepted. Moreover, as Herodotus records, there was always trade carried on overland by

caravans between Babylon and India; and we also know that the commercial navies both of Babylon and of the Pharaohs traded with the coasts of India—doubtless, according to the customs of the time, bringing back gold and silver as the most prized fruits of the trade. We may add that, in India, as in Upper Asia, recent research is bringing to light, in the Wynaad Hills, one of the gold-reefs from whence (as shown by the shafts, tunnels, and other signs of old working) ancient India derived its stock of the precious metals.

Egypt and Babylon—the two great suns of the ancient world—attracted to themselves, alike by trade and conquest, the treasures of gold and silver produced in the outlying portions of the world,—in many of which the population was barbarous or uncivilized, and yet, under the fascination which the sparkling metals exert even upon barbarians, where gold and silver were worked with no small measure of skill and success. The invasions and far-reaching conquests of Alexander the Great swept away and dispersed westwards a large portion of the vast stock of the precious metals thus accumulated in the East. In regal fashion it had been mainly stored up in ornamental forms in palaces and temples, with their idol statues and altars, and with countless vessels for sacerdotal pomp and royal banqueting. Alexander ransacked the captured palaces and cities to swell his treasure-chest, throwing a large portion of this spoil into the melting pot, and scattering coin and ingots with a lavishness unequalled either in previous or subsequent ages. He gave two and a third millions sterling to pay the debts of his army; he flung half a million as a ready gift to the Thessalians; he spent nearly three millions upon the funeral of his friend Hephæstion; while, in striking contrast to this foolish prodigality, he gave £200,000 to assist Aristotle in his great work. This golden sport of Alexander's shows better, perhaps, than aught else, the great abundance of gold and silver in the East. His satraps and successors likewise possessed vast treasures in specie: Harpalus is said to have possessed 50,000 talents; while the treasure of Ptolemy Philadelphus amounted at the least to forty-five millions sterling—or to 180 millions, if Appian could be held as reckoning in the Roman, instead of the Ptolemaic talent.

Then the Roman power arose, and the metallic treasures of the East were drawn still further to the West. The conquest of Western Asia by Lucullus, Sylla, Crassus, Pompey, and other generals, ushered in an epoch of the most gigantic personal fortunes that the world has ever seen. Indeed, they may be measured even by the magnitude of the debts then possible, and actually incurred from personal expenditure. Julius Cæsar was in debt to the amount of two millions sterling, and yet this circumstance was so little regarded, that it was no obstacle to his setting out on his prætorship for Spain. Crassus used to say "that no man could be accounted rich who could not maintain an army out of his own revenues." Thirty-two millions sterling was be-

queathed to Augustus in legacies from friends; and Tiberius at his death left twenty-two millions, which Caligula lavished away in a single year. The treasure of the world then flowed into Rome, either in tribute or as the spoils of war. But still the East retained a large stock of gold and silver. Long afterwards the Court of Haroun Alraschid, reviving on a small scale the old splendour of Babylon, appeared almost fabulous in its wealth and brilliance to the poor and partially decivilized nations of the West; while the treasures of "barbaric pearl and gold" in India remained untouched until the invasions of Mahmoud of Ghuzni, and the long series of ruthless conquerors from the North reaped the virgin wealth of the peninsula, and dispersed the golden spoils throughout Western and Upper Asia.

The decline and fall of Rome gradually brought about the disconnection, both political and commercial, of Europe and Asia. The irruption of the intolerant but rapidly civilized Arabs, followed by the desultory and devastating inroads of the Mongols and Seljook Turks, entirely closed Syria and Egypt against Europe; while the Ottomans, pouring across the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, put an end to Byzantine trade and power. When the Syrian route became closed, a thin stream of Eastern trade made a way for itself over the Hindoo Koosh, through Bokhara, to the Caspian, and thence by the Volga and the Don to the Black Sea at Constantinople. But with the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans, this route also was closed; and the entire trade between Europe and the East, which had existed ever since the days of Tyre and Sidon, came to an end. In fact, at that time, the leading Powers of Asia had transferred themselves by conquest into Europe. The Crusades had failed, and Europe was on the brink of becoming politically a province of the vast Eastern continent, of which geographically it is a peninsula. The Arabs occupied Spain, and made settlements in Italy and the Mediterranean Islands; the Turks held South-Eastern Europe as the land of their adoption,—extending their conquests up the valley of the Danube, and over what is now Southern Russia; while the Tartars ruled in Moscow and spread terror into the countries of the West.

The new era in the trade with the East, and whose commencement marked the birth of modern Europe, opened with the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese, and of America by Columbus. Both of these memorable enterprises were undertaken for the sake of opening a way to the East, whose old renown for wealth in gold and silver had never died out, and had been revived by travellers' tales, especially by Marco Polo and Mandeville, on their return from their marvellous solitary expeditions into further Asia. Under the comparatively tolerant rule of the Ottomans, also, adventurous merchants, reopening the Syrian route, carried their wares down the Euphrates to Bagdad and Bussorah. The Tartars, too, were

driven out of Muscovy, and the rising empire of Russia at length carried its trade across the steppes of Upper Asia to the Wall of China. Thus, three separate commercial routes were established between Europe and the East; and the Eastern trade continued to expand, until it has attained its present development by the construction of the Suez Canal, and the establishment of the American route by San Francisco.

This new or revived trade with the East, although highly profitable to those engaged in it, proved from the outset very disappointing as regards the prime object for which it had been desired. It was to reach and tap the golden wealth of India and Cathay that the daring Portuguese mariners toiled to surmount the "Cape of Storms," and that Columbus stumbled upon the New World, which at first appeared a lamentable obstruction in the path to the Indies. But this obstructing continent proved far more fraught with the desired precious metals than the region which was the real goal of these bold discoverers. And when the golden stores of the Incas, and the still more abundant silver from Potosi and the Mexican mines, poured into Europe, the newly-opened trade with the East, instead of adding to the metallic treasure so rapidly accumulating in Europe, began to drain it away. A portion of the gold and silver, ever-increasing in amount with the Eastern trade, passed through Europe as through a sieve, on its way to the very countries from whence it had been confidently expected that a new supply of the precious metals would be obtained. Owing to the exhaustion or neglect of the old mines, and to the loss and waste of the old stock of gold and silver accumulated by Imperial Rome, there had been a great dearth of the precious metals in Europe for several generations previous to the discovery of America; so that the intense desire that then prevailed for more gold and silver was perfectly reasonable, even when judged by the economic science of the present day. But when that want had been satiated by the flood of gold and silver from the New World, we can hardly comprehend the views and policy of the monarchs and their counsellors—especially those of Spain and Portugal, the two great trading States—by which every effort was made to restrict the golden flood to their own dominions, instead of seeking profitable employment and diffusion of it in trading with other countries which were more in want of it. In those days international trade, the great diffuser of the precious metals, was far too limited in extent and capabilities to have prevented a great fall in the value of gold and silver: but the restrictions upon foreign trade imposed by the various Governments considerably aggravated the fall—the greater portion of the *value* of the treasure so easily obtained from the New World being lost in a mere rise of prices, and the only portion of it which was employed with full profit being that which, in spite of governmental restrictions, found its way to the East in the channels of trade.

This outflow of the precious metals to the East, at least as a perceptible or recognised fact, was undoubtedly a great change in the course

of events. The past of Europe was summed up in the history of the Roman world, and during that past, Europe had been indebted to the East for the larger portion of its stock of gold and silver. How was it then, men asked, that the golden tide which had previously flowed from Asia to the West should have turned so strikingly and persistently? Why should gold and silver now be flowing back upon their old fountains? The explanation is trite and simple nowadays. For half a century past, the movements of the precious metals have been carefully watched and recorded, and the influences which regulate them have become well understood. At the present day, the coming of every gold-ship to our shores—often bearing, as but a small bulk of its cargo, treasure in specie far exceeding that borne by the great Spanish galleons of former times, whose course used to be watched for by hostile fleets, or hovered round by those “water sharks,” the Buccaneers—is now recorded in the newspapers: even every £1000 in gold carried into the Bank of England is day by day notified in the journals. In truth, the influx and efflux of the precious metals, and the waxing and waning of the stock of gold in the great national storehouse of specie in Threadneedle Street, is watched by myriads of anxious onlookers. Our whole monetary system and its chief feature, the Bank-rate, and with these the conditions and profits of our national trade and industry, are greatly dependant upon the coming or going of the yellow ore. Hence we watch and record the movements of the precious metals to and fro throughout the world. And thus, as regards the Eastern trade, we know from month to month the exact amount of specie absorbed by it; while those who give attention to the subject can tell “the reason why” for the going of almost every ounce of the silver or gold which so persistently makes its way to the East.

Such statistics, it is needless to say, were not kept in the olden time, nor were the principles of commerce adequately understood. Adam Smith, however, with his usual clearness of vision, perceived the true cause of the drain of specie to the East which attended commercial intercourse with that part of the world. But his explanation of it was imperfect. He said that, owing to the fertility of the Indian soil and the cheapness of labour, commodities were there produced in greater abundance than in Europe, and hence that the value of the precious metals, or their power of purchasing commodities, was higher in India than with us. But this is merely saying that the precious metals were scarcer in India than in Europe; for, however abundant commodities might be in India, this would make no difference in value if the precious metals were proportionately abundant. Moreover, were Adam Smith’s explanation adequate, it would follow (as, indeed, he appears to think), that the precious metals had always been as scarce in India compared with other commodities as they were in his time. Now, we think there is firm ground for believing that this was not the case. It can hardly be doubted that the stock of the precious metals in India was

vastly larger in ancient times than afterwards, when a constant succession of invaders, from Mahmoud of Ghuzni to Nadir Shah, plundered its cities and temples, and carried away immense spoil in the shape of treasure. It is true that the trade with the East had never been so specie-yielding as men probably thought in the Middle Ages, when looking back upon the history of Rome; for, although an immense amount of gold and silver came to Rome from the East, this treasure came not from commerce, but as tribute and as the spoils of war. Nevertheless, there is ground for believing that in early times the Indian trade was occasionally a treasure-yielding one, even though it were ordinarily accompanied by a drain of the precious metals to that country and that the striking change in this respect which took place on the reopening of that trade in the Middle Ages was owing partly to the impoverishment of India in metallic treasure by its successive Northern invaders, and still more to the great change as regards the precious metals which then occurred in Europe.

This change in the condition of Europe, produced by the discovery of the New World and its stores of gold and silver, was of itself adequate to affect the current of the precious metals between Europe and the East, by vastly altering the relative monetary positions of the two regions. As already said, the commercial intercourse between the East and West had been very slight for several generations before the discovery of America. Compared with what it had been during the Roman Empire, or what it has since become, the Eastern trade at that time may be said to have been wholly suspended: so that we can only infer from other facts what would have been the course of the precious metals in the fifteenth century, had the Eastern trade then been in operation. Europe at that time was experiencing an actual and severe dearth of the precious metals. The large stock of gold and silver accumulated by Imperial Rome (mostly from the East), apart from the wear and tear of centuries, had been not merely dispersed, but largely lost under the desolating incursions of the Barbarians; and although both production and trade were then at a low ebb in our Continent, proportionately lessening the requirement for the precious metals as currency, the dearth of specie (at that time the only form of money) was so great, that it must have served to restrict those exchanges by which all commerce is carried on. According to Mr. Jacob's estimate or conjecture, the entire amount of specie in Europe in 1492 was only thirty-three millions, and the comparative dearth or scarcity is shown by the fact that the precious metals were at that time three times dearer—(*i.e.*, their value was three times as great as it had been in the reign of Augustus. But in the course of a century after the discovery of America (A.D. 1492-1600), the stock of gold and silver existing in Europe (after deducting loss by wear and by export) became quadrupled, and in A.D. 1640 it became nearly seven-fold larger than it was in the days of Columbus. The result was that prices became

nearly quadrupled; in other words, specie or money fell to only about a fourth part of its old value—producing a corresponding change in the relative monetary positions of Europe and the East, and, so far as trade was in operation, causing a flow of the precious metals to the East, so contrary to the expectations, and disappointing to the desires, of the European Governments and peoples.

In present times, when the folly of our ancestors is much more apparent than their wisdom, it is only fair to observe, that three centuries ago, there was one cause for jealously guarding the precious metals which has now almost disappeared. In all ages, more or less, the precious metals have two distinct and opposite functions as money. They are needed not only to circulate property, but to store it. In old times reserve-wealth could only be stored conveniently, and in a movable form, in actual gold and silver; and a considerable portion of these metals was accordingly withdrawn for this purpose from circulation and general use. Nowadays however, the combined appliances of banking, paper-money, and finance, enable a vast amount of wealth to be stored up, and convertible at pleasure into money, almost without the use of the precious metals. Apart from banking and its marvellous appliances for economizing the use of specie, there are now a hundred forms in which reserve-wealth can be stored up—notably the Funds, and the shares and debentures of joint-stock companies—and immediately reconverted into money at pleasure. But all these things were unknown in Europe three centuries ago. Reserve-wealth had to be stored in the form of gold and silver; and hence the steady drain of these metals to the East had an inconvenient feature, which in our time is of little account.

The world is now experiencing a parallel to the remarkable influx of the precious metals which followed the discovery of the New World, while the flow of specie to the East presents the old phenomenon on a scale of such unprecedented magnitude, and also in such new forms, as almost to make it a new event. The sudden and vast expansion of the Eastern Trade during the last quarter of a century is so great a change as really to parallel the actual reopening of that trade in the sixteenth century, by means of the new sea-routes and other channels of which we have already spoken. Also, the effects which this Eastern Trade has produced, and continues to produce, upon the value of the precious metals, are far greater, and in every way more remarkable, than any which have happened in former times. Steam-navigation and the construction of the Suez Canal, together with the great American railway to San Francisco, have revolutionized the communications and commerce with India and China; while the flood of gold and silver from the new mines has of itself been a potent factor in promoting this trade, and finding work for these new and better routes, which in turn have provided a happy outlet for the high-gathering flood of the precious metals in the Western world.

Although the underlying influences productive of the drain of the precious metals to the East are well known to men of science, it is their overt sign, rather than the influences themselves, which attracts the practical mind of the public. It is the Balance of Trade, ever in favour of the East, which is the striking object, as undoubtedly, also, it is the proximate and direct cause of the drain. It is a remarkable fact of itself. Between the leading countries of the West, the Balance of Trade, and still more the combined Balance of Trade and Finance, is constantly changing from year to year, and there is a perpetual flux and reflux of the precious metals to settle those balances. But with India, and the East generally, the case is quite different; the current of specie flows always and only in one direction, being absorbed and engulfed in the East as in an abyss which can never be filled up. The Eastern trade is, indeed, a peculiar one. Not merely in present times, but for centuries past, the East has been what is termed an "exporting" region,—its exports of merchandise constantly exceeding its imports. In truth, it holds as exceptional a position in the world as the gold-countries do, but in the contrary manner. California and Australia constantly export the precious metals, as India constantly imports and absorbs them. In the case of the former countries, as likewise of the Silver State of Nevada, the precious metals, being their natural produce or raw productions, may be regarded as part of their merchandise, holding a place in their ordinary Balance of Trade; whereas in the case of almost all other countries gold and silver are employed as foreign or extraneous commodities to settle the balance of ordinary merchandise.

Coming to the other part of our subject, let us now see what has been, and is, the effect of the Eastern Trade upon the value of the precious metals—a consequence of the most momentous character at all times, but especially at the present day. As the circumstances of the Present are naturally more interesting and important than any in the Past, and also as the peculiar effects of the Eastern trade have recently been displayed upon a grander scale and with more striking features, we shall only refer to past history to show how continuous and long-existing has been the operation of those influences upon the value of money, and how beneficial in this respect (with the exception of a short period) this Eastern trade and its concomitant drain of the precious metals has been to Europe, and to the countries of Christendom.

Heavy as was the fall in the value of gold and silver (then the only forms of money) which followed the inundation of the precious metals from America in the sixteenth century and onwards, the fall was not proportionate with the multiplication of the stock of those metals in Europe. Prices barely quadrupled, while the gold and silver became seven-fold. There is but one possible explanation of this circumstance—namely, that the demand or requirements for specie had simultaneously increased since 1492. Of such requirements, those of trade are the

chief; and that a great expansion of trade did actually occur at that time is obvious. Apart from the general influence of an influx of the precious metals in promoting trade and production, creating more buying and selling, and apart from this increase of the domestic or internal trade in Europe, we know that two important new branches of commerce were then opened and prosecuted—namely, the trade with the New World and also with the countries of the East. These branches of trade of themselves required and absorbed more money (*i.e.*, specie)—first for producing the commodities for the new markets, and, secondly, for fitting-out the ships and paying the crews. Further—which is the chief point here—there was the actual drain or export of gold and silver which proved to be an indispensable requisite and inevitable result of the new or reopened trade with the East.

For half a century after Columbus first crossed the Atlantic the amount of the precious metals obtained from the New World was very small compared with what it thereafter became, and was quite insignificant according to our present notions. Yet it was really large relative to the circumstances of that time; and, as history records, it was so regarded by the nations of Europe. According to Mr. Jacob, the whole stock of gold existing in Europe in 1492 was only thirty-three millions, and the produce of the European mines, then the only source of supply, was under £150,000 a year; accordingly, even the arrival of £100,000 in gold and silver from the New World produced a justifiable excitement. The conquest of Mexico in 1516 and of Peru in 1520, when Cortez and Pizarro seized the hoarded treasures of Montezuma and the Incas, let loose a large but transient supply of the precious metals; but it was not until 1546, when the great silver-mountain of Potosi was discovered by the Spaniards, that the supply of specie from the New World became both large and permanent. The trade with the East, also, was hardly in existence during the first half of the sixteenth century; the new sea-routes had been discovered, but that was nearly all. By the end of the century, however (in 1600), the export of the precious metals to the East, in connection with the new trade, had amounted (according to Mr. Jacob) in the aggregate to fourteen millions sterling,—a sum which, according to the same authority, was somewhat larger than the aggregate produce of the European mines throughout the same period (*i.e.*, 1492—1600). Thus, at its very outset, the Eastern trade was manifestly dependent upon a new supply of the precious metals, and but for this supply could hardly have been prosecuted at all.

In the course of the next century (1601-1700) the aggregate export of the precious metals to the East amounted to thirty-three millions, a sum equal to the entire stock of gold and silver in Europe in 1492. The establishment of the Dutch and English East India Companies gave a great impetus to the Eastern trade; and in the following century the export of specie to the East amounted to no less than 352 millions, or at the rate of three and a half millions a year throughout the entire

century. The magnitude of this sum will be clearly apprehended when we state that, according to Mr. Jacob, whose authority we accept upon these matters, the total *existing* stock of gold and silver money in Christendom (*i.e.*, after deducting the amount of the precious metals converted into ornaments, or lost, or destroyed by wear) was 380 millions, in 1810; which, allowing for the 100 millions yielded by the mines between 1800 and 1810, shows that the total existing stock at the beginning of the present century must have been considerably less than the amount of gold and silver which had been exported to the East during the preceding century!

We now come to a critical time in the history of the precious metals, and also not only of the trade with the East, but, as has recently and tardily become recognised, of the monetary and commercial condition of the world at large. In the year 1810, during the occupation of Spain by the armies of Napoleon, the Spanish colonies of South America and Mexico revolted against the rule of the mother country. A long period of revolutionary wars ensued; industry was paralysed, the whole region relapsed into a state of chaos, and the working of the mines both in Peru and Mexico temporarily ceased. The result was that the world's supply of the precious metals was reduced by one-half, falling from ten millions in 1810 to an average of only five millions during the next twenty years. This disastrous change was strikingly reflected in the export of specie to the East, which, according to Mr. Jacob, declined from three and a half millions, which it had averaged from 1700 down to 1810, to only two millions a year from 1810 to 1830.

For the ensuing period we have no statistics or reliable computation of the export of the precious metals to the East generally; we must, therefore, confine our statement to India, which has always, and especially in recent times, been by far the chief absorbent of gold and silver from the Western world. Between 1834 and 1852, we find from the statistics furnished by Colonel Hyde, late Master of the Calcutta Mint, that the surplus of the imports of silver over the exports in India amounted to twenty-nine millions sterling,—which gives an annual average of one and one-third million of silver absorbed by India. During that period there appears a new element in the case—namely, the Home Bills or Drafts drawn by our Government upon the Indian Government, representing payments due from the Indian Executive to this country. Doubtless such payments had always been in existence to some extent, under the East India Company, although prior to this time we have no official record of them. These home bills, during the period in question, 1834-52, averaged one and three-quarter million a year. Accordingly, the exports of silver to India, together with these home bills equivalent to specie, averaged during this period three and a half millions annually, just equal to the average export of specie throughout the hundred and ten years ending with 1810. Doubtless there was some export of gold to India during the twenty years ending

with 1852, of which we find no official record. But, viewing the whole case, it seems evident that, contemporaneously with the falling-off in the world's supply of the precious metals, there was a stagnation in the trade with the East, which cannot be carried on without a commensurate supply of specie.

We now come to the concluding and by far the most remarkable and important epoch of the trade with the East, during which it has been the most powerful factor in determining the value of the precious metals and of money generally in the Western world. Soon after 1852 the memorable expansion of our Indian Trade set in. The vast supply of new gold from California and Australia created an abundance of metallic money or international currency; and as gold could largely take the place of silver in the currencies of the Western world, a large quantity of the latter metal became available for carrying on an increase of trade with India and the other silver-using countries of the East. Thus supported, in 1855-6, an immense expenditure of British capital was begun in India for the construction of railways. Mr. R. W. Crawford stated in 1876 that the total expenditure for this purpose amounted to ninety-four millions sterling, of which sum fifty-four millions were expended in India. And just as this expenditure was coming to a close in 1862, the Cotton Famine commenced, owing to the Civil War in the United States, whereby our cotton merchants were compelled to have recourse to India for a supply of the raw material of our great textile industry. Under these combined influences a vast amount of money was invested in India, which operated like a fertilizing flood, increasing production and exports, and also enabling the population of India to increase their imports and consumption of foreign commodities. And thus the Foreign Trade of India in merchandise, including both exports and imports, which amounted to thirty-seven millions sterling in the official year 1855-6, rose steadily to ninety-five millions in the year 1865-6,—nearly trebling during those ten years, and exhibiting the most rapid increase of trade that has been witnessed in any country of the world.

Now, let us see the effect of this remarkable expansion of the India trade, together with the investments of British capital in that country, in creating an increased requirement for the precious metals, which were contemporaneously being poured into the world in unprecedented abundance. There were two separate factors in creating this increased requirement for specie—namely, the Trade balance (the excess of exports of merchandise from India over the imports of merchandise into that country) and the Financial balance. The former was the larger and permanent factor in the case, and we shall deal with it first. Taking the eleven years ending with March, 1865, when the Cotton Famine terminated, we find from Mr. Waterfield's statistics that the Trade balance accumulated in favour of India during that period amounted to 207 millions sterling, or at the rate of nineteen millions a year. The entire production of the precious metals during the same eleven years, accord-

ing to Sir H. Hay, was 366 millions sterling; of which sum the produce of the new mines (*i.e.*, the supply of gold and silver in excess of what was produced in 1848) amounted to 190 millions. Accordingly, had it been necessary to pay the whole of the Trade balance to India in specie, the entire produce of the new mines, both gold and silver, during these eleven years would have proved inadequate to the extent of seventeen millions.

The Financial balance during the same period embraced two opposite elements—one in favour of India, the other in favour of this country. Against India, there was the annual amount which the Indian Government had to pay our Government for the "Home Charges;" in favour of India, there were the annual instalments of British Capital, paid through our Government, for the construction of railways in India. In the earlier half of the period in question (1855-60), the railway payments due from this country appear to have considerably exceeded the amount of the "Home Charges;" certainly during these five years India received in specie the whole amount of the Trade balance due to her, and twenty-six millions more,—the Trade balance during these years being forty-four and a half millions, while the actual amount of specie received by India was seventy and three-quarter millions. In the subsequent years, however, the "Home Charges" due from India evidently exceeded the railway-payments from this country; and in striking the Financial balance there has to be added to the "Home Charges" the private remittances of money made by Englishmen in India to their friends and families in this country, the amount of which cannot be accurately determined. Judging by the result, the aggregate Financial balances during this period (the eleven years ending with 1865) appears to have been against India to the extent of fully thirty millions; and thus, although the aggregate Trade balances during the same years amounted, as already stated, to 207 millions sterling, the actual amount of specie received by India was 176 millions.

Now, during the same period (1855-65) the total produce of all the mines, both old and new, according to Sir H. Hay, was 366 millions sterling (269 of gold, and 97 of silver); deducting the amount which the old mines would have, and probably did, yield during the same period, *viz.*, 176 millions, we get, as already said, 190 millions as the produce of the new mines—the addition made to the supply as it stood in 1848. Accordingly, the amount of the precious metals simultaneously absorbed by the Indian trade (*viz.*, 176 millions) was so great, that of all this stock of new gold and silver only fourteen millions, or eight per cent., were left available for the use of the rest of the world. A more remarkable fact can hardly be exhibited; and it sufficiently explains why the confident prediction and general expectation of a vast fall in the value of the precious metals was not realised.

Further, let us take the whole period for which we have officially published statistics—*viz.*, from 1855 to 1875. During these twenty-one

years, the aggregate exports of merchandise from India amounted to £933,813,000, and the imports of merchandize were £544,207,000—giving a Trade balance in favour of India of 388½ millions sterling. How was this enormous sum of money paid? During the latter years of this period, owing to the gradual cessation of the railway-payments due from this country, and also the increase in the amount of the home charges due by India, the financial balance turned heavily against India, so that the “Council Drafts,” or bills drawn by the Home Government upon the Indian Government (equivalent to specie, and available for settling the Trade balance with India), amounted in the aggregate to 112 millions. Deducting this sum from the Trade balance, there remains 276½ millions still uncovered; but the total amount of specie received by India during these twenty-one years was 253¼ millions, leaving 25½ millions unaccounted for officially, but which doubtless was settled by bills upon India, drawn upon remittances from private parties in India to others in this country.

Let us now see the total effect of the greatly expanded trade with India between 1855-65 upon the value of the precious metals. The total produce of the gold- and silver-mines during these twenty-one years, according to Sir Hector Hay, was 677 millions sterling: deducting the produce of the old mines for a similar number of years (about 366 millions) there remains 340 millions (gold 311, silver 29) as the additional supply, or produce of the new mines. Thus it appears that during this period the Indian trade absorbed or caused an actual export of 73½ per cent. of the entire new supply of the precious metals, leaving only 26½ per cent. or ninety millions for general use—that is, to meet the great expansion of commerce and augmented requirements for specie throughout the rest of the world.

Of the two periods of Indian trade thus passed in review, the former and shorter one is by far the more specially deserving of notice as regards the effect which this Eastern trade exerted upon the value of the precious metals, and of money generally, throughout the world. It is so for several reasons. In the first place, it was peculiarly the *critical* period, the time during which the new supply of gold would, *per se*, or if unchecked by other circumstances, have produced its maximum effect upon the value of money. In truth, the critical period was passed, as soon as the great expansion of the Eastern trade set in. During the four or five previous years gold had been pouring into the markets of the world in unprecedented abundance. Previous to the discovery of the Californian gold-fields—we may say in 1848, for the mines had hardly begun to be worked in that year—the total production of gold and silver was at most sixteen millions sterling, one-half gold and one-half silver. But in 1849 the gold-supply was increased to about twenty millions by the Californian gold-fields; and in 1851, when the Australian gold-beds began to be worked, the gold-supply rose to no less than thirty-two millions—in other words, the produce of the *new*

gold-mines amounted to twenty-four millions, or three times as much as the yield of the old mines had been; and the total gold-supply became quadrupled since 1848. It is important to bear in mind that the yield of the new mines, both in California and Australia, was largest at the first, or as soon as the tide of immigration allowed of the full working of the gold-fields. At that time it was the "placers" or surface-deposits in the beds of rivers, &c., which were worked—such operations needing only the rudest appliances (the rocker or cradle), which any one could use; and from this cause, together with the wide extent of these purely surface deposits, a much larger population of gold-finders could get employment than was the case afterwards, when those surface-deposits were exhausted, and when skilful appliances and capital had to come into the field.

Owing to these causes—the easier finding of the gold and the larger number of the workers—during these first years the yields of the precious ore was larger than at any subsequent time. Further, it is obvious that, *Ceteris paribus*, the first addition to the world's stock of gold must produce a greater effect upon the value of money than any similar addition afterwards, because it will bear a larger ratio to the existing stock of gold. Say that the existing stock is 400 millions, and that the annual supply be suddenly increased to the amount of twenty millions, the first twenty millions being added to the 400 millions will produce a greater effect than the second twenty millions, which will be added to 420 millions; and the third twenty millions, being added to 440 millions, will produce still less effect, and so on. Moreover, as already said, the supply of gold was largest at the first, and thereafter declined. From both of these causes, therefore, it was in the early years of the gold-discoveries that the new supply would naturally produce its maximum effect. Still further, it takes some time before employment can be found for a new supply of the precious metals—before new channels of trade can be opened, and industry generally can avail itself of its new opportunities; and for this reason also the new mines were likely to produce their maximum effect upon prices at the outset.

In the years 1852-4, gold was accumulating in the Western world at a prodigious rate; and the confident forebodings of a vast fall in the value of money, expressed so forcibly by M. Chevalier so late as in 1858, appeared only reasonable. Yet the all-important fact was forgotten, that an increased supply of money, by facilitating trade, tends to create an increased requirement, or new fields of employment, for it. And how much the trade of the world increased during the subsequent period need not be said. But, as we have shown, it was the vast expansion of the Trade with the East which played the chief part in creating the new requirement for specie, and to an extent which throws all the other such causes into the shade. In truth, but for the *previous* accumulation of specie in the Western

world, it seems impossible that so vast a drain of specie as that which flowed to the East in the years immediately subsequent to 1854 could have been spared,—the fact being, as already shown, that during the eleven subsequent years the Indian trade required, and India actually received, no less than ninety-two per cent. of the contemporaneous produce of the *new* mines, leaving only fourteen millions of their produce for the increased wants of the world at large. No wonder, then, that the expected revolution and vast fall in the value of gold did not occur.

It is of much less consequence to observe the subsequent period, 1866-75; because, although the Indian trade absorbed a much less percentage of the new gold and silver, the existing stock of the precious metals had vastly increased in the interval; and was so much larger than it was in 1848 that the annual supply, if the requirements or conditions of trade remained the same, would necessarily, in 1875, produce a much smaller effect upon the value of the precious metals than a similar addition would have done at the beginning of the gold-discoveries. As regards gold, the annual supply in 1875 had declined about a third, or ten millions, below the average maximum yield of the mines—viz., in 1851-7; but, owing to the increased supply of silver from the new Nevada mines, the supply of gold and silver, taken together, still remains about equal to the highest point ever reached.

The effect of the Eastern Trade upon the value of the precious metals has hitherto attracted but little attention; yet, without a perception and appreciation of the facts which we have now set forth, the events connected with the value of money during the last quarter of a century would be wholly inexplicable. It has been the drain of the precious metals to the East, to meet the requirements of Indian trade and investments, which alone has falsified the confident predictions of all the highest authorities as to a stupendous fall in the value of money, and especially of gold. But one remarkable circumstance still remains to be explained—namely, the recent fall in the value of silver; which event, likewise, is the very opposite of what was expected. The currency of the East is silver, and consequently it is in silver that the greater part of the enormous payments of specie to India have been made. How, then, does it happen that it is silver, and not gold, that has fallen in value?—fallen, or apparently fallen,* in the West, while its value is still maintained in the East?

When the new gold-mines were discovered it was universally predicted that, while gold would lose a great part of its old value, the value of silver would be fully maintained. And had the extraordinary expansion of the Eastern trade been foreseen, it must have been predicted that silver would not only maintain its old value, but rise almost to a famine-price. As is well known, silver did for several years rise in

* Whether there has been any real and absolute fall in the value of silver even in the countries of the West, or whether the fall is merely apparent and occasioned by a rise in the value of gold (the chief standard-money of the West), is a question which lies beyond the scope of the present article.

value compared to gold; although we think there is ground for believing that the rise was not absolute—*i.e.*, as measured in general commodities, but was only equal to, and produced by, the contemporaneous decline in the value of gold. Be that as it may, for upwards of twenty years subsequent to 1850, the price of silver, as measured in gold, stood considerably above its old value,—rising from 59½*d.* per ounce to 62*d.*, and then declining to its old value, or a fraction below it—*viz.*, 59½*d.*, in 1873. Considering the facts of the case, this rise in the value of silver was a very small one. As we have shown, between 1858 and 1865, the amount of silver exported to India actually absorbed the entire contemporaneous yield of the silver-mines, and forty millions more. In other words, this drain of silver to the East was equivalent in its effects upon Europe and America to an entire stoppage of the silver-mines, together with an actual drain and deduction of forty millions from the existing currency of the Western world. But in 1873 the tables turned, and silver began to decline rapidly in value compared to gold—reaching its lowest point in 1876, the year of the Silver Panic, when the price fell to 47*d.* per ounce. To some extent, doubtless, this fall in the value of silver may be ascribed to the recent comparative scarcity of gold, occasioned by the decreased production of the gold-mines. It has also been owing to the large increase in the supply of silver from the new Nevada mines; and also to the fact that, owing to the increase of wealth, silver has recently been gradually becoming less suitable as currency in the leading countries of the Western world, and has, to a great extent, been legislatively demonetized in some of those countries,—*viz.*, in Germany and Scandinavia, and partially in the United States and France.

These changes lie beyond consideration in the present article; but there remains a most potent cause of the recent fall in the value of silver which is directly connected with our subject. This is the recent restriction upon the flow of silver to the East, in the natural course of trade, occasioned by the large increase in the payments which the Indian Government has to make to the Home Government—which payments are represented by the “Council Bills,” or drafts issued by our Government against the Government of India. These Council Bills, being equivalent to specie, *pro tanto*, enable our traders to settle the Trade balances due to India without sending specie; and thus the requirement for silver has been proportionately diminished. There is another circumstance, but of far inferior importance, which in its effects is exactly similar—namely, the increase in the amount of remittances from Englishmen in India for the support of their families in this country: a change which has occurred partly in consequence of the large increase of British troops kept in India since the Mutiny of the Sepoys in 1857, and partly from the opening of the Suez Canal, whereby Englishmen in India can more readily send home their families for health and education, and also can more frequently visit

them than was possible when our only communication with the East was by the long sea-voyage round the Cape of Good Hope.

Both of these changes, which so obviously affect the value of silver by diminishing the drain of specie to the East, were in progress for several years before they became observed, or perceptibly affected the requirements for silver for the Indian trade. It was soon after the changes consequent upon the Mutiny in 1857, say in 1859, that the increase in the two above-described kinds of payment due from India to this country really commenced: but at that time the investments of English money in Indian railways were at their height; and the payments due from England on this account were so large that they entirely obscured, and hid from public view, the increase of the payments due from India; indeed, in some years, as already shown, the Financial as well as the Trade balance was in favour of India—so that our Government, instead of being able to draw as usual upon India, had to export specie to that country. But after 1863, the railway-payments from this country decreased, and they became wholly exhausted in 1870 or thereabouts. Thereupon the “Home Charges,” the amount annually due from the Indian Government to England for military stores and other charges connected with the Indian army, appeared at their full and real amount. For a quarter of a century previous to 1863, these charges (represented by the drafts or bills drawn by the Home upon the Indian Government) had averaged only two and a quarter millions sterling; but during the subsequent eight years they averaged six and a quarter millions, and during the last six years, ending with April, 1878, they have averaged twelve and a quarter millions, that is, ten millions in excess of their annual amount down to 1863, and almost equal to the contemporaneous yield of the whole silver-mines of the world. This charge has been the most powerful of all the causes of the fall in the value of silver. The “Council Drafts,” being equivalent to silver, have correspondingly diminished the requirement for that metal, and have prevented the large export and utilization of silver which would otherwise have occurred in connection with the Eastern Trade.

Such, then, have been the vast and beneficial effects of the Trade with the East upon the value of the precious metals, and of Money generally, throughout the Western world, alike in past centuries, after the discovery of America, and during the still vaster and more remarkable inflood of these precious ores since the discovery of the new American and Australian mines. This Eastern trade has happily carried off or found profitable employment for every spare ounce of the 350 millions of gold which, since 1848, have been poured into the world from the new mines; entirely preventing the immense fall in the value of money which, at the instant, appeared so inevitable and appalling. By preventing a fall in the value of money, it has made every ounce of the new gold, and until recently of silver, as highly valuable as in previous times; thus maintaining at its full value

the labour of the miners; and saving the whole civilized world, not merely from a monetary revolution, but from the pure and heavy loss which would have resulted from a diminution in the value of the vast existing stock of gold and silver. Solely and directly in consequence of the trade with the East, as the new gold has flowed into Europe silver has flowed out; and thus the increased commerce with the East has proved to mankind a double blessing: at once augmenting employment both in the Eastern and Western worlds, and averting any great change in the value of money. "It is a waste-pipe by which nothing is wasted. It is a channel by which we not only get rid of a surplus of the precious metals, but turn them to most profitable account. In so far as the new gold and silver mines shall remain productive, the prosperity of the world depends upon the continuance of this drain of bullion to the East. Without it, the new supplies of the precious metals would be robbed of their usefulness, through a great fall in their value. Their beneficial effect would be merely local and evanescent; but with it the whole world will be partakers in its blessings." So I wrote fifteen years ago, in my book on the *Economy of Capital*. At present, unfortunately, this conduit or waste-pipe is narrowed by the "Council Drafts,"—a circumstance natural and proper of itself, but which is highly disadvantageous not only to our Indian Empire but to the world at large, by producing a fall in the value of silver, which not only lessens the value of the labour of the silver-miners but of the entire amount of the vast stock of silver existing throughout the world—the accumulated result and legacy of many generations of past labour.

The recent fall in the value of silver relatively to gold is one of the most embarrassing circumstances of the present time, especially in connection with the interests of our Indian Empire. And it is not a needless warning if we say to the Government and other parties concerned, to beware lest, under a natural impatience of this embarrassment, they hastily adopt a change which, however tempting from its simplicity, would be infinitely worse than the present embarrassment. Men are always prone to believe that a system which is best for their own country is likewise best for the world at large; and on more than one occasion lately, when the Silver-question has been under discussion in Parliament, members of the Government have expressed themselves unqualifiedly in favour of a single gold-standard. Last summer, Mr. Stephen Cave, in replying for the Government to a question put by Sir George Campbell, said:—"No doubt a time may come when the question of an alternative standard for India must be faced; but I trust that a double standard will not be adopted." And in autumn a report came from India, and a rumour was current in this country, to the effect that the Government had resolved to cut the Gordian knot by establishing a single gold-standard for India, demone-tizing silver, the old and existing currency of that vast country.

This mode of viewing the question has hitherto found favour with English politicians generally; but it is so obviously rash that we feel

assured that no one who entertains it can have counted the costs. The system of demonetizing silver would lead to world-wide consequences of really incalculable disaster. Those persons who talk so glibly of the advantages of "mono-metallism" and a single gold-standard must be totally blind to the inevitable consequences of the course which they so complacently advocate and extol. Were silver degraded from its place in the currency of the world, or even of Europe, the fall in its value, say one-half,—although the fall might be very much greater,—would be equivalent to destroying one-half of all the silver in the world! It would annul a vast outlay of capital and the labour of generations of hard-working miners. Were it possible in like fashion—viz., by legislation or edict—to reduce the price of ordinary commodities, such as food or clothes, or houses, in such a case, although the producers of those commodities would unfairly suffer, the community at large would gain to an equal extent: the usefulness of such commodities would remain unimpaired. But the chief usefulness of the precious metals nowadays, and the sole usefulness of gold and silver coins, lies in their purchasing-power, their value as Money; hence, a demonetization of silver would be proportionately destructive to its present usefulness, and, we repeat, would be equivalent to a wilful annihilation of a vast portion of the world's stock of money. In proportion as this demonetization was carried out, it would be a voluntary throwing away of the vast blessings and benefits which mankind have recently enjoyed from the new mines of America and Australia. The world would be plunged back into the "hard times" which previously prevailed, or in truth into a far worse predicament. The fact that our own country is under a single gold-standard (a condition into which we passed by successive stages from a purely silver-currency, the Act of 1816 merely establishing by law what was already established in fact) would be powerless to ward off from us the effects of a demonetization of silver, which still constitutes by far the larger portion of the world's stock of the precious metals. Our stock of gold would be drawn upon to supply the dearth of money in other countries. Not to speak of the inevitable collapse of our monetary system as regulated by the absurd and pernicious Bank Act of 1844, the burden of our National Debt would be vastly increased, and so would that of every other country. These Debts, which amount to an enormous sum, would thenceforth hang like a mill-stone around the neck of the nations. Add to these results, the restriction upon Trade and Industry inseparable from a dearth of Money, and any statesman who at present favours the general, or any extended, adoption of a single gold-standard may well shrink back from such a change, and refuse to imperil the prosperity of his own country, and of the civilized world at large, by producing an arbitrary and artificial dearth of Money,—which is the most potent auxiliary, we might say the very life's blood, of trade and industry, as these are, and must be, carried on under a mature civilization.

R. H. PATTERSON.

THE BATTLE OF ISANDÚLA.

(Zululand, January 2, 1879.)

IN the wilds of Isandúla, far away,
The little band of British soldiers lay,
When a warning voice cried, "Fly !
For the savage swarms are nigh !
See, they loom in war-array
Against the sky !
Ere they come in all the might
Of their legions black as night,
Form in order and take flight from Isandúla."

Then our soldiers look in one another's eyes, . . .
Less in terror than in wondering surmise,
And a cold breath of despair
Seems to chill the golden air,
When a voice of thunder cries :
" Men, prepare !
Though no human help be by,
We are here our strength to try,
Yea, to keep the camp, or die in Isandúla !"

So an English cheer arises wild and shrill,
As they form and face the onset with a will,
For clearly now each one
Can see the black hordes run
Swift as wolves across the hill
In the sun—
They can see the host at last
Coming terrible and vast,
Like a torrent, rolling fast on Isandúla ! . . .

Soon upon them in their living thousands fell
The blacks like screaming devils out of Hell,
 Swarming down in mad desire
 As our gunners open'd fire—
 At that thunder, with shrill yell,
 They swept nigher !
 “ Fire ! ” again the order ran,
 As the bloody strife began
With the lion-hearted van, at Isandúla.

’Tis to struggle with the avalanche’s force !
It enwraps them, it consumes them, in its course ;
 Round the guns its dark floods flow,
 See, the gunners gasping low !
 It o’erwhelms them, foot and horse,
 At a blow !
 “ Retreat ! ” the voice hath cried,
 And in order, steadfast-eyed,
They stem that sable tide at Isandúla.

Back to back, all sides surrounded, slowly led,
Their fire upon the foe, they downward tread ;
 While at last the sable stream,
 Sweeping on them, teeth agleam,
 Before their crimson lead
 Pause and scream !
 And at that another cheer
 Arises wild and clear,
And the foe fall back to hear, in Isandúla !

But ’tis only for an instant they refrain,
At the challenge of that cheer they shriek again,
 They swarm on every hand
 O’er the little steadfast band,
 Till again, the crimson rain
 Makes them stand !
 Like a torrent—nay, a sea !—
 They roll onward bloodily,
But no white man turns to flee from Isandúla !

Still as stone, our soldiers face the savage crew—
“ Fix your bayonets ! die as English soldiers do ! ”
 It is done—all stand at bay—
 But their strength is cast away ;
 And the black swarms shriek anew
 As they slay !

▲ ▲

Ah, God! the battle-throes!
 With their dead for shields, they close,—
 Where the slaughter ebbs and flows, in Isandúla!

And as fast as one form falls, another springs—
 They are tigers, not like human-hearted things—
 Surging onward they abound,
 With a clangour of shrill sound,
 With a clash of shields, like wings
 Waving round!
 As our brave men one by one
 Fall death-smitten in the sun,
 O'er their corpses legions run, in Isandúla!

"Save the colours!" shrieks a dying voice, and lo!
 Two horsemen breast the raging ranks, and go—
 (In thy sacred list, O Fame!
 Keep each dear and noble name!*)
 See, they flash upon the foe,
 Fierce as flame—
 And one undaunted form
 Lifts a British banner, warm
 With the blood-rain and the storm of Isandúla!

"Save the colours!" and amidst a flood of foes,
 At gallop, sword in hand, each horseman goes—
 Around the steeds they stride
 Cling devils crimson-dyed,
 But God! through butchering blows,
 How they ride!
 Their horses' hooves are red
 With blood of dying and dead,
 Trampled down beneath their tread at Isandúla!

"Save the colours!"—They *are* saved—and side by side
 The horsemen swim a raging river's tide—
 They are safe—they are alone—
 But one, without a groan,
 After tottering filmy-eyed,
 Drops like stone;
 And before his comrade true
 Can reach his side, *he* too
 Falls, smitten through and through at Isandúla! . . .

* Lieut. Nevill Josiah Aylmer Coghill (24th Regt.), Lieut. Teignmouth Melvill (24th Regt.), both killed while escaping with the colours, Jan. 22, 1879.

Bless the Lord, who in the hollow of His hand,
Kept the remnant of that little British band !
 But give honour everywhere
 To the brave who perish'd there,
 Speak their praise throughout the land
 With a prayer—
 More than sorrow they can claim :
 They have won the crown of Fame !
They have glorified the name of Isandúla !

ROBERT BUCHANAN.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG, *March 12th*, 1879.

The Plague.

FATE has of late been very cruel to our country; there is no calamity it spares us. With the war hardly terminated, and the revolutionary movements only partly put down, we have now to face the Plague. This last stroke fell on us quite unexpectedly, and its worst feature is not the evil it actually does, but rather the panic it produces.

When the first news reached us of the disease bursting out in a distant corner of the Government of Astrakhan, everybody was so stricken by terror that anything like calm reflection seemed quite hopeless. The plague, or the *black death*, as it is called in the native language, was thought to be only waiting for the spring and the thawing of the ice, to invade not only all Russia but the whole of Europe. Nothing was left us to do but to await death.

The most celebrated members of the medical faculty assembled here nearly every day to deliberate upon the character of the epidemic, and to consider the means of fighting it. Our first authority in that line of disease, Doctor Batkine, publicly declared it to be the real Indian plague, saying nobody could have the least doubt about it. The papers, naturally seizing every opportunity for communicating startling news, expatiated upon the subject. Each time their sensational telegrams were officially refuted they took the greatest pains to insinuate that the Government did not wish the truth to be known, and that their news ought to be believed despite the official denial. The grossest instance of this kind occurred in the case of *The Golos*. Soon after the outbreak of the plague at Vetlianka it inserted telegrams stating that the epidemic had reached Zarizine, which is a large town, and an important commercial centre on the Volga, and that it was making dreadful ravages there. The Minister of the Interior sent an official refutation

of this statement to the paper, and threatened it with heavy penalties for publishing false telegrams.

For a long time public opinion sided with the press against the Government, most people feeling certain that the journals were right, and that the Government used its power in order to conceal the real state of things. Nevertheless, ensuing events have proved that for once the public has erred in its judgment. Private information arrived in support of the official statements, and it became known that no case of plague had occurred at Zarizine or anywhere beyond the limits of the Government of Astrakhan.

Notwithstanding this fact, the papers continued to fill their columns with exaggerated reports. Enough allowance was not made for what was being officially done. The administration had roused itself to unusual activity; its local as well as its central agents beginning a desperate fight against this new foe. They even acted in unity, a rather unusual thing, running a kind of steeplechase of zeal, where every one was anxious for the others, also, to gain the victory. This competition at first helped the exaggerating of the evil, lending itself to the course taken by the press. Each functionary who took upon himself the task of stopping the progress of the plague, or of circumscribing it within certain limits, not unnaturally wished it to be thought difficult in order to gain more honour. Thus, the Governor of the border provinces desired to persuade us all that he had found the country in a dreadful state, and had rapidly cured it by enforcing his energetic regulations. At the same time, the General-Governor named specially for affairs connected with the plague (Louis-Melikof), and entrusted with extraordinary powers for the purpose, expected to meet a formidable enemy, one that would task all his exertions. He would hardly have been pleased to hear that the foe had capitulated before his arrival, and that he had nothing whatever to do. Something of the same kind may be said concerning the medical men despatched to the theatre of the disease. Their devotion had been so much spoken of, and their courage so much praised, that they would have been disappointed, one may almost say, to find the epidemic gone, and their journey made useless. All these different reasons explain why reports of the disease still continue to pour in after the plague itself is hardly worth mentioning. There can be no doubt that we shall be obliged for some time yet to come to read bulletins about two or three peasants, lying ill in some village two thousand kilomètres away, while we have no excitement about the patients suffering as much from common diseases near us.

However, every day the exaggerations of the first reports are becoming more and more clearly apparent. The timorous are rapidly decreasing in numbers, and the spring is being looked forward to with much less anxiety. The panic would never have attained such proportions if it had not been for the censorship and for the Government adopting its usual tactics. If the rulers did not so dreadfully fear liberty of thought,

and put such restrictions on the press, people—at home, as well as abroad—would not so easily credit bad news and disbelieve official statements.

If we remember the hygienic condition in which most of our rural populations are still living, and also the lack of medical statistics respecting them, it is easy to account for the great mortality in that class without recurring to the hypothesis of plague. A quite curable epidemic may, in those districts, take a mortal character; and, indeed, who knows the exact numbers of poor peasants dying in all the villages spread through our vast country? In the south and the east of Russia it is nothing unusual to find cottages without chimneys, where the smoke has no other issue than the door. The narrow, small windows of these dwellings are never opened during the whole winter, while, like the old Irish huts, the cot's only room gives shelter, not only to the family of its owner—grown people and children—but also to the hens and domestic cattle. One can easily imagine how vitiated the air must become in such circumstances, especially when we remember that the family linen is dried at the same kitchen fire, and that work of all sorts is done there. At the village of Vetlianka, where the plague broke out, another unfavourable condition besides all these was added. A large fishery is carried on at the place, and the heaps of fish, often half-rotten, which accumulated there in the course of being salted, helped still further to poison the atmosphere. Malignant fevers are never absent from these localities, and newcomers often yield to them after having breathed the air for only a few hours. Medical aid is nearly unknown, and nothing induces the peasants to change their modes of life. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that every case which arises under these conditions makes a great number of other victims.

This visitation has done us, and will do us, great harm in stopping trade and industry; but, on the other hand, it will prove salutary by revealing many hidden sores, and obliging the authorities to introduce most urgently required sanitary regulations. It has already given a very strong impulse of that kind throughout the whole country. Everywhere, from the capital down to the smallest provincial town, measures of cleanliness and of better hygiene are being discussed, and if only a portion of them are actually put into practice the national health must be a great gainer.

It has, however, now clearly been made out that the disease—whatever be its right name—has not spread beyond the locality where it made its first appearance. Four months have elapsed since then, and, despite the thawing of the ice on the Volga, followed by whole weeks of warm weather, not one single case of it has occurred in any other of the provinces. At first people were apt to take for the plague every illness having the slightest resemblance to it. As we have said, alarming news ran like wild-fire from different parts of the empire to St. Petersburg, but the reports all proved to be false. It was always

either the typhus fever, or diphtheria, or some other fever that had been mistaken for the plague; and after some time, reasonable people ceased to believe in the hasty intelligence. The panic is fast dwindling, and soon the plague will cease to be talked of. The sanitary cordons and quarantines instituted by the neighbouring States have very injuriously affected commercial interests, and, unhappily for us, politics undoubtedly play a part in these measures of precaution. Some other nations have not been sorry to seize this opportunity of the plague for doing harm to Russia. However, when the statements of the foreign doctors, sent to study the disease on the spot, have confirmed the favourable reports of our authorities, matters will resume their usual course.

State of the Finances.

The beginning of the year is the season when financial questions come to the front. The Report of the Controller of the Empire on the returns of the Budget of last year, and the scheme of the new Budget presented by the Finance Minister, are now both before the public. These documents are very much discussed in the papers. This year they were awaited more eagerly than usual.

The Controller's Report for 1877 was far from being comforting. The revenue had fallen short of the estimate to the amount of nine millions, while the expenditure had greatly exceeded the sums allowed. The extra expenses caused by the war and by the military occupation of Bulgaria increased the difficulties of the situation. Owing to this, there was not the least doubt that the Budget for 1879 would present a large deficit, and everybody expected this as surely as snow in December. All the greater was the general surprise when the Budget, on being published, showed the revenue and the expenditure balanced. At first, people felt incredulous; they suspected a trick behind it. How could General Greig possibly have faced so successfully and so quickly the difficulties of the situation, and have made to meet two ends so very far away one from the other? The explanation of this puzzle was soon discovered by experienced persons, and it proved simpler than had been thought. The balancing of the Budget is effected in two chief ways, by the natural growth of the revenue, and by new taxes being added to the existing ones. From one or other or both of these sources must be drawn the means to defray the extra expenses caused by the war.

The main increase of public expenditure in the year 1879 is in the item of interests on the loans contracted in 1878. The total sum amounts to nearly forty-two millions of paper roubles. The ordinary expenses are but little increased. To cover these forty-two millions, five new taxes have been decreed, and they are expected to produce about twenty-two millions. These fresh imposts are—an additional tax on stamps, one on fire insurances, one on cotton, one on the distilling of gin, and one on railway tickets. The greatest portion of the new revenue (about eight millions) is expected to be drawn from the last of these taxes; the

tickets of first- and second-class passengers being taxed at the rate of twenty-five per cent., and those of the third-class at fifteen per cent. To the increase of these twenty-two millions, it is estimated there will be added twenty-five millions more from the natural growth of revenue, chiefly in the custom duties and the wine excise. In these two ways the interest on the new debt is covered, leaving a surplus that will furnish means for other necessary expenses.

So far, all seems to be very satisfactory, and the partisans of the present Minister have reason to rejoice. But between the anticipation and the reality there is in finance often the same distance as between the cup and the lip, where a slip is said to be always possible. The flaw in the whole plan is, as the reader will very likely have guessed, the depreciation of our paper-money, which is gradually getting worse every month, and which cannot be stopped as long as the Treasury recurs to fresh issues. Even if the Treasury were to cease pouring fresh paper into the market, the quantity actually current, being so much beyond the public wants, may push depreciation still lower. In fact, the paper-rouble has lost nearly twenty per cent. of value during the last two years, and the talked-of natural growth of revenue may be, in great part, only the sign of its depreciation. This appears clearly in the case of the custom duties, which, being paid in gold coin, are in the Budget estimated in paper-money, and, accordingly, show a large increase. When the domestic value of the rouble is growing less, the sums standing in the Budget do not represent the same wealth as before, while the expenses, or part of them, must suffer in a contrary way from that depreciation. Things must grow dearer as time passes, even though the prices do not immediately rise in proportion to the issues of paper; in the course of the year, however, the difference will be felt. What will then become of the balance so satisfactorily established on this reckoning of the paper-money?

Another remark necessary to be made here is, that one cannot be perfectly sure beforehand of the productiveness of the new taxes. Among them, one is particularly unpopular, and people eagerly cast about how best to escape it. We mean the raising of the payment for railway tickets; in particular is this so in the case of the third-class. Our great distances make travelling very expensive, and the additional tax seems very heavy. Our workmen are chiefly peasants, who spend half of the year in towns, and then go back to their villages for the other months. The artisans lead a nomad life, adding to their handicraft the task of ploughing their fields, and they are accustomed to wander from one place to another. This asking from them of fifteen per cent. more for their railway ticket constitutes a grievous burden. The middle classes, in their turn, are greatly inclined to save as much as possible of their travelling expenses. Russia is, perhaps, the land of all others where the second- and third-class are the most used by well-to-do people, who could easily allow themselves the luxury of travelling

first-class. A large majority of the squires living on their lands never think of taking even second-class tickets. After being used to bad roads and uncomfortable carriages all their lives, railways appear to them such a splendid mode of conveyance that they do not need to add soft cushions and carpets. Why should we make an unnecessary gift to the companies by going second-class? is their answer to any question, and they think themselves completely in the right. What will they say and do now, when obliged to pay fifteen per cent. more? It is to be expected that many excursions not quite necessary, such as calls on relatives or friends, will be totally forgone. On the other hand, first-class passengers will descend to the second-class, and second-ones yet lower to the third. May not all this influence the produce of the new tax, reducing it to an insignificant amount, while fostering discontent among the public?

It is replied to this argument that every new tax arouses discontent, and that the nation must pay the expenses of a war gone into in pursuance of the general wish. Everybody accepts this principle in theory, but nobody likes to have it applied to himself, and grumbling accompanies each payment.

The Trial of Tuchentzof.

The audacious theft, discovered last spring, in the Landed Bank of Mutual Credit, produced a deep sensation. This bank had enjoyed the best reputation at home as well as abroad; not the least doubt as to its solidity or its management had ever arisen. The directors, as also all the members of the administration, were men of high station, much respected, and inspired the most absolute trust. The cashier himself, who proved afterwards to be no better than a common thief, was a frequenter of good society, with the best connections. It is true that he was known to be without fortune, and, at the same time, to be living like a Nabob; also, that he had been scandalously divorced from his wife, and was a libertine. All this did not lessen the social esteem in which he was held, and he continued to keep open house, inviting to his fine dinners and parties the aristocracy of the capital. His extravagant expenses, especially in the matter of gipsy girls, to whom he made princely gifts, awoke in the end the suspicions of some people, who thought fit to warn the directors of the bank; but these warnings passed unheeded. The periodical inspections of the coffers showed that all was safe, and the suspicions to which the life of Tuchentzof gave rise, seemed to have no facts to rest upon.

However, last spring, renewed rumours that he was spending enormous sums, joined to another report that shares of the Company, which were thought to be in reserve, were in circulation, led the chiefs to dismiss him. When he had to deliver up his trust to his successor his dealings came to light. More than two millions of roubles were missing, and Tuchentzof confessed to having taken them at different periods during

the last four years. On hearing this announcement people did not wonder so much at his knavery as at the ease with which the thefts had been committed. Numbers of tales relating the sly tricks to which he had had recourse circulated at the time through the city. His trial was eagerly awaited, as it promised not only to disclose interesting facts concerning the deed itself, but to lay bare the hidden springs of the motives which had prompted him to commit it. It was reported that very high persons were mixed up in the affair: that he had shared his illicit gains with them, so buying their silence.

The trial, which took place last month, did not realize these expectations. The whole affair turned out quite commonplace; its only curious particulars consisting in the carelessness and indifference which had been shown by the guardians of the public trust. Tuchentzof could not even boast of any extraordinary cleverness or slyness: it was such an easy task to cheat his chiefs that he had not the slightest merit in accomplishing it. He had only to stretch out his hand and to take all he liked. The shares and other property were placed in sealed covers; and only the parcels of which the covers had been unsealed were examined at the inspections. The seals affixed were those of the directors and the auditors; the cashier had no right to break them, and therefore they were supposed to be safe: nobody had thought of examining them! Tuchentzof took out what he wanted, sold or pawned the scrip, and had only to pay the interest regularly, never fearing a discovery. When those concerned in the administration were asked by the Judges why they did not think of such a possibility, even after they had been warned about the cashier's extravagant life, one of them—an honourable Senator—answered that he could remember nothing about it, having contented himself with signing his name to the accounts. Another replied that the coffers being kept in a sort of cellar, he never went down because he suffered from a pain in his leg. A third had no idea of the technical routine of a bank, and did not know in what manner its cheques and orders were written and dealt with. This ignorance and neglect did not however prevent them all from expecting large fees for their supposed duties and taking them without a scruple. However, they will be severely punished for their *nonchalance*: the meeting of the shareholders decided to sue them for the missing sum, and they will hardly be able to pay these two millions without sacrificing all they possess. It will be a bitter lesson, but if it makes people more careful about the public interest it hardly ought to be regretted.

The excuses the prisoner put forward were worse than his fault. He affirmed that his wife was the real culprit; that she had been used to luxury, and he felt obliged to procure a continuance of it for her. He entered into disgusting particulars concerning his wedded life, forgetting that the mud he threw upon his wife flew back on himself. The only effect of the pleading was to lower his character still further in the eyes of the jury, since everybody knew that he was legally separated

from his wife years previously ; the robbery having been perpetrated long after the divorce. He was found guilty, and was sentenced to deportation to Siberia. Only a small part of the stolen sum was recovered, the rest having been spent in his orgies.

Enforcing Payment of Taxes by Torture.

Another curious case has this week been brought before the Court of Riazan. A commissary of rural police, named Popof, was charged with abuse of his power, and with inflicting torture on the peasants for arrears in the payment of taxes. The fact of either a chief or an agent of the Government being brought to account for his behaviour towards those below him occurs so rarely in Russia that it cannot pass unnoticed. It marks an important step in the advance of justice and civilization among us, and is the best guarantee for the future.

The abuse of which Popof was found guilty is one very common in our villages, though it does not often take the extreme character of torture. When corporal punishment was abolished throughout the empire, being, it was supposed, erased from the penal code, the legislators could not persuade themselves to stamp it completely out, but relegated it to a corner, where it continued to exist. This corner was furnished by the rural self-government conferred on the peasants after their emancipation. The opinion that ignorant people possess an intuitive knowledge of justice, better than that of the upper classes who are spoiled by civilization, is still prevalent in some circles. The liberated peasants were supposed to know best how to distribute the land, and apportion the taxes, between the members of their community, and also how generally to do justice. They had their special executive administrators and their own courts, which were chosen by themselves. These judges are not obliged to possess any education, not even the first elements of spelling, much less acquaintance with the common law ; their conscience and common-sense are their only guides. It was thought necessary to leave to these courts the privilege of corporal punishment as being the penalty most familiar to the class, and the easiest for the officials to apply. True, the power was not conferred without some restrictions being added. The number of blows to be given, as well as the limitations bearing on the age and sex of the culprits, were fixed by law ; old men and women not being liable to this punishment. But everybody knows that such qualifying provisions are a dead letter, unless there be some one expressly appointed to watch the enforcing of them. The judges and the bailiffs went on flogging whoever they liked, and giving as many blows as they thought fit, without being subjected to any interference in the matter. Though this corporal punishment was intended exclusively for breaches of the penal code, it was soon applied in cases of arrears in the payment of taxes and dues. The village is collectively responsible for the total of the taxes imposed on it, and the bailiffs found that flogging was the best means for collecting the required sums.

The commissaries of police in their turn, not having the right of inflicting this penalty, referred cases to the rural judges, asking them to order it, and it seems they hardly ever met with a refusal. Thus, while real criminals were exempted from this most degrading punishment, poor peasants were subjected to it at the arbitrary will of the police and the rural judges, for not having the amount of ready money asked from them.

The evidence went to show that the accused Popof, being gifted by nature with a peculiar ferocity, took lively pleasure in such scenes. He passed the sentence on individuals who were clearly exempted by law in consideration of their age or of illness, and in the carrying out of the sentences he transformed the chastisement into a real torture. Some of the details were nearly incredible. By his orders the rods were heated in an oven to make them more flexible, and were sprinkled with salt, or else rubbed with a wet rag dipped in salted water. The blows, instead of following quickly one after another, were given with long intervals between (for instance, it was said, a quarter of an hour), besides being inflicted with such violence that the sufferer often lost his senses. During the whole time of the punishment the unhappy prisoner, having on only a shirt, was lying on the floor, in an unheated room with several degrees of frost in the air, while the commissary was leisurely walking to and fro wrapped in furs, and inhumanly rejoicing at his victim's sufferings. The enjoyment Popof derived from indulging in this cruelty was so great, that he never accepted any palliations or excuses on behalf of those who were condemned to undergo the punishment. Even when the commune, pitying some old or sick man, deposited for him the sum he was owing, the commissary took the money, but declared that the man would be punished all the same for not having paid it earlier.

All these allegations were proved by eye-witnesses. The counsel for the accused tried to make out that all the sentences had been pronounced by the rural judges, without any personal wish or the use of any influence on the part of the commissary. But the jury were not to be bamboozled in this way. The verdict was against the accused, and he was condemned to three months' imprisonment in a fortress. This penalty may justly be considered very lenient for such a crime; but the trial itself is a novelty and will be a warning to other functionaries. Hitherto they have deemed themselves quite above the law, and they needed to be reminded of their error.

However, this is not the only moral pointed by the case. What is the real worth of these rural courts, which are the humble servants of every commissary of police, and what sort of justice may the peasants expect from them? The law they are called to apply mostly favours the suitor who offers the largest bribes or else is on the side of him who has most power. The weak and the poor have in fact nothing to hope from the tribunals, and resistance on their part to the arbitrary proceedings of the police is out of the question. Is it not high time to reform or abolish these institutions?

Literature.

For a long time we have not adverted to our literary activity, though this has gained in interest since the conclusion of the peace. In glancing at the latest novels deserving to be noticed, we may name three authors, little known abroad, but who all possess real talent,—Avscenko, Markevitch, and Potiekhine. They are not beginners in the art of fiction, having adopted it long ago, but they each present a characteristic feature which distinguishes them from most of their literary colleagues. Instead of writing their best works at first, and afterwards deceiving the hopes aroused by them, they have followed a course of gradual development, going on improving their abilities by experience. The three novels issued last year bearing their names are decidedly the best they ever gave us, and each book constitutes in its kind a precious acquisition for our literature.

Though the subjects chosen by these writers differ widely in many respects, the works have this one feature in common—that they aim at being pictures of real manners, not mere fictions. The work of Markevitch, “A Quarter of a Century Ago,” portrays with much vividness the customs, ideas, and fashions of life at that epoch. The author, whose youth was passed at that time, and who has, therefore, only to recur to his memory in order to recall particulars, feels a great predilection for that period. The past appears to him rose-coloured; the scenery of his tale, as well as its chief heroes, are poetically described. It may be worth while to sketch the plan of the book.

At the opening of the story we are on a splendid estate near Moscow, belonging to the old Prince Larion Chatounsky. His proud, aristocratic spirit has not allowed him to remain in the service of a State that did not value his abilities, and he has voluntarily retired into a kind of banishment. He had never been married, but he filled the office of guardian to his beautiful niece Lina, his dead brother's daughter, and he loved his pupil perhaps a little to excess. His sister-in-law, who belonged to a family of rich tradesmen, was a vulgar, silly, vain woman, quite unable to guide the charming girl, and so he had to really fill the place of both her parents. Among the amusements of the family the performing of theatrical plays occupied a foremost place, and as the Princess Aglaé had sojourned some time in England, she tried to put her house on an English footing, and also to educate her daughter like an English young lady. Shakspeare was naturally their favourite author. Accordingly, they heard with pleasure that a young neighbour of theirs named Gondurof, who had just finished his studies at the University of St. Petersburg, and who performed *Hamlet* to perfection, was coming to call on them. A plan for performing the tragedy was immediately devised, the parts being distributed among the numerous guests who were always to be found under the hospitable roof of the Prince Chatounsky. Gondurof had just incurred a very bitter disap-

pointment, and wishing to make himself thoroughly acquainted with Slavonic lands, he intended to travel in these countries. But the Emperor Nicholas did not approve of the plan, and the permission for going abroad was denied him. Feeling very unhappy, he went to the Chatounskys, and was glad there to forget his grief in performing the part of Hamlet. Lina naturally played Ophelia, and ere long the drama on the stage got mixed and entangled with a real one in actual life. The young couple fell in love one with the other, but Lina's mother had a much more brilliant marriage in view for her, while her uncle did not want her to marry at all. The young girl, being too well-principled to act contrary to the wishes of her relatives, told Gondurof that she would never marry him without their consent. This made him still more unhappy, and also angry; and the perplexed course of their own love romance ran side by side with the rehearsals, and with the final performance of the English drama. After many events have happened, the lovers end by obtaining the assistance of the Prince Larion; but, notwithstanding this, the story of their love had a tragic end. Lina's mother, supported by a powerful party of high functionaries, found means to remove young Gondurof. A denunciation of his subversive political views was sent to the Governor-General of Moscow. On this orders were given to arrest him immediately, and to despatch him to Moscow under guard of the police. No time was left him to pay a last visit to the young girl to whom he was engaged, or to communicate to her the news. When he arrived at Moscow he learned that he was banished to Orenburg, on the confines of Asia. Lina, learning too abruptly the sad news, had a fit of aneurism, and though her uncle skilfully baffled the foul intrigue, and had Gondurof brought back, Lina did not recover. She died a saint, as she had lived, and her uncle could not survive her. He ended his life by suicide, leaving the others to arrange matters as they liked.

A sketch so brief as this is cannot give an adequate idea of the merits of the novel. Its success depends chiefly on the truth of the characters, the vividness of local colouring, the liveliness of the main action, and the multiplicity of interesting personages filling the stage. The reforms of the present reign have thrown the epoch represented much farther back than twenty-five years; but the time is painted with great fidelity, and though the chief heroes of the story are idealized, the dark sides of society are sufficiently brought into view.

It is instructive to put in contrast with the above work the last novel of Avseenko, which is entitled "*The Infernal Life*." It was published at the same time. While Markevitch devotes his pen to the past, which he tries to show at its best, Avseenko busies himself exclusively with the present. He has no partiality for the period, and mixes the darkest colours on his pallet. The time we live in appears to him the worst in all the course of history, and he thinks that the perverseness of mankind has attained its highest pitch in our days. No ideal

figures adorn and soften his sad tale ; and if his heroes are true to nature, which is undeniable, they do not do any honour to it. The chief hero of this book is a barrister, called Besbednoi, who owes his fortune about equally to his ability and to his slyness and bad morals. He never takes into consideration anything except his own profit or his pleasure, and goes straight forward to his object without caring for anybody else's interest. He is as fluent and prepossessing as a fashionable barrister is expected to be in fiction, and people are generally very fond of him. Before beginning his brilliant career in the capital, he dwelt for some time in a provincial town, where he had fallen in love with a pretty and intelligent girl, Olympia Olchansky. He promised to marry her as soon as he had the means to do it, and she never doubted his word. But being of an impatient temper, she could not wait indefinitely, and a year after his departure from the locality she followed him to St. Petersburg. She had no mother, and her old weak father had no power to detain her.

Her unexpected arrival in the capital both surprised and rejoiced Besbednoi. He really loved Olympia as much as he was capable of loving ; and though no prospect offered of a possibility of marrying her, his mind was not disturbed by scruples on that score. His career, in fact, was at a stage where a marriage with a penniless girl would be particularly prejudicial to him ; but he thought that Olympia might be perfectly happy without the ceremony, and he directly began trying to draw her over to that way of thinking. He assured her of his love ; telling her at the same time that their marriage must be postponed for an indefinite period. As Olympia had a beautiful voice, he proposed to her that in the meantime she should enter the Conservatory of Music. She acted on the suggestion, and allowed him to help her to find suitable lodgings, and so on. He introduced her to some of his female friends, who were free from every social prejudice ; and when her little store of money was exhausted, he made her accept a loan from him. By little and little he compromised her in the eyes of the world, and finally finished by transforming her into an obedient tool. However, these results were not obtained without struggles and much resistance on her part. Olympia more than once revolted, trying to escape from the tyrannical sway exercised over her. She fled from her lover, refused to see him, and sought a refuge in the arms of her old father, who had come from his native town to save his lost lamb. But all was in vain : every struggle ended in the barrister's victory. The father went home in despair ; and Olympia consented to take up her abode in her lover's villa. The end of the story may easily be guessed. After some time Besbednoi met a rich heiress, who was willing to marry him ; and Olympia became a Sister of Charity, going to hospital duty at the theatre of the war.

Around these chief persons the author has grouped many others. The rich clients of Besbednoi, who gain their unjust suits by his eloquence, and whom he flatters, while in his heart deeply despising them ; the

men of business, in conjunction with whom he originates fraudulent companies—distributing the shares among their dupes, young *flats* and *snobs*, blasé before they have finished their education; and young worldly-minded girls hunting after husbands. All these types are duly presented in the tale; and some of them have reached such a depth of moral degradation that even Besbednoi seems pale alongside their blackness. A noble feeling or an elevated motive of action rarely throws a gleam of light on the dark picture; and at the close the reader is obliged to confess that a great deal of talent has been employed to give him the worst idea possible of the modern state of civilization. Nevertheless, if the reader looks aside for an instant from the actors to gaze on the conditions under which they are shown as living, he must be aware of the progress accomplished during the last quarter of a century. The choice of heroes and heroines is a matter of taste, and it is difficult to believe that, with a little good-will, Avseenko could not have found around him more lovable types than those he painted. But facts like the refusal of the passport for a scientific journey, and the arbitrary banishment of Gondurof, cannot occur any more in our time; that is worth something. Dissolute barristers and deluded girls have existed for a long while, and are likely to go on, for we cannot expect virtue to be a common gift; but political institutions may be improved, and their improvement must affect public morals for the better, despite the pessimist views of particular writers.

The third of the new novels we have mentioned, "The Young Sprouts," by Potiekhine, runs its course in quite another social circle, and has but little in common with the two preceding works. The author is an observer of rural life, and his tales always relate to peasants. There was a time (about the year 1840) when such sketches were apt to assume an idyllic form; the peasant heroes were virtuous men, loving God and honouring all superiors, content with their humble lot, and endowed with a delicacy of feeling and a nobleness of speech quite unknown to the upper classes. This period was succeeded in our literature by one of excessive realism—that fashion lasting till now—the low people being painted with all their vices and their coarseness of language and manners.

The greatest merit of Potiekhine is that he does not belong to either of these schools. Having thoroughly studied the types he reproduced, he neither idealizes them to the point of making them poetically unreal, nor does he present them in all their coarseness. The change brought about in their life by freedom, and the new institutions granted on them, forms the subject of his last work, and the name of *young sprouts* is given by him to the present generation, born free. His hero is a young peasant, Theodore, who has a great talent for all technical arts. He does not want to plough his field like his ancestors before him, but asks his father to let him go to work at a neighbouring manufactory, where he may better test his abilities. He has before lived in

another village, at the house of his married sister, and there he made the acquaintance of the schoolmaster who by his teaching opened new horizons to the young peasant's mind. This schoolmaster belongs to the radical party, who believe it to be their duty to enlighten the people upon the social injustice which is done to them. He talks very much in that sense to the young man, and expects to find in him an obedient pupil; but, unfortunately, Theodore in the meantime meets a girl who inspires him with a violent love, and after that happens he only dreams of getting rich and of marrying her.

Having with great difficulty obtained the permission of his father, he goes to the chief manager of the manufactory, and asks him for work. Here we have put before us two curious representatives of the old and the new generation of tradespeople. The director is one of the tyrants so well depicted by Ostrovsky. Proud of his riches, he recognises no limits to his power, and he cannot endure the notion that a workman may discuss the amount of the wages he pleases to grant him. He never condescends to make any formal agreements with his workmen, and they are obliged to trust everything to his sense of justice, if they are to enter the manufactory at all. The son, on the contrary, is imbued with the modern socialistic and radical ideas; he deplores the inequality of fortunes, sympathises with the victims of his father's despotism, but himself enjoys very little liberty, and can do nothing to help his brethren. His only pleasure consists in telling them what he thinks about the bad organization of society, or, in other words, in revolutionary propagandism under his father's roof. Theodore is much perplexed by these opposite views, and is at a loss how to behave in such circumstances. At this point, the interesting tale abruptly stops, remaining unfinished; but we hope that the completion of it will not be long postponed. Will the hero get entangled in the net of the revolutionary propaganda, or will his good sense preserve him from it?

In every instance, the picture drawn by the author is true to nature, for the life of the peasant is no more free from temptations and dangers than that of the classes above him. The rising generation in the agricultural districts refuse to follow the steps of their forefathers; they seek new paths, and begin to prefer the more agitated life of towns to the calm existence of the country. The rural commune puts a drag on this movement, but it will not be able to stop the tendency for ever.

A Marriage and a Death in the Imperial Family.

The *fêtes* of the season have been abruptly interrupted by unexpected mourning in the Imperial Family. The young Grand Duke Viatcheslaw, the son of the Archduke Constantine, and nephew of the Emperor, has, at the age of sixteen, been suddenly snatched away by brain disease. Born in Poland, in 1862, at the time when his father had accepted the post of Viceroy of that country, and still dreamt of reconciling it to Russia, a national name was given to the child, in

order to propitiate the Poles. Some persons pretend that the Grand Duke Constantine seriously aimed at becoming the King of Poland; and though this supposition is plainly false, it may be admitted that he had some other grand objects in view, and that he really sought to further peace between the two hostile parties. Such hopes were soon overthrown by the events which followed; but, nevertheless, his youngest son remained his favourite, as he also was that of the Grand Duchess. Great expectations were founded on the score of the boy's abilities. At the Court it was known that the young Viatcheslaw was endowed with an intelligence beyond his years, and that it was likely he would be the glory of the family. The autopsy made after his death disclosed an organic defect in his brain, which made a longer life impossible.

So mixed, however, is the course of this life, that, a month ago, another family event caused grand festivities to take place at the Emperor's palace. The Grand Duchess Anastasie, daughter of the Czar's brother Michael, married the heir of the throne of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The nuptials were most splendid. The double religious ceremony was performed at two o'clock in the afternoon, followed by a dinner for all the military and civil functionaries who have the right of being presented at the Court. The invitations included their wives and daughters, and the banquet terminated by a kind of ball, where the only dance was a Polonaise. As the ladies, on such occasions, wear the national dress, consisting of a white satin gown embroidered with gold, a long velvet train, and the hair dressed in a way called *kokoshnek*, the common dances cannot be gone through, a slow walk, like that of a Polonaise, being the only possible thing. However, by way of compensation, the nuptials were followed by balls daily for two weeks, and the arrival of Lent itself would not have wholly stopped them, if the death of the young Grand Duke had not thrown a black veil upon society.

More Political Assassinations,

The Reds cannot be quiet for long; they are again to the fore. The foul murder of Prince Krapotkin, the Governor of Kharkow, is claimed to be their deed; for, as usual, they boast of it, alleging that it is a praiseworthy act of justice. Last Sunday Prince Krapotkin was driving home from a ball in a close carriage, when a shot was skilfully fired through the window, grievously wounding him. The doctor could not save him, and after suffering for three days he died from his wound. The clever murderer, after having fired his deadly shot, escaped; and we know by experience how little ground there is to hope for his discovery in the future.

This crime has a connection with another political affair, and may justly be considered as the consequence of it. An attempt to free some political prisoners, who were in custody at Kharkow, occurred some days before; and the leader of the riot, Fomin by name, had been arrested and ordered to be brought before a court-martial for trial. This announce-

ment was made to him on the Saturday, and on the Sunday Prince Krapotkin was killed. Though there could be no real doubt about the connection of the two affairs, a report attributing the crime to personal revenge was put into circulation, and found some believers; but the revolutionary party did not choose that this impression should last. They hastened to publish and to spread throughout Russia a proclamation, stating that they claimed the deed as their own. It is true that a difference was made between the penalty inflicted on General Mesentzef and that in this new case, but the difference is so slight practically that it hardly needs to be taken into account. It is affirmed that the chief of the gendarmes was sentenced to death by the revolutionary Court of Justice; while the governor of Kharkow has fallen under the shot of a voluntary avenger. As the latter belongs to the same camp as the executioners of the sentence on the General, we do not see much practical distinction between them. We fancy that the victims chosen by the underground Court of Justice will not much care about the particulars of their sentence; and will be but imperfectly comforted by learning that they have been wounded, not by an official executioner, but by a voluntary avenger of society's wrongs.

Unfortunately this sad event has not stood alone. We learn to-day that disturbances have occurred at Kiev. Blood has again been shed. The police were informed that suspicious persons were living in a certain house of that town, and resolved to make a visit of search; but as soon as the gendarmes reached the door and summoned the lodgers to let them in, they were met by a shower of projectiles. This obliged them, in their turn, to have recourse to arms. An officer was killed on the spot; another received a severe contusion; and three policemen were wounded. The fight did not prove less serious on the other side: five women and eleven men were arrested, of whom four are reported to be grievously wounded. A search of the house resulted in the discovery of all the materials for a printing-office; of false seals belonging to different administrative departments; false papers, revolutionary pamphlets, and a store of revolvers and daggers.

These events, taking them together, are not of a tranquillizing kind; and if we add to them the fact that the underground press continues to flourish, mocking all the efforts of the Government, there is some reason to look with anxiety into the future. The impunity with which the murderers attack their victims—escaping always from the hand of justice—is the saddest side of the recent events. In these ways the Reds are encouraged to persevere in their tactics, being made bolder every day. The Government replies, it is true, by punishing severely the culprits it seizes; and in this way civil war becomes more and more violent. What will be the end of it? Nobody can yet tell.

T. S.

CONTEMPORARY LITERARY CHRONICLES.

I.—CHURCH HISTORY, &c.

(Under the Direction of the Rev. Professor CHEETHAM.)

AT the head of the works which come before us at present we must place Professor Max Müller's "Hibbert Lectures" (*Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religions of India*. London: Longmans; Williams and Norgate); for inquiries into the very ground and root of religion precede those which relate to existing forms of religion. It is needless to say of anything which bears the name of Max Müller that it is learned, ingenious, and interesting; yet the present work seems to have somewhat less freshness than most other productions of the accomplished writer; it has somewhat the air of having been produced rather because he had to say something than because he had something to say. The Hibbert Trust, even with its much wider conditions, will probably not wholly escape the fate which has too often befallen the Bampton and the Hulsean.

That Mr. Max Müller in lecturing on religion should to a certain extent repeat himself was almost inevitable; for he had already treated the "Science of Religion" at some length. It is, we think, unfortunate that after admitting the difficulty—nay, the impossibility—of defining religion, he still attempts something very like a definition: for to speak of a "mental faculty" which "enables man to apprehend the infinite," is to bring in all the endless discussion about the meaning of the word "faculty,"—for which Mr. Müller proposes to substitute "the *Not-yet*,"—about the infinite, and about man's apprehension of the infinite. No doubt the temptation was great to reply to critics of the "Science of Religion," and the discussion itself is ingenious enough; but we really cannot feel that it helps us in the consideration of historical religion. It is with a sense of relief that we pass from this abstract contemplation of the "infinite" to the clearer words of Mr. Codrington, who writes from his own experience and not from his inner consciousness. "The religion of the Melanesians consists . . . in the persuasion that there is a supernatural power about, belonging to the region of the unseen . . . There is a belief in a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil." Here we seem to have, in few and simple words, the root-idea of natural religion, not only in Polynesia, but everywhere. Mr. Müller's illustration of the unconscious "apprehension of the infinite" from the apprehension of colours by savages, who have only names perhaps for three or four, does not seem altogether happy; for the sensation of colour is purely physical; there is no reason to doubt that savages have precisely the same colour-sensations that we have, though they are rarely equal to the abstraction of naming all colours as such, apart from coloured objects;* but "the infinite" is an abstract concept—if it be a concept—and not the object of sensation at all.

It was of course inevitable, in speaking of Indian religion, that the theory of solar myths should be introduced. "People wonder," says the author, "why so much of the old mythology, the daily talk, of the Aryans, was solar:—What else could it have been?" There is here perhaps an allusion to Mr. J. A. Symonds, who (*The*

* See Mr. Grant Allen's interesting work on "The Colour-Sense; its Origin and Development." London: Trübner and Co.

Greek Poets, 2nd Ser., p. 25) does speak somewhat irreverently of those who "fancy that the early Greeks talked with most 'damnable iteration' about the weather." We agree with Mr. Symonds, and think that a plain answer may be given to the question, "What else could they talk about?" So far as we know, they talked about man and his doings; and when that subject was exhausted they imagined other beings more or less like man, and talked about them and their doings. Not that we deny that many myths have their origin in meteorological phenomena; it is quite clear that they have; but we think that Professor Max Müller's followers have gone astray after Solarism in much the same way that De Brosses did after Fetichism. We are very far from believing that a glowing ball in the sky—and the sun can have been no more to primitive man—appearing day after day, can have been the perpetual object of wonder and talk even to "the awakening consciousness of mankind."

We have not hesitated to express our dissent from Professor Max Müller on one or two points; but apart from these we have nothing but praise. The accounts of Fetichism—where it will probably be new to most readers to discover that "fetish" is no savage word, but simply the name (*feitico*, an amulet) which the Portuguese sailors gave to the object which they saw savages venerate; of the relation of the Veda to the history of early religion, with the curious particulars about its oral transmission; of Henotheism, Polytheism, Monotheism, and Atheism, as they appear in Indian thought; of ancient philosophy and practical religion, perhaps, most of all,—are full of interest, and could, probably, have been given by no other person with the same vivacity and fulness of knowledge that has here been imparted to them by Professor Max Müller. Even to students of his other works these lectures will give some fresh matter for thought, while to those to whom the study of comparative religion is new they cannot fail to be in the highest degree interesting and stimulating.

Here and there we meet with expressions which strike us with a little surprise. For instance, Professor Müller speaks (p. 231) of darkness and sin as "ideas which seem to us far apart." Surely to those who are familiar with St. John's Gospel the ideas of darkness and sin are very near. And not only so, but in Christian writings and Christian ritual evil is perpetually identified with darkness, and good with light; the place of dawn was the site of Paradise; the west, which seemed to swallow up the light, the abode of the powers of evil. The turning to the east in worship, which is common in churches everywhere, is but a recognition of the natural symbolism of the "Day-spring." We notice (p. 39) *φωινική* for *φαινική*, and *πράσινη* for *πρασινή*.

Mr. John Pryce's *Ancient British Church* (London, Longmans) is a historical essay which gained the prize at the National Eisteddfod of 1876. Nothing can be imagined better adapted to correct the notion which is, we think, generally prevalent in England, that the productions encouraged by the Eisteddfod are, as a matter of course, of a loose and rhetorical kind, very much overvaluing every scrap of Welsh literature, and paying little attention to that of the world in general. Far from being infected with Kelticism, Mr. Pryce's essay is a sober sketch of the early history of the British Church—so far as it can be known—founded on a careful examination of the best authorities. It seems a little odd to describe Coel, the supposed father of the Empress Helena, as king of *Colchester*; as to the authenticity of the legend, Mr. Pryce is no doubt quite right in saying that "the arguments against Helen's British origin seem conclusive." If there is any truth at all in the legend of St. Alban, he would seem to be rather a Roman than a British saint—though no doubt cultivated Britons did sometimes assume Roman names. But so far as we have observed, Mr. Pryce's errors are rare and his merits considerable. Probably the little that can be known about the ancient British Church has never before been collected in so convenient a form.

Nothing is more remarkable in the literary history of the last few years than the revival of interest in the eighteenth century. Since De Tocqueville directed attention to the fact, that the ideas which burst into light at the French Revolution were prepared and incubated in the previous century, there has been a continually increasing body of literature devoted to it. It was for a time much neglected; the ecclesiastical history, in particular, of the eighteenth century was for a time almost forgotten; the Georgian era was a by-word in England for all that was low and unsatisfactory in religion, in art, and in poetry. The learned and able men of the Oxford movement turned their thoughts to the Primitive Church and to the

great "Anglo-Catholic" divines in England, utterly ignoring the age of their great-grandfathers. They were concerned rather with the nature of the Church than with the refutation of Deism or the establishment of morality. Now, it has dawned upon men that history is continuous, and that we cannot understand the nineteenth century without studying the eighteenth. Moreover, a taste has been developed for the history of "culture;" we are no longer content in civil history with accounts of parliaments and treaties, battles and sieges; or in ecclesiastical history with successions of bishops or canons of councils; we want to know what the people were like and what they did, how they talked and wrote, painted and built. Of this "culture-history" Mr. Lecky's works are in England the most conspicuous examples: England in the eighteenth century especially he has depicted with so much learning, skill, and grace, that every one who follows him, whether in the way of civil or ecclesiastical history, must risk an unfavourable comparison. Notwithstanding, the two principal Church histories on our list, both devoted to the eighteenth century, have merits which will enable them to hold their own, even in the wake of so brilliant a predecessor as Mr. Lecky.

Dr. Stoughton, a veteran in the field of English ecclesiastical history, in his *Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges, 1702-1800* (London: Hodder and Stoughton), aims at presenting "a general view of national life under its religious aspects during the last century;" a "comprehensive view" of religion in England, "including the action of Government, the conduct of representative men, and the habits of society." This is no doubt the right conception of history, especially in the eighteenth century, the interest of which consists rather in the changes which gradually stole over society than in any striking events. Dr. Stoughton has carried out his purpose worthily. In his pleasant pages we pass from the days when Queen Anne touched sufferers for the "King's Evil" and the restoration of the Stuarts was still probable, to the days when the Church Missionary Society was founded and Henry Martyn went forth to the East. The very mention of these events shows how great was the change which had passed over England in the interval. There had been no great convulsion, and yet the change which passed over English life in the eighteenth century was scarcely less than that in the seventeenth, although in the latter both Church and Crown were for a time swept away. At the bottom of it all lies the philosophy of Locke; even phenomena which appear most diverse, such as Berkeley's writings, took their rise in the intellectual movement which Locke began. Philosophy, however, Dr. Stoughton deliberately eschews; his object is to depict events and not causes, to paint for us religious life, and not the hidden springs of that life of which even the actors in it were for the most part quite unconscious. Hence the Deistic controversy, which more than anything influenced English theology in the days between Bentley and Paley, and which had such momentous consequences when transferred to the Continent, appears but slightly in his pages. Butler is dismissed very briefly, nor is any adequate conception given of his relation to the controversies of his time. Waterland is, we think, scarcely appreciated. If Dr. Stoughton had been of a philosophical turn he would have seen more clearly than he appears to do the immense difference between Priestley's Necessarianism and Calvin's Predestination. But nothing is easier or less satisfactory than to find fault with a book for not being a different book, and Dr. Stoughton has done what he has attempted so well that it is ungracious to quarrel with him because he has not done more. If all writers kept as well within their powers it would be a considerable advantage to literature. He has introduced into the picture of English life in the eighteenth century many traits which will be new to most; a harvest of the smaller facts which give life to history has been gleaned from unpublished manuscripts and scarce tracts, as well as from a considerable collection of local Nonconformist histories in the possession of the author. Some very interesting touches are derived from the writer's personal intercourse with leading Nonconformists of an earlier generation. The speciality of the work may be said to be that, while it does not neglect the history of the Church in general, it bestows especial care on the Christian life of the Nonconformist bodies, for which the eighteenth century is the period of an important development. For the benefit of future editions we note a few slips or misprints:—Evelyn's *Sylvia* for *Sylva* (i. 40); Jacobin for Jacobite (i. 85); "Bromley T. Roffin" (i. 170) is no doubt a blending of the name of the Bishop of Rochester with that of his house at Bromley, and if the Bishop is Atterbury it should be "F. Roffen" not "T. Roffin;" Brant Broughton (i. 249) is in Lincolnshire, not near Warwick; Priestly is given for Priestley (ii. 41); Prettyman for Pretymen (ii. 57); Rodney for Romney (ii. 89); Cox for Coxo (ii. 85); Stephens for Stephen (ii. 133).

Dr. Stoughton is everywhere fair towards the Church of England; nowhere have we to complain of prejudice or misrepresentation. The utmost that can be said is, that, as is natural, the Established Church is less present to his mind as he writes than it would be to the mind of a Churchman, and that in consequence Churchmen are somewhat less prominent in his pages than we might expect. Nothing, for instance, is said of Bentley, or Berkeley, or Law, in connection with the Deistic controversy, though they produced by far the most considerable treatises on the orthodox side—the only anti-deistic treatises in fact, except Butler's, which can be said to have lived. But if the Church of England sometimes seems a little in the background in Dr. Stoughton's pages, this certainly cannot be said of the next work on our list, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, by Charles J. Abbey, Rector of Checkendon, Oxon, late Fellow of University College, and John H. Overton, Vicar of Legbourne, Lincolnshire, late scholar of Lincoln College, Oxford (London: Longmans). The writers do not call it a history, and it is in fact rather a series of historical essays, but it covers all that can fairly be included in the term "ecclesiastical history" within its period, and a great deal more than any one would have included under that term a generation back. Certainly no complaint can be made here that the Deistic controversy is not adequately treated, or that Churchmen do not get their share of the glory of refuting the Deists—a refutation which, from whatever cause, was nowhere so complete as in England. Moreover, the effect of the propagation of Deistical opinions on the Continent, when they had passed from the feeble grasp of Collins and Toland into the terrible hands of Voltaire and Lessing, is treated at some length. This portion of the work is perhaps something of an excrescence on the history of the English Church, but it is so interesting and so well written that we cannot wish it away. The writers follow the course of English Deism on the Continent, but they say nothing of its continental source—Bayle's Dictionary, the great storehouse of sceptical writers for several generations. There are excellent chapters on "the Church and the Jacobites," and on the group of good Churchmen—nonjuring and conforming—who clustered round the excellent Robert Nelson, whose "Fasts and Festivals" is probably now no longer one of the commonest household books, as it was within living memory. In the chapter on "Latitudinarian Churchmanship," it was, we think, a mistake to devote more than seventy pages to an elaborate examination of the works of Tillotson, who belongs wholly to the previous century. He is no doubt a highly convenient person to treat as a representative, but the traits of Latitudinarianism in the eighteenth century might surely have been adequately given without presenting us with so much of Tillotson's individuality. The chapter itself, however, is excellent, showing the working of the spirit of compromise and comprehension from the days of Tillotson to those of the "Feathers' Tavern" petitioners of 1772. A short and pleasant chapter is devoted to the "Essayists"—Steele, Addison, and their fellows—and their influence on the national religion. The account of the Trinitarian controversy takes us back to the days when Waterland contended against Samuel Clarke's Arianism, and again to the time when Horsley delivered his vigorous strokes against Priestley's Unitarianism. Under "Enthusiasm," that bugbear of the eighteenth century, are included such phenomena as Shakerism; the French "prophets" who had arisen under the savage persecution in the Cevennes, and about whom there arose a "mighty noise" in England, in 1706; Behmen and his English followers, especially his incomparable expositor, William Law; Moravianism; Methodism considered on its mystic side; Bishop Berkeley, William Blake, and S. T. Coleridge. "Church abuses" unfortunately supply abundant matter for an interesting chapter of fifty-six pages. The evils of pluralities and non-residence; the abject poverty of some, by the side of the inordinate wealth of others of the clergy; the shameless canvassing for the higher preferments constantly practised even by men of good repute; the general apathy and carelessness in the discharge of parochial duties; the dull and perfunctory preaching—these things form, it must be confessed, a very unattractive picture. And yet the germs of good were present even in the worst times of the Church; out of this decaying mass came forth the "Evangelical Revival," of which Mr. Overton gives us so admirable an account. The sketches of Wesley and Whitfield, their influence and their adherents, and again of the later race of Evangelicals within the Church, when Methodism had left it, are extremely good. The names of Hervey of the "Meditations," of Romaine and Henry Venn, of John Newton and William Cowper, of Scott and Cecil, of Joseph Milner and his brother Isaac, of the Thorntons, Wilberforce, and Hannah More, and of others whose influence is sketched in this chapter, were still household words in Evangelical circles when the middle-aged men of the present day were boys.

The chapter on "Sacred Poetry" is in our judgment much too long; a very sufficient conception of the sacred poetry of the eighteenth century might have been given in a third of the space. That on "Church Cries" to a certain extent supplies the want of one on the relation of Church and State, which might perhaps have been looked for. It must be confessed that some of the cries which excited the strongest passions when they were fresh and new, seem a little ridiculous when they are contemplated in cold blood. In the essay on "Church Fabrics and Church Services" we have probably the most complete account to be found anywhere of the whitewashed churches, the pews and galleries, the services and customs, the music and vestments, which were common a hundred years ago. In reference to the latter, it is strange to see that after all the suits relating to the matter, Mr. Abbey is not quite clear about the provisions of the rubrics and canons. On p. 467 he seems to suppose that the use of the cope depends upon the "Ornaments rubric;" whereas in fact its use is prescribed in cathedral and collegiate churches by the same Injunctions and Canons which make the surplice and hood the ordinary vestments of the clergy in their ministrations. It is the use of chasuble and dalmatic which depends upon the "Ornaments rubric." The most considerable omission in the work before us is that of missionary work; and yet surely the progress of the Church in America and India belongs to the history of the Church of England. A more systematic account of theological literature and learning is also to be desired. If space had been gained for these by the omission of a considerable portion of the essays on Tillotson and on Sacred Poetry, the book would, we think, have gained in value. We have noted one or two slight errors. Pfaff (i. 248) should be Pfaff; "edited by Tholuck" (i. 251) should be "quoted by Tholuck," who is again quoted by Lechler, p. 451, from which latter place Mr. Overton no doubt took the passage in question. Hales (i. 274) should be Hale, though the name is often written Hales by contemporary writers. Jablouski (i. 373, &c.) should be Jablonski. Keppel (ii. 8) should be Keppel. Grinley Gibbons (ii. 416) should be Grinling Gibbons. Stanley (ii. 452) should be Stukeley. Mr. Overton is, we think, mistaken in supposing (ii. 19) that parsons confined in the Fleet prison had any "privilege" in respect of marriages; as the marriage law stood before 1753, a clergyman who performed an irregular marriage was liable only to ecclesiastical penalties, and the Fleet always contained a supply of men who had neither benefice nor character to lose, and were consequently indifferent to such penalties. A marriage by a regularly ordained priest was then equally valid, wherever and whenever it was performed. The "State Trials" of this period contain some good illustrations of the working of the old marriage law, as well as of other social matters. Keith no doubt performed many marriages, but not in the Fleet; his chapel was in Curzon Street, nearly opposite the present Curzon Street Chapel. Mr. Abbey notes (ii. 420) that in 1746 the chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, "after Saturday evening prayers was the scene of the public Latin declamations;" to the best of our belief, the declamations are delivered there under similar circumstances still. These are small matters, such as no one can hope to escape entirely in an extensive work; and it must be said for Messrs. Abbey and Overton that no other period of the history of our Church has been so well and so fully illustrated as the eighteenth century is in their book. They have rendered a great service to students by making accessible to all that knowledge of the eighteenth century without which any adequate understanding of the nineteenth is impossible.

The first volume of Dr. Stevens's *History of Methodism*, published at the Wesleyan Conference Office, was noticed in these pages in October. The two volumes which complete the work carry on the narrative, the first to the death of Wesley in 1791; the second to the centenary jubilee of Methodism in 1839. The earlier, Dr. Stevens regards as "the forming period" of Methodism, in which it begins, spreads, and is organized; the second, its "testing period," the period of internal and external controversies, issuing in settled polity, in augmented vigour at home, and in missionary zeal abroad. Whenever an anecdote or an incident could serve the writer's purpose, he has preferred it, he says, to "general remarks." The work deserves high praise for impartiality, for research, and for interest; but the principle of composition avowed in the preface results in a general patchiness and want of cohesion, and the very conscientiousness with which it is attempted to notice every possible detail of biography, robs the whole of perspective and unity. If it may be said that a great history, in breadth of view and singleness of end, should resemble a great picture, Dr. Stevens' book, among histories, is what Cruikshank's big "Condemnation of Drink" is among paintings,—a bulky collection of little ones.

A fresh and abiding interest will always live about a man of whom Mr. Lecky judges it "no exaggeration" to say that "he has had a wider constructive influence in the sphere of practical religion than any other man who has appeared since the sixteenth century;" and Dr. Stevens' will be found a most readable compendium of information concerning both his work and his life. Mr. Lecky detects in John Wesley something like the vein of insanity which ran through Mohammed, Loyola, and George Fox; but his madness was like everything else about him, very methodical, and his common-sense and quiet humour are as conspicuous as his enthusiasm. His famous Minute of Conference in 1770, on the Arminian controversy, indicated that he looked with contempt on the refinements which have made sects. "What have we been disputing about for these thirty years? I am afraid about words." "Can you split this hair?—I doubt I cannot."

And the vexed question of the inconsistency of his almost death-bed declaration, "I live and die a member of the Church of England," with his plainly proved conferring of episcopal as well as presbyterial rank, may perhaps best be settled by numbering him among those who would not regard any particular doctrine on Apostolical succession and the order of the ministry as of primary and paramount importance. He exhibits just that sense of humour which may be desiderated even in such a magnificent character as that of F. W. Robertson.

The aptness of Wesley's replies sometimes took the form of severe repartee, but only when it was deserved. "Sir," said a blustering low-lived man, who attempted to push against him and throw him down; "Sir, I never make room for a fool." "I always do," replied Wesley, stepping calmly aside and passing on.

Whatever opinions may be held concerning the remarkable character who is the real hero of Dr. Stevens' story, there is ample proof of his foresight and genius for organization in the development of the society or societies which bear his name. Wesley died at the head of 550 preachers, with 140,000 "members." The centenary celebration of 1839, with which the present volumes close, saw these numbers increased nearly tenfold. Not the least astonishing or interesting part of the narrative of this growth is the portion which chronicles, very fairly, and without the sentimental exaggeration too often defacing similar records, the successes of Methodism in its foreign missions. Dr. Stevens' work seems to be accepted by his brother Methodists as a history satisfactory to themselves, and it may be recommended as a useful book for reference, as well as reading, to any one wishing for information concerning the rise and progress of that remarkable revival of Anglo-Saxon subjective religion which has falsified Luther's prediction of the probable dying down of such movements within a period of thirty years, and justifies by its vitality the soberer boasting of its adherents.

The work is illustrated by some good steel plates of the great champions of the cause.

Under the title of *The Churchmanship of John Wesley, and the Relations of Wesleyan Methodism to the Church of England*, by J. H. Rigg, D.D. (London: Wesleyan Conference Office), Dr. Rigg endeavours to prove, not to Wesleyans, who, he thinks, need no such proof, but to non-Wesleyan students of ecclesiastical history, that all efforts on the part of well-meaning Anglicans to undo the gigantic blunder, by which Wesleyan Methodism was forced into hostility to the Established Church, are vain. It is idle to imagine, he contends, that "the Methodism of England would be content, for the sake of union with the ancient and Established Church of this realm, to tear itself from union and communion with the Methodism of all countries besides, and thus to mar the integrity of the greatest sisterhood of Evangelical Churches which the world has known." Dr. Rigg writes warmly, but with temper, and not without humour. He likens some Churchmen to a fashionable gentleman who might again and again seek the hand of a lady of middle rank and country breeding, but of good looks and property, and notwithstanding repeated and decisive refusals, persist in his overtures with bland assumption, continuing to write letters as to the time and place of the marriage, as though rejection were a thing inconceivable.

If Methodist statistics are to be relied on, the world contains some eleven millions of Methodists, as against some ten millions of Anglicans. But even if this be so, among these eleven millions are probably many forms of faith and practice that would be as alien from the "Churchmanship of John Wesley" as any of the phases of Romanism and Rationalism which Dr. Rigg deplures in the Church of England.

The English Reformation; How it Came About and Why we should Uphold it, by Cunningham Geikie, D.D., author of "The Life and Words of Christ" (London:

Strahan & Co.), which has now reached a second edition, is the work of an earnest man who is favourable to the Reformation. No attempt is made to gloss over the brutality and violence of Henry VIII., or to represent the Reformers as men of extraordinary wisdom and goodness; but the writer believes—not without reason—that with all its shortcomings the Reforming movement of the sixteenth century was one for which every Englishman has reason to be thankful. The story is told in a vigorous and lively way and from good authorities. We may say, indeed, that—unless it be in the admirable sketch of the late Professor J. J. Blunt—the story of the Reformation has never been better told in so moderate a compass.

Dr. Fleming, in his *Early Christian Witnesses, or Testimonies of the First Centuries to the Truth of Christianity* (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.), designs to “give the reader some idea of men who are frequently referred to by writers and speakers on the claims of Christianity.” Those who read treatises on early Christianity have, he thinks, frequently no knowledge of the authors whom they find so abundantly quoted. The aim of this volume is to supply this knowledge in such a form as to be acceptable to ordinary readers. He has, we think, very fairly succeeded, and his work will be useful to those who do not possess, or are not disposed to consult, the larger Church histories, and yet wish to know what manner of men were Ignatius and Polycarp, Clement and Tertullian, Ambrose and Augustine, and many others their fellows.

Subterranean Rome appears to have a never-dying interest; we can never hear too much of the labyrinth beneath the earth which served some generations of Christians for places of burial and of worship. We gladly, therefore, welcome the first part of a new edition of Dr. Northcote and Mr. Brownlow's *Roma Sotteranea* (London: Longmans), an edition so enlarged as to be almost a new work. The part before us contains the general history of the Catacombs; the second will be devoted to early Christian art, and the third to the inscriptions of the Catacombs. The work is avowedly an exposition for English readers of the results of the investigations—now extending over many years—of Commendatore de Rossi, which have been published by himself in his “*Roma Sotteranea*,” and in his periodical, the “*Bulletin di Archeologia Cristiana*.” A main reason for the publication of the new English edition is that the substance of De Rossi's third volume, published as lately as 1877, might be incorporated. The part before us contains not only the history of the Catacombs themselves, and of the researches in them in modern times, but also a curious chapter of ecclesiastical history in the investigation of the nature of the “burial-clubs,” under the guise of which Christians legalized their meetings. These meetings were assimilated to those of the pagan clubs at the graves of their members. As it is impossible within our limits to give an idea of the subjects treated in the work before us, we content ourselves with one or two criticisms on points of detail. As to the derivation of the word “catacomb,” Canon Venables holds (*Dict. Chr. Antiq.* i. 295) that “*Catacumbæ*” was simply the name of a certain district near Rome, and came to be applied to the subterranean burial-places from the fact that the one cemetery which remained accessible when the others were forgotten was that “*ad Catacumbas*.” Our authors think that he has been led to this “by the erroneous supposition that the earliest use of the words is by a writer of the seventh century.” It seems to us, on the contrary, that his theory requires an early application of the word to the district; to be complete, it requires proof that “*Catacumbæ*” was in use before the cemeteries were formed; but, at any rate, the earlier it can be shown to have existed, the less is the probability that it is a barbarous compound of Greek and Latin. It is a little amusing to see (p. 357) the confidence with which the authors bring forward De Rossi's conjectural restoration of an inscription in which only the beginnings of the lines—in no instance more than three words—remain. It is, no doubt, an ingenious cento of Damasine phraseology, but probably a skilful artist in such matters might construct a score as good. How “*cum suis*” (p. 214) could be translated “with his own money” we do not understand, nor how “*requirere*” could mean “to see the deed of purchase.” The inscription in question seems to have been simply a direction where to find the plot itself. On p. 268 “obtained to defend” is an awkward rendering of “*meruit defendere*,” and the insertion of the words “the saints themselves” is utterly unauthorized; what the inscription says is, in brief, that though SS. Peter and Paul were eastern, Rome is more worthy to retain the relics of her great citizens. It is noteworthy that St. Peter as well as St. Paul is claimed as “*civis*,” in accordance probably with the belief of Damasus's time. The reference here to the quaint story

told in later days by Gregory the Great, how the representatives of East and West fought for the relics of the saints, is surely rather obscure. Of misprints we note Champillon (p. 51) for Champollion; and Pelusia (p. 471) for Pelusium.

In *Memorials of the Savoy, the Palace, the Hospital, the Chapel*, by the Rev. W. J. Loftie, B.A., F.S.A. (London: Macmillan & Co.), we have an admirable account of one of the most interesting spots in London. It was on February 12th, 1246, that Henry III. granted a certain piece of land "outside the walls of our city of London, in the street called the Strand," to his "beloved uncle," Peter of Savoy—who was in fact uncle of his wife, Eleanor of Provence; and from that day to this, that piece of land between the Thames and the Strand has borne the name of "the Savoy." The connection of the Savoy with the Duchy of Lancaster dates from 1351. It was probably in the garden of the Savoy that the Provence rose—the red rose of Lancaster—was first planted; in the Savoy palace the unfortunate King John of France died; Henry VII. turned the palace into a hospital; in the early Stewart days the Masters of the hospital, being practically disendowed, turned an honest penny by letting chambers; worthy Thomas Fuller preached in the chapel; the Savoy Conference was held in the lodgings of Sheldon, bishop of London, who was then Master of the Savoy; Henry Killigrew enjoyed a jovial mastership there in the days of Charles II., and nearly ruined the foundation; Thomas Wilson, the famous Bishop of Sodor and Man, was consecrated in the chapel in 1698; at length, in 1702, the hospital was dissolved by the energetic Lord Keeper Wright. The chapel continued to be used, and was made notorious in the middle of the last century by the resolute attempt of the minister to continue to perform marriages in defiance of the Marriage Act. In 1773 George III. issued a patent constituting the Savoy church a Chapel Royal, a status which it has ever since maintained. It will be seen from this sketch that the place has a history, and a history of this kind has rarely been better written than that of the Savoy by Mr. Loftie.

If ever there was a man who might be called a typical John Bull, that man is certainly Archdeacon Denison, whose *Notes of my Life* (Oxford and London: Parker & Co.) now lie before us in a third edition. He has all the vigour, honesty, pugnacity, and geniality, joined to a certain prejudice and obstinacy, which we are fond of attributing to ourselves as a nation. And it is to these qualities that he owes the popularity which he undoubtedly enjoys, both with those who praise and those who blame him. Englishmen like a man who "fights fair," and Archdeacon Denison is eminently a fair fighter, who bears no malice when the battle is over. It is pleasant to know of his friendly intercourse with his old opponent Mr. Ditcher in his latter days; in fact, he never appears to have any personal dislike for his numerous opponents, unless it is for those whom he regards—rightly or wrongly—as dishonest. He reports his brother's saying, that he was "St. George without the dragon;" this is currently reported as "without the drag on," and from its close connection in the archdeacon's pages with "upsetting the coach," we cannot help thinking that this is the authentic version. The archdeacon is an excellent illustration of the difference between an able man and a thoughtful man; of his ability there can be no doubt, but he is quite incapable of letting his mind "play freely" about any subject whatever; he seems always to have had decided and unchanging opinions on every subject that was in his judgment worth thinking about at all; his life is the vigorous carrying out of his opinions with the most complete disregard for those of others. He finds it impossible to understand how any one can differ from him, but the views of those who do unfortunately differ he looks upon simply with good-natured contempt; he does not dislike them; he is sorry for them. It is evident that the whole bent of his mind is unscientific; we can quite believe his amusing story of his scientific performance in the examination for an Oriel Fellowship, in which he was successful notwithstanding; but an Oxford first-class-man and ex-fellow of Oriel ought certainly to know that *γνώσις* does not mean "science" (p. 312). We have an odd specimen of the "twist" of his mind in what he says of the education question (p. 13). "There have been in the last 2000 years three principal instances of the formal repudiation by the Civil Power of the Trust, and of the Commission of the Church in the matter of education." These are—not a little to our surprise—in the Jewish Church, the case of Antiochus Epiphanes; in the Christian Church, the cases of Julian the Apostate, and of "the Imperial Government of England in Church and State, A.D. 1840—1870." The latter heinous offence consisted in the introduction of a "Conscience Clause,"—i.e., permitting the children, in schools partly supported by a

government grant, to absent themselves from the directly religious teaching. Whether the archdeacon would have preferred to have purely secular schools in every parish, which would be the natural alternative, does not appear. Now, what Julian did was simply this: he urged that it was intolerable for Christian men to earn money by teaching from the works of pagans, all of whom acknowledged a religion which Christians denounced, while many of them even claimed the inspiration of heathen deities. He laid no restraint upon Christian teaching, but he would not have Christian teachers in State schools, unless they agreed not to denounce pagan mythology. The parallel case would be, if a Christian Government were to order that no unbeliever should expound in schools either the Scriptures or works which assume the truth of the Christian revelation—a provision to which the archdeacon would probably not object. The passage which he quotes from the first book of Maccabees, describing the Jews' adoption of Gentile customs even in Jerusalem, has no conceivable bearing on the subject. It is odd that it did not occur to him that the state of the schools in France at the end of the last century, or in North Germany at the present day, might be regarded as a good deal more subversive of the Gospel than the recognition of the rights of conscience in English schools where Christianity is taught. He is, as might be expected, a keen advocate for the teaching of Latin and Greek in schools, about which he has some sensible hints to give; and does not seem to remember that the leaders of the first French Revolution were ardent classicists.

In the *Memorials from Journals and Letters of Samuel Clarke* (London: Macmillan & Co.) we have a very interesting record of a man who, in his life, did much good work and exercised a very beneficial influence. Born of a respectable Quaker family he became a London bookseller and publisher, but was driven by the strong bias of his mind for theological studies to betake himself to Oxford and enter the ministry of the Church of England. It is to him that the letters are said to have been addressed by Mr. Maurice, which ultimately formed the treatise on the "Kingdom of Christ," though we do not see this alluded to in the "Memorials." The principal scene of his labours was the Training College at Battersea, where he had made himself loved and respected by his pupils in no common degree. The portions of letters and journals which his widow has selected for publication with admirable discretion show a mind active, earnest, cultivated, and bent upon higher things.

The *Ingoldsby Letters* (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin) are a collection of letters written during the last twenty years, principally in answer to various utterances of the bishops, by the Rev. James Hildyard, rector of Ingoldsby, on the subject of Liturgical Revision. This he advocates on two grounds, that the services require shortening, and that the Prayer-book as it stands is too favourable to Romish doctrine. The second is too large a subject to enter on here; as to the first, we must say frankly that the accumulation of Offices which until lately formed the almost invariable "Morning Service" is not the best imaginable to promote the devotion of a village, or perhaps of any, congregation. Now, however, that there exists practically the liberty of using the Communion Service, the Morning Prayer, and the Litany at separate times, of adopting the shortened form except for the two legal services on Sunday and on a few special occasions, we do not think that there is much occasion for complaint. Mr. Hildyard, however, does not think so, and continues his invective against long services even since the passing of the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act. He is a distinguished Cambridge scholar, and his letters everywhere show traces of the kind of culture which is more rare in these days than it formerly was by their wealth of classical quotation and allusion. It is impossible not to admire the unfailing vivacity with which he maintains a controversy which has occupied him from the vigour of middle age to the time of grey hairs.

II.—GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, &c.

(Under the Direction of Professor T. G. BONNEY, F.R.S.)

ENGLISH students of geology have long felt the want of a text-book of lithology. The ordinary manuals of geology, as a rule, treat this branch of the subject superficially, and not seldom mislead the student by actual inaccuracies. It becomes evident to him before long that his teacher is uttering an uncertain sound,

and in most cases he at last abandons the task in despair, and contents himself, when his own turn comes, with imparting to others ideas as hazy as he received. Thus in lithology, or the study of rocks, English students are generally distanced by their continental rivals, and the rising generation has had to look for help chiefly to Germany. This reproach has been removed by Mr. Rutley (*The Study of Rocks: An Elementary Text-book of Petrology*, by Frank Rutley, F.G.S. London: Longmans, 1879), who has smoothed the entrance into this difficult but fascinating branch of geology, by placing a useful elementary text-book in the hands of the student. After two short chapters on methods of research and the origin of rocks, he passes on to treat of the principal structures developed in rock masses, of the effect of these on the scenery, and on the causes to which they are due. A brief notice of some physical topics comes next, and this is followed by some useful practical hints upon the method of collecting, apparatus, &c., especially as regards microscopic examination. On this topic the ordinary text-books of geology are almost silent, and even the so called new edition of Cotta on the Study of Rocks (noticed in the January No. of this REVIEW, p. 412) gives no information of any value. We find next a careful description of the principal rock-forming minerals, and finally some chapters describing and classifying the chief varieties of rocks, both igneous and sedimentary. The literature of the subject has evidently been very carefully studied by the author, who has consulted the best authorities, to whom, especially Professor Rosenbusch, he frequently refers the student for further information. Very fair woodcuts of some of the more characteristic mineral and rock structures are given, as well as some useful tabular groupings, showing the relations one to another of the igneous rocks.

Here indeed we could have wished that the author had not introduced metamorphic rocks into the table occupied by granite as a centre, and had not brought so prominently before the student the asserted transitions from granite to gneissic rock. In the present state of the controversy, and in the unsatisfactory state of the evidence in favour of the asserted passage of granite into gneiss, it is better, we think, to teach the student that granite has the same claims to be considered an igneous rock as diorite. Both the one and the other may represent the extreme stage of metamorphosis of sedimentary rock, but this remains to be proved. We are well aware that passages of granite into gneiss are asserted, as passages between other igneous and sedimentary rocks; but we venture to assert that no case of this has yet been established on satisfactory evidence, while many that have been instance d have broken down on examination. To bring therefore this idea of "metamorphosis" too prominently before the mind of the young student is to give him a bad start, and to encourage him to be careless when he should be most careful. The felsites, too, are rather imperfectly treated. We think also that the author would have done well to give rather more prominence to the olivine rocks, by separating them from the other felsparless rocks, and indicating more clearly the rocks which are in a comparatively unchanged condition, and those which have been greatly altered.

Notwithstanding these points (which are to a great extent matters of opinion) we have no hesitation in heartily recommending Mr. Rutley's book to all who are struggling with the difficulties of lithology, and congratulating English students on having at last obtained a good text-book of the subject, written in their mother tongue.

Our next book (*Etna: A History of the Mountain and of its Eruptions*, by G. F. Rodwell. London: C. K. Paul & Co., 1878), as stated in the preface, is an enlargement of an article on Etna contributed to the "Encyclopædia Britannica." It is a careful compilation of the history of this subject, but, it may be in consequence of its origin, is less attractive in style than the well-known work on Vesuvius, by the late Professor Phillips. For this, however, the mountain itself may be partly to blame, for there is no episode in its history so full of varied interest as the destruction of Pompeii and the other horrors which marked the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79.

The author commences with a brief sketch of the history of Etna from the first mention of it by Pindar, more than twenty-three centuries since, to the monographs which have appeared during the last few years. To this succeeds a sketch of the principal physical features of the mountain, its wide field of view—probably nearly 40,000 square miles—its numerous minor cones, its caverns, and the various regions or zones into which its surface is divided. The author here calls attention to the fact that more than 300,000 persons live on the slopes of Etna. This is the more remarkable seeing that only a few insignificant villages are within a distance of 9½ miles from the cone. Notwithstanding this large central uninhabited space the population of the mountain is nearly double that of Bedfordshire, though the area is

only greater by 18 miles. An ascent of the mountain is then described, almost too briefly; then there is a brief sketch of the towns situate on the plains of Etna, of the recorded eruptions, and of the geology and mineralogy of the mountain. The last subject is enriched by a note from Mr. F. Rutley on the microscopic structure of the lavas of Etna, which appear to be felspar basalts, containing olivine, and generally of a rather uniform composition. This is a judicious addition, for the last chapter strikes us as the least satisfactory in the book; sundry indications suggesting that the author is not quite so familiar with geology as he is with other branches of physical science. For example, we find it rather difficult to attach a meaning to the phrase "a crater composed of a prehistoric grey labradorite and a doleritic lava" (p. 111), and are disposed to demur to the propriety of calling labradorite a lime felspar, seeing that anorthite has a better claim to the name. We are also much surprised to see mentioned, apparently with some degree of favour, the "elevation" crater theory of E. de Beaumont, which we had thought had never recovered the *coup de grâce* dealt to it by Lyell, and had for some time ceased to have more than a historic importance.

These little blemishes excepted, the book appears to be a very useful one, and we trust that when it reaches a second edition, the author will not only remove them, but also enlarge the account of his own observations of the mountain, and incorporate some additional interesting facts given in the well-known works of Lyell or Reclus, which we miss in his volume.

A Monography of the Silurian Fossils of the Girvan District in Ayrshire, by Prof. H. Alleyne Nicholson and R. Etheridge, jun., F.G.S. Fasciculus I. W. Blackwood and Sons, 1878.—In this volume we have a very valuable contribution to the paleontology of the Silurian rocks of Scotland. The vicinity of Girvan, Ayrshire, has long been known as one of the more prolific localities for fossils in a country generally poor in organic remains; and the authors, aided by a share of the Government grant dispensed by the Royal Society, and by the liberality of Mr. and Mrs. R. Gray, have carefully described in this fasciculus the rhizopoda, actinozoa, and trilobites which have been discovered near Girvan. The first contain some very interesting forms, among which we find the genus *saccamina*, a living arenaceous foraminifer of great antiquity, but not previously known to occur in rocks earlier than the Carboniferous period. A problematical fossil named *Girvanella* is also described, consisting of very minute wavy tubes. *Girvanella* is supposed to be rhizopod, and to preserve some resemblance of a species of *Rhizammina* obtained by the *Challenger* Expedition. The corals are in many respects remarkable. The Craighead limestone (a bed probably rather low in the Lower Silurian series) contains twelve species. Of the seven commoner forms, only one is known to occur elsewhere in Britain. One new species from another deposit, named by the author *Celostylis Lindströmi*, is of special interest, and is the first-known instance of the discovery of an ancient type of perforate corals outside Sweden. A considerable number of trilobites are well and carefully described. The beds above named are the oldest which are fossiliferous, but another deposit probably does not greatly differ in age. Another is thought to be of Upper Llandovery, and a fourth and fifth are certainly Upper Silurian.

The work is excellently printed, and illustrated by nine plates. We heartily wish it success, and trust that the authors may be encouraged to continue their labours among this interesting group of rocks.

Coal: Its History and Uses, by Professors Green, Miall, Thorpe, Rücker, and Marshall. Edited by Professor Thorpe. London: Macmillan & Co., 1878.—The explanation of the very composite authorship of this volume is that the chapters of this book were delivered by the above professors of the Yorkshire College of Science as a series of lectures in connection with the Gilchrist Trust. It was thought that the educational value of the lectures would be increased by the selection of a common subject, and coal was a very obvious one to be chosen by the scientific men in the north of England. We have thus the history of coal related in a form at once attractive and scientific. Professor Green describes the geology of coal—its place in the series of the stratified rocks, the theories of its formation, and the physical geography of the surrounding districts at the time when the coal plants flourished in the marshes. Professor Miall gives an admirable sketch of the flora and of the fauna of the Carboniferous epoch. The editor discusses the chemistry of coal; and Professor Rücker considers coal as a source of warmth and power; while the important "coal question"—how long will our supply last, and "what then?" is the

subject of a thoughtful essay by Professor Marshall. The result has been that a quantity of very interesting and valuable material has been brought together, and a handy-book compiled on the subject, which is popularly and pleasantly written, yet nevertheless strictly scientific in its mode of treatment. Original matter is of course not to be expected; but we find here, within the compass of by no means a large volume, a quantity of most useful and interesting information, which had previously been scattered through many special treatises and original memoirs. The book appears to fill a gap, and in our scientific literature will be found of much value to more than one class of the community.

The Geology of the N.W. part of Essex and the N.E. part of Herts, with parts of Cambridgeshire and Suffolk: Memoirs of the Geological Survey. Longmans & Co.—This is one of the shorter memoirs explanatory of the various sheets of the geological survey map, that illustrated by the present book being No. 17 of the one-inch scale. The district is one the geology of which is not particularly interesting, though it offers a good many difficulties to the surveyors, and no doubt has caused them an amount of trouble quite disproportionate to the apparent results. These are clearly set forth in this volume, which, after a brief sketch of the Cretaceous beds, found in the district, describes with more detail the Eocene Tertiaries, a small area of Red Crag, and the Glacial and Post-glacial deposits. It also contains notes of many pit sections, which are of especial value, because these are so liable to be obliterated in the process of time.

In connection with the above we may call attention to an interesting essay on *The Post-Tertiary Deposits of Cambridgeshire*, by A. J. Jukes-Browne (Deighton & Co.). This little volume is the essay which obtained the Sedgwick Geological Prize for 1876. The author gives a careful and lucid description of these complicated deposits in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, and comes to the conclusion that the valley of the Cam and the hollow of the north fens are pre-glacial, while that of the south fens, between Ely, Newmarket, and Cambridge, is post-glacial, and that the valleys radiating from the chalk escarpment took their rise in early post-glacial times, when the drainage system differed much from the present.

The firstpart of Volume XXXV. of the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* has appeared since our last series of notices, and contains several papers of exceptional interest. Among these is one by Dr. Dawson on the structure of that puzzling palæozoic fossil, *Stromatopora*, which he regards as a rhizopod, like *Eozoon*; and another on the mineralization of certain palæozoic fossils with serpentine and other hydrous silicates, which has an obvious bearing on the controversy concerning the above organism. The author describes fossils of the Lower Silurian age which are infiltrated with certain serpentinous minerals, and notices some forms imitative of *Eozoon*. The evidence, on the whole, tends to confirm the idea that *Eozoon* is a true organism. Considerable additions are made to the coral fauna of the Upper Greensand from the well-known reef at Haldon, by Professor Duncan; and the relations of some dwarf mesozoic crocodiles with their associate mammals are discussed by Professor Owen, who points out that the former were suitably formed for the capture of the latter. Dr. Sheibner describes the rare rock Foyaite from the south of Portugal, which consists of orthoclase felspar, elæolite, and hornblende, with biotite, nosean, and sodalite. The Mica-traps of the North-west districts of England and the Huronian clay slates also receive notice; and there is a highly characteristic paper, by Mr. J. F. Campbell, on Glacial periods, in which he comes to the following conclusion: "My opinion is that the present is at least as cold as any period of which there is any geological record, and that it has endured ever since any part of the earth's surface was high enough and cold enough to be a condenser of snow. I hold that the record of sedimentary geology is continuous, and does not record periods of great cold."

III.—MODERN HISTORY.

(Under the Direction of Professor S. R. GARDINER.)

MR. Justin M'Carthy's *History of our Own Times* (Chatto and Windus), of which the first instalment, reaching to the close of the Crimean War, is now in our hands, undoubtedly deserves the success which it has achieved. The subject is undeniably attractive, and Mr. M'Carthy has made it still more attractive by his

method of dealing with it. He is possessed of a remarkable power of sketching out a political situation, picking out the important and telling points, and throwing over everything which in any way mars the unity of the picture,—a power which is the more striking, as he has no turn for what is usually termed graphic writing. Battle-pieces are not to his taste, and while he hastens over the fight on the Alma as an "heroic scramble," he actually compresses into four or five lines that stern standing at bay on the Sutlej, which sent a thrill of anxiety through every English household. It is in such chapters as those on Lord Durham's mission to Canada, or Sir Robert Peel's dealing with Free Trade in corn, that Mr. M'Carthy is seen at his best.

Yet, in spite of all that is good in the book, or rather, perhaps, because of what is good in it, the impression left on a thoughtful reader is disappointing. It is in no proper sense a history. It is composed of a series of sketches, hanging together so loosely that the author has forgotten to tell us anything of Sir Robert Peel's great free-trade budgets, no unimportant product of that statesman's intellect, and argues about his conversion to free trade as if the abolition of the corn-duties was everything with which he had been concerned in the matter. Such a slip as this, however, might be passed over—like that other curious mistake when Mr. M'Carthy tells us that in the constitution set up in France by Louis Napoleon there were "two political chambers elected by universal suffrage,"—if he knew how to direct our attention to those currents of thought which it is the business of historians to trace out, and which form the true unity of history. There, however, he is entirely at fault. Take, for instance, his deprecatory account of Charles Kingsley—

"Human capacity is limited. It is not given to mortal to be a great preacher, a great philosopher, a great scholar, a great poet, a great historian, a great novelist, and an indefatigable country parson. Charles Kingsley never seems to have made up his mind for which of these callings to go in especially, and being, with all his versatility, not at all many-sided, but strictly one-sided and at most one-ideal, the result was, that while touching success at many points he absolutely mastered it at none, since his novel 'Westward Ho!' he never added anything substantial to his reputation. All this acknowledged, however, it must still be owned that, failing in this, that, and the other attempt, and never achieving any real and enduring success, Charles Kingsley was an influence and a man of mark in the Victorian age."

If Kingsley really was a mere seeker after success in too many directions to obtain it, it would surely be instructive to learn how it was that he became an influence. To know why a man influences an age is to learn something about the age itself. In the present case the knowledge would be of no slight importance. Kingsley's influence was owing to his being a reconciler of contending ideas. In his youth he stood up and said, "I am a parson of the Church of England, and a Chartist." In later years he believed intensely in both Christianity and Darwinianism. Whether we hold that the combination is possible or impossible to a logical mind, the fact that it gave him an influence is one which no historian can afford to pass over. It tells him much about the mind of England as distinguished from the mind of France which he would not otherwise know.

Mr. M'Carthy in short has written well of many things which happened in England, but he does not go deep enough to tell the history of the nation.

Captain Trotter's *Warren Hastings: a Biography* (W. H. Allen & Co.) gives us an excellent antidote to Macaulay's brilliant but overdrawn essay. Most of the information contained in the book has appeared elsewhere in some shape or another, but Captain Trotter has rendered no slight service in presenting the case for the defence in a concise and interesting form. If it must still be called only the case for the defence, it is not because Captain Trotter either perverts the truth or passes lightly over important facts, but because he does not seem to be aware that inferences different from his own may be drawn from the facts which he honestly gives, and because he has no notion of the state of mind which would receive with abhorrence even those facts by which he is not himself shocked.

Put in simple language the case of Hastings was the not uncommon case of a man who acts according to the ideas of one age and is judged according to the ideas of another. The generation from which he sprang hardly understood political morality as existing beyond the limits of the English nation. The generation which impeached him was that of Pitt, who negotiated the first commercial treaty, and of Burke and Fox, the advocates of the oppressed of every race and of every colour. Hastings ruled justly over all men, black and white, who were committed to his

charge. He bent the whole forces of his powerful mind to improve their condition. But beyond the frontier of his charge, morality had simply no existence for him. He did not sin against better knowledge, because he had no better knowledge. He no more understood that it was immoral to lead his troops to attack the Robillas than a fox-hunter considers it to be immoral to cause pain to a fox. On the other hand, the service rendered by his accusers was that they enlarged the scope of morality. No doubt, as Captain Trotter does well to point out, they exaggerated his offences enormously. The sentence of acquittal by the House of Peers was fully justified. What was really wanted was to make it certain that no future Governor-General should let out his soldiers for hire without caring what were the consequences of the proceeding, and that he should not make up for the deficiency of his purse by going shares with a native prince in the proceeds of a high-handed seizure of money in the possession of that prince's mother and grandmother, whether a court of law would have decided that the money was justly the property of the two old ladies or not. But it would have been hard to punish a man severely who had done these things without the slightest notion that he was doing wrong, and who, much as he sinned, did not sin against conscience.

Capt. Trotter's book, in short, is unsatisfactory because he does not go to the root of the matter. His soul is vexed with no grave problems. The Robilla affair gives him some slight qualms. He acknowledges that no impartial critic can look back on it with much complacency. But he lays so much stress on the deductions which are to be made from Macaulay's inaccurate narrative, that he leaves the impression that the offence was not so very bad after all.

If however, Captain Trotter gives us little help on passing a true judgment on his hero, he at least gives us in the narrative the facts on which our judgment ought to be based. The few lines which Hastings wrote to a friend on the Robilla affair are quite enough to call for a censure which Captain Trotter shrinks from pronouncing. "Such," explained the Governor-General, "was my idea of the Company's distress at home, added to my knowledge of their wants abroad, that I should have been glad of any occasion to employ their forces, which saves so much of their pay and expenses." Captain Trotter speaks of this as "not a very lofty motive." Others will probably see in it something worse.

IV.—ESSAYS, NOVELS, POETRY, &c.

(Under the Direction of MATTHEW BROWNE.)

TWO marked changes appear upon the surface of our literature during the last few years: we may perhaps say three. One is not very important, though it is significant,—it is that what might be called good-society pessimism has, very visibly coloured much of our novel-writing. Mr. Herbert Spencer's philosophy may be split in two; a very good Christian Theist may walk off with one half, and a fighting Atheist with the other. Schopenhauer cannot be treated in the same manner, but half of him is readily translatable into a liberal cynicism tempered with epigram, which is perfectly good form; the translation has taken place; and our novels show it.

Another change lies in the fact that though, as we have before remarked, there is a lull in the higher speculation, there is an increase in the number of tentative books in theology and religious criticism. Two of these books have been of a high order, and have been very cautiously dealt with, nobody going on to ask the obvious question—"But why stop *here* in particular, when your theory is good for a much wider conclusion?" But it remains to be seen what fate is in store, so far as reviews are concerned, for the tentative works, which go much closer up to the breach; which are written by men who have no particular academic backers or *claqueurs*; which do not put forward any pretence at immediate reconciliation between this, that, and the other. It is the writing that *does* pretend to conciliate which is just now most sure of "the floor."

Another change, slight but real, exists in the marked increase of the tendency to personal satire or caricature. This is in part a result of the success of Mr. Mallock's "New Republic." We have of late noticed some tendency to underrate that marvel-

lous piece of parody; but it must be remembered in its behalf that very, very few readers can catch the best points. The tide of warm "appreciation" has run most strongly in favour of the parodies of Mr. Matthew Arnold, and especially the parodies of his poetry. Naturally, because his poetry is well known. But even here, criticism has fallen short of its mark. There are extant notices of the book, from highly intelligent pens, which have quoted Mr. Mallock's verses on pp. 67—70, and praised them very highly; but they are in fact not near so good as the sham-Jowett sermon, or the sham-Ruskin address. The "points" in the verse are obvious, and the original is the poem beginning—

"A wanderer is man from his birth."

None of the parodists or caricaturists in our recent novels have shown anything like the subtlety or the resource of Mr. Mallock; and, indeed, all of them have been bound to content themselves with mere swallow-flights compared with his.

Talking of parody, we may pass on to observe that when good it is a very great help towards understanding and appreciating an author. We have before us a biography of William Cobbett, but no human wit could get out of a biography five times as good one-tenth of the knowledge of the man that is to be got out of the parody in the "Rejected Addresses." It is an interesting and highly instructive fact, that in the fate of these very parodies we have a repetition of what we have lately seen in the fate of Mr. Mallock. The Smith caricatures of Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott have been generally if not universally pronounced the best; and the reason is obvious: the parody stares at you; it is *voyant* (is not that the last idle importation of the sort?) The parody of Wordsworth by James Hogg is infinitely better. You can scarcely separate the earnest from the joke; but then the imitation, done by a poet (and perhaps an underrated one), is too subtle for readers who have not quick and retentive memories. The best parodies in the "Rejected Addresses" are decidedly those on Crabbe and Southey (as the worst are those on Dr. Johnson and Lord Byron); but their merit is not readily caught. It is only a few who can be expected to enjoy

"I am a blessed Glendoveer;

'Tis mine to speak, and yours to hear;"

or the extraordinarily elaborate "apologies" of the preface to the sham-Crabbe poem, because only a few have Crabbe and Southey at their fingers' ends: and you can no more "cram" for enjoying a parody than for enjoying a joke. You must bring your resources with you, as the traveller to Trollhatte was invited to do. And from this may easily be inferred, by inversion, the law of excellence in parody, which is, that from a good parody it ought to be possible to reproduce the qualities of the writing parodied. Of course it would usually be a matter of great labour to do this, but the soundness of the rule is manifest. It by no means follows that the parodist himself is the man to illustrate its action.

To return to Peter Porcupine and the *Political Register*: we have looked with some care at *William Cobbett, a Biography*, by Edward Smith (2 vols.; Sampson Low & Co.). This book is well printed on good paper; a very characteristic portrait forms the frontispiece to the first volume; and a list of Cobbett's publications the Appendix to the second. We thank Mr. Smith for his painstaking record, and hope that fastidious readers will not be thrown off the main scent too often by his peculiar manner, or his hard and too rapid generalizations. The character of Cobbett well deserves study; if we do not find that Mr. Edward Smith throws any new light upon it, he supplies us with useful material in a handy form; and it is so easy to underrate the value of services like his, that we will not run the risk of doing it in this case by going one word further than the observation that the book does not impress us as a very pleasant one, though Cobbett is in himself a most attractive subject, particularly open to agreeable illustration by side-lights of all sorts.

In the *Book of English Elegies* (Sampson Low & Co.) the editor, Mr. W. F. March Phillipps, has got hold of a good idea, but it was a difficult one to work, and required very widely extended counsel. The volume is, as it could not fail to be, a book to turn to; but we cannot say we think it successful, or nearly so. Of course tastes will differ in these matters: but we cannot see the logic of giving seven "elegiac" poems from Herrick and three from Cowley, while Andrew Marvell is left out, and from Milton only "Lycidas" is taken. In Pope we have a passage from the "Essay on Man," while the "Elegy" is omitted. In Charles Lamb, we have the "Dead Infant;" but where is "Hester?" If Mrs. Hemans was to be admitted at all, why have we only "The Graves of a Household," while "Leaves have their time to

fall" is rejected? As to Cowper, we have one of those half-stupid "Bills of Mortality" poems; but where are "The Poplars" and "The Mother's Picture"—poems both admissible under the express terms of the preface? Henry Vaughan we miss altogether; and among sweet minor poets, James Montgomery. On the other hand, we have eighteen pages from "Blair's Grave," and not a line from Young. Copy-right mysteries may have excluded Landor, and other (to us, unguessable) reasons may have operated in other cases; but the editor's reason for excluding American elegiac poetry is, though founded in truth, absurdly applied—as he will surely see himself in recalling Emerson's noble poem on the death of his brother, and some of the very best—the *very* best—work of Bryant, Lowell, and Longfellow. In Shakspeare we have not one—not *one*—of the so-called sonnets, while we have nine extracts from the plays. In short, we have done our best to make out some principle of selection for this book and have utterly failed. Just think of admitting "Sir Patrick Spens," "The Two Corbies," "Chevy Chase," Kirke White's "Thanatos" and "Athanatos," and excluding some of the shorter pieces of Milton, and Cowper's "Toll for the Brave!" There are four pieces from Tom Moore, and "Oh, breathe not his name" is not among them: nor "At the mid hour of night" (though "Oft in the stilly night" is here). There is not a line of Keats. In short, we give it up; not having said a tenth part of what occurs to us. The first 80 pages are devoted to "mediaeval and renaissance" poetry.

A very different verdict must be passed upon two collections of poetry which reach us from Messrs. Longman, Green & Co.'s house. The first is entitled *A Poetry Book of Elder Poets*, consisting of Songs and Sonnets, Odes and Lyrics, Selected and Arranged, with Notes, from the works of the Elder English Poets, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, by Amelia B. Edwards; and the second is *A Poetry Book of Modern Poets*, consisting of Songs and Sonnets, Odes and Lyrics, Selected, and Arranged, with Notes, from the works of the modern English and American Poets, dating from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present time, by Amelia B. Edwards. These collections are exceedingly cheap, the print is large and plain, and Miss A. B. Edwards has proceeded upon principles of selection which can be made sense of. Of course there is always room for difference of opinion in such matters, but it was not easy to go far wrong unless the editor diverged into downright eccentricity or favouritism. Mr. Tennyson is excluded (by himself or his publishers), but Mr. Matthew Arnold and Clough are here, and Mr. Buchanan has himself abridged "Meg Blane" for the purpose of this selection. As an illustration of the question of difference of taste we might record that the poet has omitted the very passages which the present writer likes best, especially that most affecting one—

"Lord! with how small a thing
Thou canst prop up the heart against the grave!"

The recent modern singers (in English) are very well represented, including the American—very well, we mean, considering the care that has been taken not to trespass. There is one poem, a powerful one too, by Caroline Norton (Lady Stirling-Maxwell), which has never till now been published. As to the point of catholicity and completeness we prefer the "elder" selection, but there the task was easier, and the editor was not influenced (as we fear she has been in the other case) by the desire of making her selection as little like others as possible. The Notes we cannot launch out upon; but there, as might be expected, we feel least at one with Miss Edwards: to our fancy (we do not insist) there is too much in some directions and too little in others. If we are to explain "Lethe" and call the reader's attention to "vivacity" or "sweetness," what *are* we to leave untouched? The editor will be more vexed than the reader by a few misprints such, as "maid Clytie" for "mad Clytie," and some smaller matters in the Notes. We have made no memoranda and can give no list. These selections in poetry are to be followed by selections in prose. The cheapness of these volumes, the excellence of the type, and the light strength of the binding should make them welcome friends in many a sick-chamber. Should not some of the poems be indexed under more than one title? To give an instance—"Phyllida flouts me" would be looked for by ninety-nine readers out of a hundred under the letter P, but it is not to be found there. What may be called the common "mnemonic" title is always desirable. Does Miss Edwards really prefer "idol" to "viol" in the Ariel-guitar verses, or is the retention of the old reading an accident? In the "Sands of Dee" "dark with foam" should be "dank with foam." The first verse of the "Three Fishers"

is printed as given in the *Christian Socialist*, not as in the "Poems." Perhaps the editor prefers the first reading, as we do. In "Alexander's Feast" two lines are silently omitted—though they are conventional in form, and are retained by Mr. Palgrave, who is fastidious enough. The omission of an index of first lines is a very serious fault, especially as some of the titles are avowedly new. The poem entitled "The Fly," here marked anonymous, is of known authorship, but we cannot recall the name at the moment. It was, however, some such man as Thelwall, or John Day; some quaint, half-Quaker sort of man.

Here is a book of memoirs and "ana" mixed up together, which may be taken either as a volume for an idle hour or a study for the psychologist. The title is long:—*The Irish Bar; comprising Anecdotes, Bon-mots, and Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of Ireland*, by J. Roderick O'Flanagan, Barrister-at-law, Author of "The Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England," "History of the Munster Circuit" &c. (Sampson Low & Co.). But we must not omit the dedication:—"To the Right Honourable Edward Sullivan, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, in token of admiration for his eminent abilities at the bar and on the bench, this work, relating to the profession he adorns, is most respectfully dedicated by the author."—This is an exceedingly characteristic book. To the diligent and versatile reader it has the disadvantage of containing too much of what he has read before. But Irishmen can hardly be dull; they may be showy; too ready to make geese into swans; a little unscrupulous in questions of (shall we call it) veracity; not dainty in their choice of topics of wit or humour; and apt to "re-repeat" things (to use a word which we once heard from an Irish barrister of repute). But they are usually entertaining and intensely human. Mr. Roderick O'Flanagan is all this, and his anecdotes are really illustrative of Irish character. The reader will have to put up with O'Connell and the Hogan hat over again, and the fish-wife-parallelogram (or parallelopidon?) story, and other old friends; but he will make fresh acquaintances. That is an admirable anecdote of the judge who, being asked by a learned brother whether he had ever seen anything like the *très décolletée* dress of a certain lady, witness replied, "Not since I was weaned."

It was of course inevitable that Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s series of English Men of Letters should contain a volume on Shelley, however tired "the public" may be of the subject. In many important respects, too, Mr. John Addington Symonds was a gentleman peculiarly well fitted for the task of writing the memoir. For one thing, he was uncommitted, and, as far as we know, had taken no part in the numerous Shelley fights that have been going on since the first awakening of that fresh interest in the poet which has been conspicuous during the last twenty years. This makes us sure of a study which is in a good sense neutral, and Mr. Symonds has high critical qualifications besides. But the general result is still not satisfactory, if we have regard to the prospectus. There is not, so far as we know, an obscure sentence in the books; and yet it is certain that the hurried and half, or less than half instructed readers for whom they are intended, will find them unsatisfying. The reader who cares *much* about some of these authors will know nearly all that the manuals tell him (the criticism is another matter), and a great deal more than they tell him, or pretend to tell him, about the works of the authors. On the other hand, the intelligent and curious reader who wants to systematize what he has "picked up," will feel baffled and confused.

There is one respect, indeed, in which Mr. Symonds was not superlatively well fitted for his task. His writing does not show that he has "the sense that handles daily life." There is, on pp. 109, 110, some writing about Shelley's "gloom," hatred of ordinary society, cheerfulness in the company of those whom he liked, "martyrdom," and so forth, which strikes us as wholly confused. Of course, no man of Shelley's quality and activity of mind could suffer from that sort of misery which bites its finger-nails, or asks every hour "what is the world saying of me?" But that he suffered acutely and continuously from remorse, persecution, and physical pain, is certain and abundantly clear. The witnesses contradict each other, but what then? We must cross-examine them all, gentle and simple; and when we have done that, we conclude that, barring mere form, the "romantic persons" who "invest" Shelley with "martyrdom" are right.

Passing, however, from topics which many will think overdone, we find Mr. Symonds's treatment of his theme suggests another which is in the air just now. For a long while past tolerably acute persons must have noticed that, in biographies and elsewhere, moral questions have been discussed, or rather dismissed, in curiously equivocal

language. The terms of appreciation have become utterly rootless and pagan. We are putting in here no plea for *bourgeois* treatment of moral topics, or for the assumption of theories alien to particular cases—on the contrary. But we are not sure that we would not, as a mere matter of policy, to say nothing of sound-heartedness, prefer the bourgeois treatment of the difficult passages in Shelley's life to the rootless criticism or no-criticism which is at bottom cynical. In the brief discussion upon page 94 about "self-will" and "Nemesis," we simply lose ourselves in a maze if we look around for principles. It all appears to come to something like this: Shelley was not in harmony with his environment; he rebelled against the "sanctities" of the "environment;" and therefore he had to suffer—see Sophocles and story of *Œdipus*. Moral: Take care to be in harmony with your environment, or you will suffer for it. Meanwhile, you can fall back upon Art, and get up as many emotions as you can which "burn with a clear gem-like flame." This summary is for those who have culture. In the coarse vernacular it runs down with a whirr to the level of the American who, having well eaten and drunk, interrupted a talk about moral and spiritual revivals with the remark: "What this here nation wants ain't so much a great moral revival as a new sort of pants that won't bag at the knees." It is true enough that the poor poet could not have avoided the feeling that the "doer of the deed must suffer;" he found out that it was so, but in his "remorse" he must have thought a good deal more of Prometheus than *Œdipus*; and the sting of his pain was that while he, who would have died to save the meanest cad, and who had longed with passion to do the best, should suffer "remorse," while your George IV. or your Carrier suffered none, though they had lived base and selfish lives, and scattered misery broadcast.

Among recent English novels, too strongly marked to be put aside among the books which had better be left to take care of themselves, the first place should be given to *Cartouche*, by the author of "The Rose Garden," "Unawares," &c. 2 vols. (Smith, Elder & Co.). *Cartouche* is only a dog, who, however, plays the important part of bringing together the human personages of the drama. The scenery of the drama—in which there is of course love and marriage—is chiefly in Italy, and the work is very gracefully and quite innocently done. It is a charming short story, as a glance at the chapters entitled "*Cartouche Kills a Turkey*" and "*The Illex Walk*" will soon show the reader. The narrative of the end of poor *Cartouche*, who (we must use the personal pronoun) is drowned in the Tiber while attempting to save a baby in a cradle, will not be got through without tears, and looks as if it were in substance true.

A sufficiently spirited and varied story is *Old Charlton*, by H. Baden Pritchard, author of "*Dangerfield*," "*Beauty Spots*," &c. (3 vols. Sampson Low & Co.). The first portion of the book might be cut away (the school life) from the rest, and the story is not carefully "composed;" but novel readers might do much worse than turn over "*Old Charlton*". Mr. Baden Pritchard does not always do justice to his own faculties, and his work is not delicate, but he can certainly put together an amusing story. The sketching is the best: for example, the "*Circus of all Nations*" is good.

It is a striking sign of the times when a man so palpably made for the life of contemplation as Mr. Matthew Arnold is, in the prime of his powers, attracted towards political and social controversy of the sort which demands a power of appreciating hard facts, which is, to say the least, very rare in the meditative mind. We have all witnessed a similar phenomenon in the case of Mr. Ruskin—and, some of us think, with all but tragic consequences. Mr. Carlyle, again, so long as he kept to prophesying in the (more or less) vague, and avoided reading newspapers, as he did, kept clear of much trouble and pain to himself and his friends. But the winds and eddies have been too strong for even men like these, and we have had to stand by and see them all swept out into noisy currents, for which such boats were never built. There has been a good deal of vacillation in Mr. Arnold; and as it is in poetry and in pure literary criticism that he is most in harmony with himself and his readers, sanguine admirers of "*Thyrsis*" and "*The Scholar Gypsy*" have continued to hope against hope that he might yet some day, upon a sudden revulsion of feeling, heed for good and all that oracle of the high muse which his own pen had so finely worded:

"But fly our paths, our feverish contact fly!
For strong the infection of our mental strife,
Which, though it gives no bliss, yet spoils for rest;
And we should win thee from thy own fair life,
Like us distracted, and like us unblest.

Soon, soon thy cheer would die,
 Thy hopes grow timorous, and unfix'd thy powers;
 And thy clear aims be cross and shifting made.
 And then thy glad perennial youth would fade,
 Fade, and grow old at last, and die like ours."

But time has passed—and passes—"the west unflushes," and we have to own that we are disappointed. Yet, after all, we are partially in the dark. The curtain may some day prove not to be the picture, and then we may see "high midsummer pomps," kept from us till late; or, better even than that, for who can reckon up those fine high-strung natures?

"Too quick despairer, wherefore will thou go?"

Thyrsis "learnt a stormy note, of men contention-tost, of men who groan;" "unbreachable, the fort of the long-battered world uplifts its wall;" and the most cheerful word Mr. Arnold has for us all, at present, is that we must take our "unrest" as a sign that there is something wanting, and then sit down, and—wait till we get it.

This is an acceptable collection of essays, and the carefully written preface—an essay in itself—on the function of literature in the work of civilisation, especially with regard to the element of "expansion," is a real key to the author's intention, or, at least, to what he believes to be his intention in the remainder of the volume. Half of the contents may be described as political and social criticism; the remainder is literary. In such papers as those on "Equality," "British Liberalism," and "Falkland," we distinctly hear, what we hope we may, without offence, call the Matthew Arnold *drone*, and we do not like it, and are not to be convinced that he knows, or ever knew, or ever will know, anything about Puritanism: or about the logic of Dissent. This new wolf is well got up, and the grandmother looks good-natured; but after all, she has great teeth, and the night-cap is just a little awry. There is a fundamental "economy" in all your "large discourse" of freedom, equality, and expansion, Mr. Arnold; and the dullest chawbacon, as he listens to you, says in his heart, not "Let us follow him," but "What is he up to now, I wonder?"

Of the literary essays, the one on "George Sand" is wholly delightful; and Mr. Arnold's verdict on the *woman* is in striking agreement with that of Margaret Fuller. The examination of Mr. Stopford Brooke's "Primer of English Literature" should certainly not have been reprinted. What is most true in the criticism is elementary, and hardly bears repetition out of the pages of a magazine; while the rest is too often dogmatic just where dogmatism is not admissible, and is sometimes merely short-sighted. For instance, Mr. Stopford Brooke says that "Milton summed up in himself all the higher influences of the Renaissance." What is the good of saying offhand and *ex cathedra*, as Mr. Arnold does, that this is "not true,"—when the word "higher" opens an absolutely interminable field for discussion?

Of course we cannot go on running over points like this: but there is one very serious matter to which we should like to call the attention of conscientious publicists who do not admire either the fundamental assumptions of Mr. Arnold's mind or his "economy" or his policy. To writers on the other side we can of course make no such appeal, and our appeal, such as it is, is quite impartial. Journalists are constantly to be found speaking of Mr. Arnold as a critic in terms of *inclusive* praise which do not represent their inmost thoughts about him. Mr. Arnold is probably the best equipped (so far as literary accomplishment goes) of living critics in this country. He has exceptional *dæmonic* power, and a keen eye for the *dæmonic* element in other writers. But he is a doubtful psychologist and logician, and a greater number of perverse pages might be taken from his criticisms than from those of any living writer. What can be *more* perverse than twice in one moderate-sized volume, to quote scraps of blundering abuse (meant for humour) from Milton's "Colasteron," as samples of what the Puritan temper always was and now is? Mr. Arnold should either have left it alone, or analyzed Milton's character, or quoted also the fine words of apology at the end of that unfortunate treatise. But if Mr. Arnold were set upon by masked assassins whom he believed to be backed by those who owed him life-long gratitude, he would probably defend himself with some vivacity, and would hardly expect what he said and did to be cited as proof of his own "temper" or that of the school in which he had been brought up.

There is the true poetic touch in *Key-Notes*, by L. S. Bevington (C. Kegan Paul & Co.), and if the contents of the little volume were more varied, it would be nearly altogether welcome, considered as literature. We are careful over the last

little clause, because there are some of us who will think that the author has pinned her faith to assumptions which are already marked to go. Apart from that point, which is open to discussion (though it is not an open question with the present writer), there are places where the execution is weak—weak, at all events, compared with the strength which is required to make any sort of song of triumph out of the dogma that “progress doth never die.” The author, as we understand her, does not at all pretend that this is an “harmonious” book—on the contrary, she passes freely from key-note to key-note, with the help of her diminished sevenths: her last “strain” meaning that “every truth seems valueless, save as it fosters in the mood of man the growth and fruiting of persistent good.” Another lady poet has put the case very differently, and in our opinion upon the only safe footing, in words like these:—

“Half-blind amid the stir of things,
But safe in following out the law,
We know not what a moment brings,
Nor which way blows the burning straw.”

But of course this cannot be settled between us in a paragraph. In the meanwhile, this little volume (about 150 pages) of poems, by L. S. Bevington,—apparently a lady of about thirty or thirty-five, or perhaps more,—illustrates, in graceful, pointed, and often really poetic ways, the pass those of us have come to who have rejected a defined Theism, and looked about for grounds of reliance in what it is fashionable to call “human service,” and the “laws” which bind to it. In strict truth, we find, if we look closely, that in all this about “the infinite,” we have here, though in a loose floating way, elements which can be logically forced into a Theistic form, and that all the strength which the conception of duty attains to in these aspirations is got exactly in the old-fashioned way. It is only the “woolly” character of the writing, or the thought (we mean no offence) which can make this doubtful for a moment. All we wish is that the author had given us more of her descriptions of nature, and more of such simple music as we find here:—

“I could have striven for you, dear,
To save your spirit strife;
I could have suffered, ay! and died,
If you had needed life;
But since you ask no boon of me
I'll love you very quietly.
“I could have been a saint for you,
Or stooped to meanest fame;
The stair to heaven or path to hell
With you were all the same:
But since you do not beckon, dear,
My life shall wait, unprovoked, here.
“'Tis very hard to give no gift,
To yearn, and yet to bide;
The keenest pain that lovers know
Is love's own patient pride;
But since no service, dear, you ask,
My heart accepts the sterner task.”

We are glad to observe that the singer has “this trust,—that Love's Strength may wrest all fair things from final loss,”—because we most intensely share her disgust with the life of “sick cities;” but we do not see what is the use of the capital letters in “Love's Strength,” unless it be to give them all the force of the old-fashioned monosyllable, God; and we are at pains to say *all* the force, because the author appears to believe that the “thing that once was Chaos” is yet to “be God”—the capitals being again hers. What we fail to understand, in her and all her school, is how they get as far as this without the help of a premiss that must force them further. However, there is something wrong in a book of verse when it gets into these ruts at all. And if L. S. Bevington can give us a little more pure song like the poem of “June,” without any such “modern” phraseology as “fullest surrender” or “free efflorescence of things,” we shall all be very glad. We certainly do not hold it poetic to call midnight “negation's hour of triumph.” Nor in a poem of only thirty-two lines do we want to be told that we must “sing of evolution:” much less that “though the sum of force be constant, yet the Living ever grows.” Still, we close as we began by saying that there are plain traces of the true poetic touch in this volume.

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION OF COMTE.

I.

IT is impossible to understand the errors of a great writer unless we do justice to the truth which underlies them. In judging of Comte's philosophy, and especially of his social philosophy, this law of criticism has often been neglected, even by those who, from their general philosophical point of view, might seem best qualified to appreciate him. Disagreeing as I do with most of his conclusions, I cannot hope to be entirely successful in doing him justice. But the attempt to do so may have its use, if only in bringing to light the relationship of philosophies which are commonly regarded as having no connection with each other. The spirit of the time is greater than any of its expressions, and it moulds them all, under whatever outward diversity of form, to a common result. If there is anything which the history of philosophy teaches with clearness, it is that contemporaneous movements of the human spirit, even those which appear to be most independent or antagonistic, are but partial expressions of a truth which is not fully revealed in any one of them, and which can be adequately appreciated only by a later generation. The present is said to be *par excellence* the age of historical criticism; but the historical imagination is worth little if it do not enable us to discover identity of Nature under the most varied disguises, and, instead of being confined to the formulæ of any one philosophy, to remould and renew our own ideas by entering into the minds of others. In order to prepare the way for a just appreciation of the teaching of Comte, I shall, in this article, give a short sketch of his philosophy (and more particularly of his social philosophy) as far as possible from his own point of view, reserving for subsequent papers all I have to say in the way of criticism.

There are two main thoughts which rule the mind of Comte, and are the sources of most of the peculiarities of his system. The one is, "the

law of the three stages ;" the other is the subordination of science to man's social well-being, or, as he expresses it, of the intellect to the heart. The first of these thoughts embodies his criterion of knowledge ; the second is the principle by which he seeks to systematize it, and to estimate the relative value of its parts. The relation of these two points in the mind of Comte will be best understood if we recall his historical position and the early course of his mental development. As with most educated Frenchmen of his time, Comte's first thoughts on social politics were suggested by the Revolution ; and his youthful connection with St. Simon showed that he shared in that reaction against the individualistic philosophy of the Eighteenth Century, which gave rise to so many socialistic and communistic theories. In the school of St. Simon, Comte learned the falsehood of the gospel of Rousseau—that last quintessence of the philosophy which found reality only in the individual, and which, therefore, idealized the natural man as he is apart from, and prior to, all society, and regarded all social influence as deteriorating from his original purity. The hollowness of that theory had been written in letters of blood on the page of recent history, and that too plainly to be ignored by the most hopeful theorist on social subjects. Nor could any one who had read it there, fail to perceive also the less striking failure of the same doctrines in their economical form. The liberation of the individual had not brought to man political salvation, but had rather revealed his essential weakness when emancipated from the restraints of social order. " *Laissez faire*" had not, as was expected, introduced an economic millennium, but had rather given rise to a struggle of interests, which, if not moderated by any higher principle, might end in the dissolution of society. Hence the mere irrational movement of reaction drove the mass of men to bind again upon themselves the fetters which the Revolution had broken, and taught those who, like De Maistre, represented the ideas and interests of the past, the speculative strength of their position. De Maistre saw clearly that mere individualism is anarchy, and that the moral education of man is possible only through some binding social force. Nor was it difficult for a skilful special pleader like him to confound this truth with the doctrine that the only safety for civilization lay in a renewed submission to the mediæval order of Church and State. On the other hand, men who were too much imbued with the modern spirit to be moved by this reactionary logic, were led to detach the socialistic idea from the special form it had taken in past history, and to seek for some new form of political organization, in which individual freedom should be again subordinated to social order. Such men were St. Simon and Fourier—not, in any sense, great or comprehensive thinkers, but writers who were effective and influential for the moment simply because they represented the abstraction which was then rising into favour, and which had at least this to recommend it—that it was the opposite abstraction to that of the Revolutionists. Comte was too robust and many-

sided to remain long under the influence either of the concrete or of the abstract reactionaries—either of those who sought to return to the form or of those who sought to return to the spirit of the past. But his temporary subjection to St. Simon, and his ultimate revolt against him, help us in some measure to understand that double movement of thought out of which his system sprung. His subjection indicated that he had seen the insufficiency and unreality, the abstract and unhistorical character, of the gospel of mere rebellion. His emancipation from St. Simon indicated his discovery that the simple repression of rebellion, the mere closing up of the ranks of society under a social despotism, was an utterly inadequate solution of the difficulty. The problem before him, therefore, was to do justice to the element of truth in each of these movements,—to the social impulse on the one hand and to the critical movement of intelligence on the other,—and to reconcile them in a higher unity. Socialism had taught him that social enthusiasm might be separated from the religious and political institutions on which it had rested in the past; and the progress of science seemed to teach him that intelligence has a constructive as well as a critical influence. The solution, therefore, was simply to take the former, as determining the end and goal of all practical effort; and the latter, as teaching us the proper means for its attainment. The enthusiasm of humanity guided by science, science directed so as to secure the highest happiness of humanity, were thus the two ideas by which the course of his thoughts was determined.

In the first place these ideas gave to Comte what seemed to him a perfect key to the history of the past. Man he conceives of as a being who at first is divided between weak social tendencies which bind him to his fellows, and strong selfish, or, as he calls them, *personal* instincts, which make him their rival and their enemy; yet without the triumph of the former over the latter there can be no security for his welfare or even for his existence. This triumph of social sympathy is the first necessity of civilization; and at the beginning any theory of life must be welcome which promises to secure it. The first social leaders of mankind, even if such an idea could have presented itself to them, could not wait with patience till experience had revealed to them the true nature of man and the world he lives in. Their ignorance and their benevolent haste to organize society, and to bind men together in the bonds of a definite faith, made them eagerly grasp at the first explanation of the universe which imagination suggested; and that first explanation was of course anthropomorphic. "As they watched Nature, as their eyes wandered over the surface of the profound ocean, instead of the bed hidden under the waters, they saw nothing but the reflection of their own faces."* Hence the first moral order and social discipline established among men was based upon a theological explanation of the universe. Nor did the insecurity

* Turgot.

of the foundation seem for a long time to interfere with the firmness of the superstructure. The union of men was like the union of an army—the union of men bound together for life and death, though the bond that united them was but a fairy tale. Yet, in the long run, it was impossible that criticism should not make itself heard. Advancing experience, as it disclosed that the world is no plaything of arbitrary wills but an order of fixed law, gradually limited the free play of imagination, and removed the gods to a greater and greater distance. When, therefore, phenomena were seen to group themselves in large genera, with permanent attributes and relations, Polytheism rose out of Fetichism; and when the idea of the unity of the world, and of the general persistency of its laws, began to prevail, theology was inevitably reduced to the conception of one overruling will, which directly, or by its ministers, controls the whole movement of things. Up to this point the theological form of thought persisted: in one point of view it might even be said that, up to this point, it was strengthening its hold upon men. For, every successive concentration of the divine power made the idea of it a firmer and more comprehensive bond of social order, until at length the levelling and organizing genius of Rome laid the foundation of the universal empire, and christian Monotheism broke down the walls of division between races and nations.

But this apparent advance of the theological spirit was illusive, for it was really due to an intellectual movement, which must, in the long run, prove fatal to it. The concentration of Fetichism into Polytheism, and of Polytheism into Monotheism, was really the gradual withdrawal of theology from the explanation of the universe, till, finally, it was driven to its last stronghold, its most general and abstract form. Hence the hour of its greatest social triumph was that which preceded its decisive fall. The same growing perception of the order of the world under general laws, which had forced the theologian first to substitute a limited for an indefinite number of divine wills, and then to substitute one will for this limited number, necessarily and inevitably awakened a doubt whether there is in Nature any indication of will at all. Monotheism had represented the world as a general order of fixed laws, only interrupted by exceptional miracles; but increasing knowledge made miracles more and more incredible, till at last the theologians were reduced to the assertion that their God had once performed them, but that he performed them no longer. When this point was reached, it was not difficult to see that the whole anthropomorphic explanation of things was on the eve of disappearing. A God who was nearer man in the past than he is in the present, could not be the God of the future.

But even before this period, the growing weakness of the theoretical basis of belief had begun to affect the practical life of men. The social order was built upon theology, and therefore the advance of the critical spirit was continually loosening its foundations. Hence the fierce hostility of the representatives of that order to the

freedom of the intelligence. That hostility, however, is to be attributed not so much to their indignation at unbelief in itself, as to their alarm at the dissolution of social order which was its practical result. Nor was it altogether inexcusable, so long as the assailants of the old faith were unable to propound any theoretical principles which could be made the basis of reconstruction. Now the metaphysical principles to which these assailants appealed were really negations pretending to be affirmations, the purely negative character of which must reveal itself so soon as their victory was achieved. Men in whom the practical and organizing impulse was strong, who felt the necessity for a moral order, could not but see that such ropes of sand were no real substitute for the old framework of social and political life, and they were therefore tempted to shut their eyes to the intellectual claims of a truth which could be fertile only in destruction. Thus arose that fatal division between the heart and the intellect which has lasted down to the present day, and which must last till the intellect shows itself capable of producing a system which can more securely sustain the social order, and more completely satisfy the affections and spiritual aspirations of men, than the fictions of theology.

The truth of this view will be more clearly seen if we examine the nature of that intermediate system of critical thought which was the great weapon of attack upon theology. This system was, in fact, only the last abstraction of the theological anthropomorphism itself. As in one department of human thought after another the knowledge of the uniform and unchangeable order of things prevailed over the conception of accident and arbitrary change, the idea of will became attenuated, until it ultimately disappeared altogether from the explanation of Nature. But it left behind a kind of spectre of abstraction. Instead of being dominated by gods, phenomena were supposed to be dominated by essences and powers, which, however, were merely abstract repetitions of those phenomena. How abstractions came to be thus substantiated as real entities, separated from the phenomena in which they were manifested, might be difficult to understand, if we did not remember that they were but the residua of what had once been individualized pictures of imagination. The essences of the Schoolmen were but the dry bones of the living creatures of poetry which the understanding had slain. "The human mind," as Mill puts it, "did not set out from the notion of a name, but from that of a divinity. The realization of abstractions was not the embodiment of a word, but the disembodiment of a Fetich." Really, therefore, these essences and powers were nothing more than the pure abstractions, and therefore only the negations, of the gods whose places they took. They had no positive content of their own. As mere negatives they had no value except in relation to the corresponding affirmatives, although in the first instance imagination was strong enough to give them the semblance of positive principles occupying the place of the beliefs they expelled.

And it was just this temporary illusion which made them such powerful weapons of destruction. For the revolutionary passion can never be sustained by negations which it recognises as such. It is impossible to march with enthusiasm to the attack upon the institutions of the past, without the conviction that there is something more to be gained than the destruction of those institutions.

The metaphysical philosophy, as the necessary forerunner of the philosophy of experience, gradually extended its destructive power over all branches of human knowledge. At first it laid its hand on the sciences that deal with organic nature, and of these, first of all on those that deal with the phenomena furthest from man, and least subject to his control. For man discovers that the phenomena of the heavens are not ruled by arbitrary will, long before he discerns the absence of caprice from the general course of Nature. In like manner, he is sensible that inorganic things have fixed and unchangeable relations, while as yet the spontaneity of animal life seems to be as unlimited as that which he attributes to his own will. And only last of all, does it dawn upon him that his own life also is limited and controlled by something which is neither his own will nor the will of a being like himself, whom he can propitiate or persuade—something which is both within and without him, to which he must conform himself, seeing it will not conform to him. The last substantiated abstraction, therefore, which is put in the place of the divine powers, is Nature. And Nature is only a name for the general course of things, though it is regarded by metaphysics as existing apart from, and controlling them. But as Nature succeeds to the place of a God whom men were conceived to be bound to obey, but able arbitrarily to disobey, so is it represented as the source of a law distinct from the actual course of human life, and to which it does not necessarily conform. The law of Nature, in this view, is a law written on man's heart, but not necessarily realized in his actions. In truth, however, it is but the negation of that order of social life which was based upon the theological idea, though it is supposed by those who believe in it to be something more.

This becomes evident whenever we examine the main articles contained in this supposed law of Nature. For these are simply negations of different parts of that social order which was based upon theology. The first of these articles is the right of private judgment—that is, the right of every individual to emancipate himself from all spiritual authority, and to judge of everything for himself. This principle is merely “a sanction of the state of anarchy, which intervened between the decay of the old discipline and the formation of new spiritual ties.” In other words, it is not a new principle of order, but the abstract expression of the ungoverned state of mere individual opinion, “for no association whatever, even of the smallest number of persons and for the most temporary objects, can subsist without some degree of agreement, intellectual and moral, among its members.” In the next place among the

articles of the law of Nature stands the doctrine of equality, which has a meaning only as the negation of the old hierarchy, the old social and political order, but which, taken absolutely, is the negation of all order whatever. For if society is anything more than a collection of unrelated atoms, if it is an organic unity, it must have different organs for its different functions, and it is as impossible that these organs should all be equal, as that they should all be the same. This doctrine, therefore, is but the abstract proclamation of social anarchy. To these articles are commonly added the doctrines of national independence, and of the sovereignty of the people. The former is nothing more than the negation of that spiritual supremacy of the Church, which in the Middle Ages mediated between the nations of Europe, and bound them together; but, taken absolutely, it would imply national isolation and international anarchy. The latter is the transference to the governed of that fiction of divine right which was formerly supposed to reside in the governor, and it has no meaning except as the negation of that fiction. For the people cannot rule themselves; and even to make them choose their ruler, that is, to make the inferior and less wise choose the superior and wiser, cannot be regarded as more than a provisional expedient for anarchic times.

The articles of the law of Nature then, like all metaphysical principles, are merely principles of insurrection and revolt. They have no positive validity; for they are just the ultimate abstractions, or, so to speak, the speculative phantoms of the system which they destroy. As it is said that a man dies when he has seen his own ghost, so, according to Comte, the destroyer of theology is just the ghost of itself, raised by abstraction. But the ghost also vanishes when its victim is fairly buried, leaving the field to the growing strength of positive science.

Positive science, then, is the real cause of all intellectual progress, its advance constitutes the *nisus formativus* that is concealed beneath the surface struggle of theology and metaphysics. For even in the earliest theological era, there was a certain element of positive science, that is, of knowledge of the permanent relations of things. The most arbitrary will is not all arbitrary, but presupposes something of a fixed order without or within, and therefore the anthropomorphic analogies by which phenomena were interpreted, still left some space for the idea of law. And this space was continually being widened, at the expense of the arbitrary and the accidental. While metaphysics seemed simply to be substituting one transcendent explanation for another, it was really disguising the abandonment of all transcendent explanations whatever, and the introduction of positive explanations in their place. The doubts expressed in the metaphysical criticism were really due to a growing sense of law, which, when it became clear and self-conscious, produced the positive philosophy. Hence there was, for a long time, an intimate alliance between the scientific and the metaphysical spirit, though the former was merely *critical*, and the latter *organic*. And this alliance

was the more easily maintained, because, in the first instance, neither the negative character of the former nor the positive character of the latter was distinctly discerned. Metaphysic was not seen to be merely critical, because its abstractions were taken to be real entities. And science could not be seen to be organic, that is, to contain the principle of a new organization of society, till it rose from the contemplation of the inorganic world to the study of life, and especially of human life. History, however, shows that science has always reaped the fruits of every victory won over theology by metaphysic, and on the other hand that metaphysic has never succeeded in maintaining any position against theology, which has not been occupied by positive science. The great metaphysical movement of the Greeks left for its sole permanent result the sciences of Geometry and Astronomy; while their premature speculations on Psychology and Sociology were suppressed or forgotten by the mediæval church, which directed all the intelligence of the world to the practical work of civilizing and organizing men by means of the monotheistic idea. When thought was again awakened, the abstract metaphysic of the Schoolmen was only the forerunner of the renewed study of natural science, especially of Physics and Chemistry, which at first appeared under the forms of Astrology and Alchemy; and the victory of Nominalism over Realism, in which the scholastic philosophy ended, was the indication of another triumph of science. For Nominalism is simply the negation of that tendency to personify abstractions, which is the essence of metaphysic. Finally, as a consequence of that development of science which culminated in Newton, metaphysic ceased to apply its method to the external world, and confined itself to the sphere of Biology and Sociology, from which it is now being gradually driven. In the last of these applications, its power for criticism and destruction, and its weakness for reconstruction and reorganization, were proved by the decisive experiment of the French Revolution, in which the ideas of the rights of man and the law of Nature were tried and found wanting. Since that time political life has fluctuated between the theological and the metaphysical principles, and therefore between the opposite dangers of reaction and revolution, finding no security for order but in the former, and no security for progress but in the latter. But the advance of Sociology into the positive stage, which has been inaugurated by Comte, has, in his view, shown that the opposite interests of order and progress may be equally secured, if only we base both upon a knowledge of the laws by which the existence and activity of man are ruled, and not on the fictions of the imagination, or on the still emptier fictions of the understanding.

The aim of the future, then, is one with the aim of the past. That social passion which in all great constructive periods of human history, and especially in the Middle Ages, took hold of theological beliefs, and made them a means to organize and discipline mankind, is still to be the guiding motive of all speculation and action. But the system

of thought which it uses for this end must inevitably be changed. Renouncing the theological and metaphysical interpretations of things, which have been proved to be either inconsistent with facts, or at least incapable of being verified by them, we must now base our effort to improve man's estate upon the laws of the consistence and succession of phenomena, as these are determined by science. And on the other hand, as we recognise that all the sciences tend to lose themselves in the multiplicity of a universe, where every path leads to the infinite, we must seek also to organize and discipline the hitherto dispersive efforts of science, so that they may be directed entirely to the relief and furtherance of man's estate. In this way scientific knowledge and social benevolence will act and react, at once limiting and supporting each other, and amid all the darkness of a universe which absolutely is unknowable, and, even relatively to himself, is only partially knowable, man can yet give a kind of unity and completeness to his transitory existence. For all he needs to know, is that which experience has constantly been teaching, the uniformity and constancy of the laws of phenomena. By means of this knowledge, so far as he can obtain it, and without any need to penetrate into the transcendent causes of things, he can foresee many phenomena, like those of the heavens, over which he has no control whatever, and also many phenomena, like those of his own nature and his immediate environment, which he can, to a certain degree, change and modify. And thus he can learn, with continually growing certainty, what are the means he must use to bring within his reach the highest good which the system of things allows him to attain, detaching his thoughts and interests more and more from the unfathomed abyss beyond, which he now knows to be by him unfathomable.

Is it, then, possible for men to sketch out the programme of an existence limited to this "bank and shoal of time," to conceive it as a complete system in itself, and *ré-organiser sans Dieu ni roi, par le culte systématique de l'humanité*? Can they, surrendering the belief in "a Divinity that shapes their ends, rough-hew them how they will," "constitute a real providence for themselves, in all departments, moral, intellectual, and material?" Comte answers that they can; and in the "Politique Positive" he tries to exhibit the main outlines of that social system of the future by which this end is to be attained.

His starting point is—strange as at first it may seem—the idea of religion. "Religion embraces all our existence, for its history therefore must be an epitome of the whole history of our development." Beneath and beyond all the details of our ideas of things, there is a certain "*esprit d'ensemble*," a general conception of the world without and the world within, in which these details gather to a head. If this conception or picture be coherent with itself, and if at the same time be such as to present an object on which our affections can rest, and an end in the pursuit of which all our powers and capacities may be

exercised, then our life will have that unity and consistency with itself which is necessary for the highest efficiency and happiness. Such a harmony of existence, in which all its elements are fitly co-ordinated, is what, in Comte's view, constitutes a religion. And, since man is both an individual and a social being, this harmony is seen to involve two things. It involves a subordination of all the elements of man's individual nature to some ruling tendency, and it involves a certain adaptation of men to, and a combination of them with, each other. Further, this harmony of humanity with itself must also be a harmony of man with the world in which he exists. In other words, the individual can attain his highest perfection and happiness only in so far as he is, at once and by virtue of the same principle, in harmony with the world, with his fellow-men, and with himself.

Now, this harmony cannot be produced by the sway of personal or egoistic motives; for these are in fatal disagreement with each other, and they set each man in antagonism to all other men, and even to the natural conditions of his own existence. The regulation and harmonizing of the nature of the individual man, therefore, implies his attachment or self-surrender to that which is without him, and to which he is necessarily related—to some object in that world of persons and things which hems him in on every side, and which must needs be his enemy so long as he is ruled by egoism. Further, if the principle of religion is thus to be found without and not within the individual man, it must be found in some object to which he submits as to a superior power, and on which, at the same time, his affections can rest. Submission and love are both necessary to religion, for if we have merely the former, the utmost we can feel is resignation to a fatality; and this, though it involves a certain limitation of the selfish tendencies, can never overcome them, or substitute a new motive for them. To retain the energy of egoism and combine it with resignation to a power greater than ours, we must love that power to which we submit. Finally, this submission and self-surrender must be consistent with a certain relative sense of independence, for no feeling is really powerful which does not result in action. Hence, to submission and love, we must add the belief that we can make ourselves useful to that Being to whom we submit and whom we love. Only thus, when veneration for that which is above us, is combined with love for that which is the constant source of good to us, and with benevolence towards that which needs our help,* can we rise above the unreal and imperfect unity of selfishness into the perfect unity of religion. Or, to put it more shortly, in Comte's own language, "the principal religious difficulty is to secure that the external shall regulate the internal without affecting its spontaneity;" to secure, that is, that the free subjective principles of love and benevolence shall attach to the power to which we believe our existence to be subordinated. For if our faith be not one with our love, or if our love be

* Cf. Goethe's "Three Reverences."

not a principle of activity, we cannot be, in the full sense of the word, religious.

Now the difficulty of attaining such a harmony or unity of existence cannot but be obvious to those who live in a period when "the intelligence is in insurrection against the heart;" when what men desire and love is not by any means one with what, on the authority of science, they believe. If, however, we follow the course of advancing knowledge, we shall see that this state of things is merely temporary, and that completed positive science gives us back all that in the course of its development it seemed to take away. Science, indeed, from its very dawn, when it discovers that there is a fixed order and law in the movement of the heavenly bodies, gives support to one element of religion, the sense that we are in the hands of a superior power. It reveals to man an ultimate necessity which bounds and determines his life—a necessity which, from the nature of the case, he cannot modify. But as the idea of law is gradually extended to physical, chemical, and vital phenomena, this necessity seems to limit and control him on every side. Phenomena, therefore, can no longer be regarded as the expressions of the wills of fictitious beings endowed with the qualities most admired in humanity, and therefore capable of being loved. And the natural effect of this is to reduce religion into a mere resignation to an irresistible fate, which is incapable of awaking or responding to human affection. With the rise of sociology, however, science changes its aspect, and begins to restore to us more than all that was contained in the dreams of mythology which it has destroyed. For this culminating science teaches us to regard the whole race of man as an organic and self-developing unity, in which we, as individuals, are parts or members. Between our own life and the merely external necessity of Nature we see a spiritual power which modifies it and adapts it to our wants. Between the individual and the world stands humanity, and the "main pressure of external fatality does not fall upon the former directly, but only through the interposition of the latter." In passing through this medium, brute necessity is changed more and more into a saving providence. To be convinced of this we need only to observe that, after we go beyond the fixed order of the celestial system, which is the ultimate necessity of our lives, and which lies entirely beyond the reach of our interference, we come upon various orders of phenomena—physical, chemical, and vital—which are capable of modification, and are continuously subjected to it by man, and even by plants and animals. So soon as life begins, order becomes the basis of progress: for the living being not only adapts itself to the medium in which it lives, but continually reacts upon that medium, in order to render it more suitable for its wants; and in the case of man, inasmuch as his existence has a connection and a continuity that binds the whole race together through the long succession of ages, this reaction is cumulative. The life of the individual in any age is what

it is, by reason of the whole progressive movement of humanity ; and the later the time of his appearance the more he owes to his race. "The living are always more and more dominated by the dead." On this great benefactor, therefore, his thoughts can rest, as a power which moderates and controls his whole life, and which controls it not merely as a fate to which he must resign himself, but as a providence to which his love and gratitude are due. Nor will such feelings be less powerful because this providence is one which he can serve, and which needs his service. Hence he is led to contemplate his life in all that makes it worth living, as the gift of a "Grand Être," to whom during his short term of earthly years it is his highest virtue to devote himself, and with whom it is his final reward to become incorporated. For his "*objective*" or actual existence in time has no valuable result, unless it add to the "*subjective*" existence of humanity, the influences and memories which mould for good the lot of subsequent generations. His religion, in short, is to consider himself as a useful link in the chain between the past and future of the race, a soldier of humanity in the continual struggle whereby it adapts itself to its sphere of action, and its sphere of action to itself, so as to realize an ever richer and more harmonious social existence.

It is true indeed that Humanity has no absolute power, that it is hemmed in by a fatality which it can only partially modify. "This immense and eternal Being has not created the materials which its wise activity employs, nor the laws which determine the results of its action." But it is as vain to attempt to raise our hearts beyond this immediate benefactor, as to carry the mind beyond the circle of experience within which it is necessarily enclosed. Nay, it is not only vain, but hurtful. "The provisional régime which ends in our day has only too clearly manifested the gravity of this danger, for during it the greater part of the thanks addressed to the fictitious Being constituted so many acts of ingratitude to Humanity, the sole author of the benefits for which thanks were given." "If the adoration of fictitious powers was morally indispensable, so long as the true 'Grand Être' that rules our lives could not clearly manifest himself, now at least it would tend to turn us away from the sole worship that can improve us. Those who would prolong it at the present day are forgetting its legitimate purpose, which was simply to direct provisionally the evolution of our best feelings, under the regency of God during the long minority of humanity." Of this worship, the Christian doctrine of the incarnation might be regarded as an anticipation, and still more perhaps the mediæval worship of the Virgin ; for women, as the sex characterized by sympathy, are the fit representatives of Humanity. They mediate between Humanity and man, as Humanity mediates between man and the world.

But the worship of Humanity is only the general principle from which the new life of "Sociocracy" must spring, it is not "Sociocracy" itself. We have therefore to inquire what is the order of life that corresponds

to this new religion. How does it modify our ideas of the relation of men to each other, and to the world? And what light does it cast upon the various forms of social existence, upon the Family, the State, and the Church? I can only give a brief *résumé* of Comte's answers to these questions.

All civilization or improvement depends ultimately on man's control over material resources, over the powers and products of Nature. And, on the other hand, it is the reactive influence upon himself of the effort by which he appropriates and adapts these resources to his purposes, which first civilizes and educates him. Man can only conquer Nature by obeying her laws, and to obey these laws he must know them. Hence it is the necessities of the practical life which excite the first efforts after scientific knowledge, and it is under the pressure of the same necessities that man first learns to surrender self-will to the discipline of regular labour, and of co-operation with his fellows. We might indeed imagine a different kind of education for the human race. If mankind generally, like some of the richer classes, were placed in circumstances in which, without effort or struggle, they could at once satisfy all their natural wants and desires, we might imagine that social sympathies and intellectual tastes would soon prevail over all the personal or egoistic tendencies. For though the latter were at first far the strongest, they would gradually die out for lack of occasions for exercise. Losing thus the powerful stimulus of self-interest, which drives us to investigate the laws of Nature, the intellectual activity of such beings would take an æsthetic direction, and would be devoted mainly to the task of providing forms of expression for the social sympathies. These social sympathies would become intense, for they would occupy the whole of life. But they would in the first instance be confined in the circle of the family; for the social life of States gains its principal interest from the ever-widening co-operation which is required in the struggle for existence against external difficulties. The natural creed of men would be an æsthetic Fetichism; and this, in the course of time, when men had learned to distinguish between action and life, would be changed into Positivism without needing to pass through the long intermediate stages of theology and metaphysics; while, in the practical life, the affection of the family would broaden to the love of humanity, omitting the middle term of nationality. Finally, as the heart and the intelligence would continually gain a more marked ascendancy over the practical activity, it would be natural that the spiritual power should rule the temporal, and that women should have the supremacy over men.

This ideal, however, only serves to illustrate by contrast the real course of things, which indeed continually advances towards the same goal, but by a far longer and more stormy path, a path not of untroubled and peaceful growth, but of conflict, division, and pain. We shall find, however, as a kind of recompense for this hard process of mediation, that the final reconciliation of humanity with the world and

with itself is far more perfect and conclusive, as it is a reconciliation which subordinates, while it satisfies, all the different elements of his nature. For a "sociality," reared on the basis of a fully developed yet conquered, "personality," an art reared on the basis of science, is a far higher ideal than such an imagined paradise, in which the struggle for existence, with all the intellectual and physical exertion which it involves, would be made unnecessary.

Our personal tendencies are strongest at first, and in their direct action they might lead, and do indeed often lead, to a sacrifice of society to the individual, and to the development in him of an extravagant pride and self-will, by which both heart and reason are corrupted. But man soon finds that he must stoop to conquer; that he must submit his action to the laws of Nature, if he would make Nature the servant of his purposes; that he must himself be instrumental to the well-being of others ere he can make them instruments of his own well-being. And in this submission of caprice and passion to reason and law, and of his own life to social ends, he gradually develops his intellectual powers and social sympathies till they gain a supremacy over those egoistic tendencies to which in the first instance they were subordinated. The highest ideal of man's life is to systematize this spontaneous process, and to turn into a conscious aim that moral and intellectual discipline of his nature, which in the past has been the unforeseen result of his effort after personal ends. We must, however, remember that this result would not have been possible unless the beginnings of these higher tendencies had existed in man from the first. No empirical process could ever have developed social sympathies in him, if he had been by nature utterly selfish, any more than it could have produced reason in a being who was devoid of even the germ of intelligence. But the whole history of human progress is just an account of the process whereby feeble social affections, using as a fulcrum the outward necessities of man's life, gradually secure to themselves the direction of all his activity. "The principal triumph of humanity consists in drawing its best means of perfecting itself from that very fatality which seems at first to condemn us to most brutal egoism." For "so soon as the personal instincts have placed us in a situation proper to satisfy our social tendencies, these, in virtue of their irresistible charm, commonly guide us to a course of conduct which they could not have had at first the force to dictate."

These principles find their illustration in certain economical truths. In most conditions in which human beings are placed, the individual is capable of producing more than is immediately necessary for his wants; or, in other words, of accumulating wealth. Such accumulations make social existence possible, and coming, by gift or conquest, into the hands of the heads of society, become the means of realizing a division of labour, by providing the different classes of labourers with sustenance and instruments of production. Division of labour, again, secures continually increased efficiency, makes continually greater demands upon

science for guidance, and thus stimulates the development of the intellectual life. Thus the hard external conditions under which man's activity secures the satisfaction of his wants become a beneficent necessity, which forces him to increase his knowledge, and to co-operate with an ever-widening circle of his fellow-men. This co-operation, indeed, is not always conscious; and, even when it is conscious, it is not necessarily accompanied by social sympathy, as is shown by the fierce industrial struggles of capital with labour at the present day. Yet it is inevitable that it should in the long run produce a sense of the solidarity of mankind. "As each one really labours for the others, in the end he must acquire the consciousness that he does so labour," and the consciousness of being a part in a greater whole must produce a willingness to serve and live for it. Thus, a movement beginning in the reactive influence on man's activity of the physical conditions of his life, extends its effects gradually to his intelligence and his heart, so that the order of the elements of his nature becomes, as it were, inverted; the first becomes last, and the last first. And instead of the self-concentration of the savage we have the development of a social impulse, which begins by setting the family before the individual, which goes on to set the State before the family, and which must end in setting humanity before all.

The way in which this movement is accomplished, and the form of social life in which it must result, are determined by principles that have already been suggested. The abstract elements of human life, of which we have to take account, are material, intellectual, and moral force, corresponding respectively to the will, the intelligence, and the heart. And these again correspond to three forms of association among men—the State, the Church, and the Family; three partial societies, in the union of which alone man can attain the complete satisfaction of his complex being. It is scarcely necessary to intimate, however, that this general correspondence of the abstract and concrete divisions is not meant to imply that any one of these forms of society is purely material, purely intellectual, or purely based upon affection. The great whole of the universal society is made up of parts which are like it, and are themselves wholes; and in every one of them we can make a division of material, intellectual, and moral powers. Still, with this reservation, we may say generally that the bond which holds the family together is one of affection; that the bond of the State is one of action, or material purpose; and that the bond of humanity is the spiritual bond of intelligence. And further, that, as in the family the tone and temper of the whole society is determined by the women, so the tone and temper of the State is determined by the practical classes, warlike or industrial; and the tone and temper of the Church by the priesthood, theological or scientific. It is one main design of Comte's sociology to organize and put in their proper relation to each other the three great social powers, which have successively established their claims in the long

history of human development. The dawn of civilization saw the organization of the family, under the guidance of Fetichism. Polytheism taught men to combine in a civil society, under the guidance of a power in which temporal and spiritual authority were confused together. Finally, Monotheism separated the secular and spiritual powers, and established a certain provisional equilibrium between them. Metaphysic was powerful only to destroy; but by sapping the foundations of the theological system it prepared the way for Positivism, by which Family, State, and Church are finally to be distinguished and harmonized, or fixed in their proper organic relations to each other, so as to preclude for ever their warfare or intrusion upon each other's provinces.

In determining the nature and relation of these three forms of social union, Comte lays down two principles. The first is, that there can be no society without a government, any more than there can be a government, or effective power among men, without a society. "A true social force is the result of a more or less extended co-operation, gathered up into an individual organ." It is a result in which many are concerned, yet which finds its final expression through the will of one. As to the former point, that a social basis of force is necessary, Comte says that "there is nothing individual, except physical force," and even physical force is very limited when it is merely individual. Every other kind of power, whether intellectual or moral, is essentially social, dependent on the co-operation of many minds in the present, and generally also on a slow accumulation of energy in the past. As Goethe said, "It is not the solitary man that can accomplish anything, but only he who unites with many at the right time." Nor, on the other hand, can we have social force without government. The concurrence of many can never be really effective, until it finds an individual organ to gather it up, and concentrate it to a definite result. Sometimes the individual comes first, fixes his mind on a determinate purpose, and then gathers to himself the various partial forces which are necessary to achieve it. More often in the case of great social movements, there is a spontaneous convergence of many particular tendencies, till, finally, the individual appears who gives them a common centre, and binds them into one whole. But in all cases the effective co-operation, the real social force, is not present till it has thus concentrated and individualized itself.

The second principle is one that has been already illustrated. It is, in Comte's view, the law of the world that the higher should immediately subordinate itself to the lower. Thus the organic finds its life controlled and limited by the inorganic world, and man has to work out his destiny in submission to all the necessities, physical, chemical and vital, which are presupposed in his existence. The higher, therefore, can overcome the lower only by obedience; if it is to conquer, it must at least "stoop to conquer." And this law holds equally good in the case of the social life of man. As it is the satisfaction of material wants that

is, and must be, the first motive of his life, so it is in the effort to maintain his outward existence, and to employ the resources of Nature for satisfying his desires, that his powers are first excited and disciplined. Hence it is the practical activities—military or industrial, according to the state of civilization—which must bear the immediate rule in his life; not because they are the highest, but because they are the indispensable basis of everything else. Moral and intellectual influences can only come in in the second place, to counsel and modify the ruthless energy of the practical life. They are essentially restraining, correcting, guiding, and not in the first instance stimulating or originative forces. It is when they act in this indirect way that they are really most efficient, and their direct action, if it were possible, would defeat itself. Their purity cannot be secured except by their withdrawal from the sphere of action and command; their power is dependent on their self-abnegation and rejection of immediate authority and rank. They cease to influence men when they begin to dominate. Nay, even if their purity were secured, and they could reign without rivals, we have seen that they would produce a less beneficent result than when they come in as moderators. The purely “altruistic” and intellectual being, in whom personal motives did not exist, would have a less exalted ideal of life set before him than one in whom the personal motives exist in all their energy, but are remoulded in conformity with social interests.

On this basis we have to consider the order of the Family, the State, and the Church. The family is the first instrument of man’s social education. It takes him at the lowest point, to raise him to the highest. It is the “only natural transition which can habitually disengage us from pure personality, to raise us gradually to true sociability.” In it the man, according to the above principle, must bear rule, though it be the woman, who, “*par l’affectueuse réaction du conseil sur le commandement*,” ultimately determines the spirit of the society. A shadow also of the other spiritual power, the power of intelligence, often appears in the family, especially in the early patriarchal societies, in the customary authority given to the moderating counsel of the elders, who are beyond the age for active service.

The State is the peculiar sphere of the active or secular power, which, after being military, has now become distinctly industrial. During the military stage, the harmony of the different classes in the State was less difficult to preserve, seeing that common danger bound together the soldier classes, and confirmed their fidelity to their leaders; while, in many cases, the industrial offices were committed to slaves, or serfs, who were deprived of all political power. The change to an industrial order of political life brings with it many dangers to the unity of the State, especially as it has been completed at a time when the old theological basis of belief is undermined. Hence the already difficult task of organizing society on the basis of individual freedom, and without the external pressure of danger, is rendered still more difficult. The

capitalists, who are the natural leaders of an industrial society, have often been wanting in the consciousness of their social function, and in their conduct towards their workmen, and towards each other, have been given up to the action of personal motives. On the other hand, the labourers, or "proletaires," filled with the new sense of independence, and excited by revolutionary doctrines of individual right, have lost the sense of loyalty, and have filled their minds with Utopias of equality, which really involve the negation of the division and co-operation of labour—*i.e.*, of all social organization. The aim of all social reform, therefore, must be to bring back that willing subordination to leaders inspired by the sense of social duty, which characterized the military régime in its best form. But this, in the decay of theology, and the consequent loss of influence by the Catholic Church, requires the development of a new social doctrine, based upon science, and the rise of a new spiritual power, to teach and apply it to modern society. The State cannot be perfectly organized without the revival of the Church, for it is the wider spiritual unity of humanity that alone can give renewed strength to the bonds of material order in the State.

The great achievement of the Middle Ages was the separation of the spiritual from the temporal power. This, indeed, was partly a historical accident, but it was also the necessary expression of the true relation of theory and practice, which, in their demands and requirements, are essentially opposed, and which therefore cannot be fully developed except in relative independence of each other. Theory is general, and cannot attain its highest point unless it is universal. Practice is particular, and its greatest success is the fruit of concentration upon special circumstances and objects. Theory therefore becomes stunted, and loses its freedom and impartiality, if it is brought into close connection with the narrower aims of the outward life. Practice loses little by the egoism of personal will and desire, and indeed within proper limits requires it. To gain the full benefit of this distinction, we must adopt with all its consequences the mediæval division of clergy and laity, Church and State. On the one hand, therefore, we must reduce the State to the dimensions of a city, with its proper complement of rural domain, "for experience has proved that the city, when completed, and sufficiently supported by material resources, is the largest political society that can be produced and maintained without oppression;" as it is also the society which secures the most definite and specialized reaction of man's social activity on the physical medium by which he is surrounded. Further, within the city so constituted, we must have as intensive a division of labour as possible, the government being concentrated in the hands of those capitalists whose occupations are of the greatest generality (*i.e.*, the bankers); the other capitalists (merchants, manufacturers, and agriculturists) taking their rank according to the same

principle; and the proletaires following, also in the order of decreasing generality. Finally, the various offices are to be handed down from one generation to another according to the principle of 'herédité socio-cratique,' each official choosing his successor, subject to the approval of his superiors: for this, and not the anarchic principle of the choice of superiors by inferiors, is the true modern principle of government, which succeeds to the old method of inheritance by birth. On the other hand, the order of the priesthood is to be in everything the exact opposite of the order of the laity. In the first place, the motives of personal interest are to be excluded, so far as possible, from their lives. There is to be no competition of trade among them, but all spiritual work is to be paid by salaries from the public, and these salaries are to be fixed at so low a rate, even in the case of the highest members of the order, that there shall be no inducement to enter it from motives of cupidity. In the second place, although there will necessarily be a certain subordination of rank, in order to secure discipline and combined action, and all the priesthood will be arranged in a hierarchy under the "grand Prêtre de l'Humanité," yet there must be no specialization of function, or division of labour among them. The modern anarchy of science is, as Comte maintains, due to the fact, that scientific men are mostly specialists; and his priests therefore are to be trained in all science, from mathematics, through physics, chemistry and biology, to sociology—for which last all the other sciences are to be regarded as preparatory. In this way, the "esprit d'ensemble" will prevail among them, and science will be preserved from its present uncertain aberrations into regions from which no gain can be brought back for the furtherance of humanity. Nay, Comte appears to regard even the separation of Art from Science as a step toward anarchy, and demands that his priesthood should be the artistic as well as the philosophic teachers of men. At the same time they must avoid, as the most fatal source of corruption, all tendency to interfere more directly in practical affairs. Their business is to "modify the wills, without ever commanding the acts of men," and they cannot preserve the universality which is their characteristic without a complete renunciation of the right to compel. The furthest point to which they may go in this direction, is to excommunicate, or affix a social stigma on offenders; and if more is required, these offenders must be left (or handed over?) to the secular power.

Such a priesthood will be the natural representatives of the unity or solidarity of mankind, as opposed to the particular interests of individuals and classes. They will be the representatives of the continuity of the life of humanity, in the past and the future, as opposed to the excessive claims of the present hour. It will be their duty to make men conscious that their occupations are social functions, and that everything that is valuable in their lives has been gained for them by the long-continued labours of humanity, whose gratuitous gifts it is their highest privilege

to preserve, and hand down increased by their own contributions to posterity. The clergy will thus be, as in the old system, the natural allies of the women; for what they have to do is simply to generalize and support, by a complete scientific view of the world and of human life, those lessons of the heart which are first learned by man in the narrower circle of the family. By their encyclopædic view of knowledge, the intelligence, which under the dispersive régime of science has become a rebel against the heart, is to be brought back to its allegiance, and the civic and human relations to be reconstituted on the type of the family.

In impressing such a view of life upon mankind, the Positivist Church will avail itself of all the aids of art, and will use the power of imagination to fill up those voids and imperfections which sober science undoubtedly leaves in our knowledge of things. For it is the function of poetry not merely to give body and substance to the necessarily abstract ideas of science; it may even, justifiably, outrun the possibilities of knowledge, though in that case we must not forget the unverified nature of the illusions to which we yield. In the first of these uses Art will give precision and force to the worship of Humanity, or of its representative—Woman. It will provide language for those exercises of prayer and praise, by which we make vivid and real to ourselves our union with others, and dedicate ourselves to a life of "Altruism." It will thus intensify and deepen the *subjective* life, through which past humanity lives in us, and enable us to look forward with joy to our only personal reward, that of being incorporated in Humanity, and living again in the subjective life of others. For "*toute l'éducation humaine doit préparer chacun à vivre pour autrui, afin de vivre dans autrui*;" which is the true social doctrine of immortality, as opposed to the anti-social doctrine of an *objective* immortality for ourselves. The other use of poetry, in which it transcends the strict limits of science, is to revive something like the early fetichist belief that everything lives and is moved by human desires and affections. Thus, as a matter of fact, the inorganic world, so far as we know it, is governed by a fatality which is indifferent to the well-being of man. Nay, in its first action, it seems to call forth those tendencies in us which most need to be repressed and subdued. And it is only by the providence of humanity that this very hostility and opposition of Nature are made instrumental to the attainment of a higher good. Yet, the victory being won, we may be allowed, at least in poetic rapture, to forget the discord between man and the world he inhabits; or to regard it as existing only with a view to that higher good which has resulted from it. For, "*l'existence humaine ne s'informe guère du temps qui exigea sa préparation spontanée*." When we consider Nature as summed up in man, we learn "to love the natural order as the basis of the artificial order," produced by humanity, "so as to renew, under a better form, the fetichist affections." In his last work, Comte carries this extension of poetic license to its furthest point.

and bids us add to our adoration of humanity, as the "Grand Être," an adoration of space, as the "Grand Milieu," and of the earth as the "Grand Fetiche;" and he would have us think of these two as yearning for the birth and development of Humanity. In Comte's system, therefore, as in a more familiar text, "the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God;" and that optimism, which is rejected at the beginning as truth, is brought in at the end as poetry. Only, poetry is not, as with the Apostle, the anticipation or foretaste of knowledge; it is the succedaneum provided because knowledge is absent and unattainable.

For our purpose it is not necessary to go beyond this point. The minute prescriptions of the fourth volume of the "Politique Positive" add little or nothing to the general meaning of the system. The positivist New Jerusalem is as definitely determined and measured as the Holy City of the Apocalypse; but the main interest of such details is for the Church and not for the world.

In subsequent articles I shall endeavour to estimate the value of the philosophy of Comte, and especially of the social system, an outline of which has been given in the preceding pages.

EDWARD CAIRD.

LAST WORDS ON MR. FROUDE.

ONE is always disposed to let a controversy drop when the disputant on the other side declares that he intends to say no more. There seems a certain unfairness in taking advantage of the privilege of the last word; yet it would be still more unfair if a disputant could, merely by saying that he intended to say no more, cut off his adversary from the right of answering statements which, for the sake of truth, ought to be answered. This is how the case stands at this moment between me and Mr. Froude. Mr. Froude ends his article in the April number of the *Nineteenth Century* with a declaration that he will "not be a party in any further controversy" with me. After this, one would gladly let the matter end. But that article contains statements which, alike for the sake of truth and for the sake of my own reputation, it is impossible that I can leave unanswered. The article is so plausibly written that I can see what its effect must be—I have already seen what its effect has been. Any one who read that article, and who had not read the writings to which it is an answer, would certainly be led to draw several conclusions unfavourable to me. It might even have that effect on one who had read those writings but who did not turn back to refresh his memory. Mr. Froude has kept back his answer so long that my exact words, on almost every point, must have passed away from most minds. One who does not turn back to see what my real words were may well fail to mark the wide difference between what I have really said and what Mr. Froude makes me say. Indeed, Mr. Froude's accusation of me—for it comes to an accusation of me—is so skilfully drawn up that, in reading it, I sometimes felt like Warren Hastings on his trial, and began to doubt whether I was not really the monster which Mr. Froude clearly thinks that I am. The effect which the article has had upon others I can see by the *Spectator* of April 5th. I am sure that any writer in the *Spectator* means to be fair, and sets

down only what he really thinks. The *Spectator* sees perfectly well that Mr. Froude has not succeeded in clearing himself from the charge of habitual inaccuracy. But the *Spectator* thinks that he has succeeded in some other things. The *Spectator* says or implies—

First, that I have “kept up an attack on Mr. Froude for nearly twenty years.” This is a misconception of Mr. Froude’s; but, I allow, a natural one.

Secondly, that I have “denied that Mr. Froude does take trouble over his work, or give time to it.”

Thirdly, that I have “thrown personal aspersions” on Mr. Froude, especially about the Simancas Manuscripts. These two last are misconceptions on the part either of Mr. Froude or of the *Spectator*, but misconceptions which might have been avoided by either of them if they had attended to what I really have said, as distinguished from what Mr. Froude makes me say.

The *Spectator* has been led by Mr. Froude into the belief which Mr. Froude very properly nowhere expresses in so many words, that I personally have kept up an “attack” on him for twenty years. The word “attack” is invidious, but what is doubtless meant is that I have reviewed his writings in the *Saturday Review* during the whole of that period. As I have now nothing to do with the *Saturday Review*, and as a good many of my writings in that paper have been reprinted, there can be no objection to my saying what I have written there and what I have not. I was first asked to review two of Mr. Froude’s volumes at the beginning of 1864, and the first article written in consequence appeared on January the 18th of that year. It is perfectly true that I once, in an earlier article, incidentally and playfully referred to Mr. Froude. It is not unlikely that I may have done so more than once. But Mr. Froude evidently thinks that I have reviewed his volumes from the beginning; and this is not the case. I formally reviewed no volume earlier than those numbered VII. and VIII.—the first pair of the reign of Elizabeth. I certainly did, in reviewing that pair of volumes, make some reference to the earlier volumes. Indeed, Mr. Froude might almost have seen from those references that a new hand was at work. I do not know who wrote the earlier reviews of Mr. Froude’s History, and, if I were to guess, I should most likely make some mistake; but they read very much as if they were not all the work of the same writer. If one man did write them all, it is plain that his opinion of Mr. Froude changed greatly, and came much nearer to mine, as he went on. Still I am not at all surprised at Mr. Froude making this mistake. He may have been led into it by a passage which he does not quote, but from which he extracts a single word. Mr. Froude says, and the *Spectator* echoes him:—

“When my ‘History of England’ was completed in 1869, the Reviewer, evidently the same person who had been so long busy with me, spoke of me as

having been his *victim* for fourteen years. The word exactly expressed my condition. Victims are generally innocent and helpless."

The word "*victim*," quoted by itself, as Mr. Froude quotes it, certainly sounds ugly. But I think that the *Spectator* at least will allow that it does not sound quite so ugly in the way in which the word really was used:—

"Mr. Froude's History, both in its merits and its defects, suggests so many points for reflection, that it is hard to know when to leave off reviewing it. . . . But we have not time nor space for everything. Before we finally part with one who has been, if in some measure a victim, in some measure also a companion, for so many years, we must still in one more notice mark some points of detail in this last volume, and take one last general look at the work whose detached parts have now for fourteen years been accumulating on our shelves."*

Now I do not say that Mr. Froude had been either victim or companion, in the sense that was meant, for fourteen years. To have said so would have been untrue of myself personally, though I might conceivably have said so, as speaking in the person of the Review. Still Mr. Froude might not unnaturally be led to think that I was the only person to whom he had been either victim or companion; but he was mistaken in thinking so. But when my real words were playful, and not wholly unfriendly, he had no right to take a single word by itself, and to comment on it in the way which has clearly imposed on the *Spectator*.

The second point in which the *Spectator* has been misled by Mr. Froude's way of speaking is the charge that "I have denied that Mr. Froude took trouble over his work or gave time to it." It is wonderful how much the mere art of the printer can do, even when there is no direct misquotation. I never said anything like what the *Spectator* clearly believes that I said. What I did say was that Mr. Froude "rushed at a particular period without any preparation from the study of earlier periods." Mr. Froude puts the words "without any preparation" in italics. He cries out at the word "rushed," and tells us that he gave seven years' preparation to his book. I do not in the least doubt it. It is plain on the face of it that Mr. Froude must have gone through a pretty long preparation, and that his work must have cost him much pains, work, and trouble. But what I said was that he rushed at it "without any preparation *from earlier periods*." This is perfectly consistent with any amount of preparation given to the particular period in hand. What I say is, what I have often said, that Mr. Froude began to work at the sixteenth century without the needful knowledge of earlier centuries. I think that this is proved both indirectly by his main work, and directly by the smaller writings in which he has dealt with those earlier centuries. I think that I have brought abundant proofs of Mr. Froude's very slight acquaintance with those earlier centuries. Mr. Froude naturally thinks otherwise, and I shall never convince him; so it is no use arguing the point, especially as I know that I have all who understand the earlier centuries on my side.

* *Saturday Review*, February 5, 1870.

Thirdly, the *Spectator* infers from Mr. Froude that I have thrown "personal aspersions" on Mr. Froude. Mr. Froude says:—

"He has used the occasion for an invective upon my whole literary life, and even my personal character and history; he has described me as dishonest, careless of truth, destitute of any respectable quality save facility in writing which I turn to a bad purpose, and hopeless of amendment."

"Careless of truth," in the only sense with which I am concerned, I believe Mr. Froude to be; "dishonest" I do not believe him to be, and I have never said so. And I have allowed him something better than mere facility in writing. I have spoken, with as much admiration as any of his friends could, of many passages in his History which showed much more than mere facility in writing. Besides this, I have more than once insisted on a distinct historical service which Mr. Froude has done to the times which he took in hand. I will quote one instance where I have done so, because it falls in with part of what I have said as to Mr. Froude's ignorance of earlier times. In one of my first notices (January 30, 1864), in which I thought it right to bring together a good many instances of Mr. Froude's inaccuracy, I mentioned, among others, his notions of the reign of Edward the First. Mr. Froude had said:—

"England would not be meddled with till Scotland was first conquered—and how effectually Scotland could resist invasion had been proved by the experience of Edward the First. Edward struggled for thirty-four years, and failed at last."

In my comment, praise and blame are about equally mingled:—

"Mr. Froude, then, believes that Edward the First's Scottish wars took up the whole of his reign, instead of merely a comparatively small portion towards the end. This is the more unpardonable, as this vulgar error is exactly parallel to the vulgar error which he has himself exposed with regard to his own hero. People in general fancy that the whole reign of Edward was spent in warring with Scots, and that the whole reign of Henry was spent in beheading wives and pulling down churches. Now, though Mr. Froude has failed in the attempt to justify these favourite amusements of his great model, he has successfully shown that such occupations did not take up the whole of his time. So neither did the great Edward struggle for anything like thirty-four years, nor can he be fairly said to have failed at last."

But it is a far more important matter if I had made what Mr. Froude calls an "invective," and what the *Spectator* calls "aspersions," on his personal character. I have done nothing of the kind; for the best of all reasons, that I know nothing about his personal character. Mr. Froude is to me simply the writer of certain books. Whatever I have said about him has arisen naturally from his writings. I believe those writings to be, in more ways than one, misleading and dangerous, and I have spoken accordingly. But of Mr. Froude, apart from his writings, I know nothing, except one or two facts which are known to every one. Mr. Froude thinks that I feel for him "personal dislike," if not "fanatical hatred." Such a feeling, in any strictly personal sense, is impossible on my part. I never saw Mr. Froude; I never had any dealings with him, except that I think he and I once, long ago, exchanged a pair of very formal letters; he has never done me personally either good or harm. The only

things that I have said that could be twisted into an "invective" or "aspersions" on his personal character are two. I charged him with "fanatical hatred towards the English Church, at all times and in all characters." I do not think that these words were too strong. Mr. Froude's habitual way of speaking of the English Church and its ministers in all ages is a way of speaking which I should be sorry to use of Buddhist Lamas or of Mussulman Mollahs. I said, what is certainly true, that I know nothing to be compared to Mr. Froude's ecclesiastical bitterness. I said that I guessed that such "a degree of hatred must be peculiar to those who have entered her ministry and forsaken it, perhaps peculiar to the one man who first wrote 'Lives of the Saints,' and then 'Shadows of the Clouds.'" The reference is to publicly known facts in Mr. Froude's life—facts which do seem to me to have had their effect on his writings. I see nothing here of personal "invective" or "aspersion;" but, if any impartial judge thinks otherwise, I am sorry that I wrote those words. So with regard to Mr. Froude's treatment of his brother's writings. I see that what I have said has pained Mr. Froude. I am so far sorry for it; but I do not admit that I said anything beyond fair criticism. I know that the friends of Mr. R. H. Froude were deeply pained by what Mr. J. A. Froude wrote in his "Life and Times of Thomas Becket." I cannot say that I was pained, because I never knew Mr. R. H. Froude. He was to me neither a friend nor a kinsman, nor a man in whom I had any personal or party interest. But, as a student of twelfth-century history, I do owe him a certain measure of thanks as a pioneer in one of my subjects of study. Therefore, if not pained, like his personal friends, I was indignant, because I thought that he was unworthily treated, and that the treatment was the more unworthy because it came from the hands of his own brother. When I spoke of "stabs in the dark," I meant that the victim—I must use the word—was in the dark. Very few of Mr. Froude's readers would know that it was his own brother of whom Mr. Froude was speaking in a way which, brother or no brother, I hold to be wholly undeserved. But if any impartial judge thinks that I ought not to have mentioned the fact of the kindred between the two writers, I regret having done so.

When I read all that Mr. Froude has said on this head, I thoroughly understand the impression which his article must have on any one who does not stop to recall the real facts of the case. I judge by the effect which it has had on the mind of one who clearly wishes to be fair, in the person of the writer in the *Spectator*. It is all so plausible, and more than plausible. I say more than plausible, because I give Mr. Froude the fullest credit for meaning every word that he says. It is because he clearly means what he says that it is so plausible. He plainly believes himself to be an injured innocent, as he plainly believes himself to be an accurate historian. The truth is that, in controversy just as in history, Mr. Froude is pursued by his usual ill-luck—by that hard

destiny which makes it impossible for him accurately to report anything. His controversial case against me now, just like his *St. Albans Annals*, or his *Life of Thomas*, is made up of misconceptions and misquotations of every kind. As he misquotes his authorities, so he misquotes me; nay, he goes a step further still; "in seipsum postremo sæviturus, si cetera desint," he misquotes himself.

I will take in order the passages in which Mr. Froude makes any charge against my accuracy or any defence of his own. And I will begin with the one case in which I must allow that, in some sort, Mr. Froude has the better of me. But I maintain that it is emphatically a case in which the exception proves the rule. I maintain that, when the boy in the old story had cried "Wolf, wolf," for nothing so many times, no blame attached to those who did not help him when the wolf really came. Mr. Froude's way of quoting and referring is so reckless that, even when he is right, he looks as if he were wrong. I have therefore to confess that, in one case, I thought he was wrong when he turned out to be right; but I also submit that he had done his very best to look as if he were wrong. Mr. Froude, of course, makes the most of this. I do not blame him for so doing. But, even when he happens to be right, he cannot help doing a little misquotation by the way. He says:—

"Once indeed, when he produced a mistake which I think he said had made his hair stand on end, I was frightened by his vehemence. I supposed that he must be right, and I made an alteration in consequence. I discovered afterwards that I had been led, not out of error, but into it."

He adds in a note:

"I have no copy of the article, and quote from memory. It appeared, as well as I remember, in February, 1870."

By this help I have found the passage in the *Saturday Review* (February 5, 1870), and I find that there is nothing whatever about the hair standing on end. My words are:—

"It is the sort of blunder which so takes away one's breath that one thinks for the time that it must be right."

There is surely some difference between the perfectly possible process of holding one's breath in surprise, and the impossible process of one's hair standing on end. The story is this. Mr. Froude, in vol. xii. p. 460, describing the fight with the Armada, says, "the action opened with the Ark Raleigh carrying Howard's flag." Mr. Froude gave no extract or reference of any kind, and took no notice of the very odd name, "Ark Raleigh." I looked in Camden's "Elizabetha" (p. 487, Ed. 1615), and there for "Ark Raleigh" I found *Arca Regia*. Even with a more accurate writer than Mr. Froude, I might have thought this enough ground for believing that the contemporary writer was right and the modern writer wrong. Nearly three years afterwards (January 7, 1873) there appeared a very fierce article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* taking the *Saturday Reviewer* severely to task for what he wrote in January, 1870, on the strength of a Calendar of State Papers published in 1872.

From that it appears that the ship really was called Ark Raleigh. It appears also from the same article that the name "Ark Raleigh" appears in a volume of State Papers published in 1769, and seemingly in one or two other books. It is inferred that I ought not to have charged Mr. Froude with inaccuracy without hunting the matter up in all these quarters. Of course it would have been my duty to do so if I had been writing a history of the time; but I submit that it was rather Mr. Froude's duty to have given a reference to some one or other of his authorities. When a writer gives no reference, and a reviewer finds that a respectable contemporary writer contradicts his statement, I submit that, unless the modern writer is one of those few whom we can trust without references, the reviewer is justified in assuming the modern writer to be wrong. Mr. Froude further says that he made an alteration—I know not where or in what shape, but I suppose in some later edition—in consequence of what I said. But, if he knew his authorities, and trusted them, he ought not to have made any such alteration. For my own part, I hold that I did a true verdict give according to such evidence as came before me. Only it happened that the verdict was one which was open to be set aside by other evidence which was not brought forward.

This is the only error that I confess to: I leave the reader to judge of its character. He says:—

"Mr. Freeman goes on to Henry the Eighth, the easy subject on which the *Saturday Review* has for so many years been eloquent. He has begun, it appears, to discover that there were some features in Henry's character not entirely of a ferocious kind; but he has still something to learn. 'This same man,' he says, 'robbed the churches of their most sacred treasures. He squandered and gambled away all that men before his time had agreed to respect.'"

Did I now, for the first time, in 1878, find out, as Mr. Froude implies, that there were points in Henry's character which were not wholly black, or, in Mr. Froude's words, "not entirely of a ferocious kind." Let me remind Mr. Froude of what I wrote eight years ago:—

"The executions of Henry, done in the face of day according to all the forms of law, might even contrast favourably with the deeds of Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third. Henry was at least not stained with the assassinations or secret deaths of brothers, nephews, and rivals. After so many years of war and revolution, men were inclined to put up with a good deal in a king, whose title was undoubted, and who at least preserved the public peace at home, and sustained the national honour abroad. . . . Henry, in his earlier days, had really done something to win the regard of his people, and to the last his dealings with foreign affairs were honourable beside those of Charles or Francis. It was not wonderful if Henry really commanded a large share of national respect and confidence."*

But I need not go beyond the very passage which Mr. Froude professes to quote. Though it appeared in this very REVIEW, I must give it in full:—

"The apologist of King Henry has hardly done the best that might be done for his own hero. Mr. Froude's flattering picture comes hardly nearer to the

* *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1871, p. 376.

real man than the vulgar Bluebeard portrait of which he very rightly complains. Both pictures alike slur over the distinguishing lines in a character which is in truth a most singular moral study. In Mr. Froude's lofty contempt for ecclesiastical details he perhaps hardly thought it a fact worthy of his attention that Henry the Eighth himself drew up the statutes of some of the cathedral churches which he refounded, that he drew them up with his own hand, and that the statutes so drawn up breathe a spirit worthy of the most pious founders on record. That this same man had robbed these very churches of their most sacred treasures, that he had squandered and gambled away all that men before his time had agreed to respect, that his hand had been stretched out to lay waste and to spoil the very resting-places of the dead, seems at first one of the strangest moral contradictions."

Of this passage Mr. Froude, pursued of course by his destiny, copies just so many words as might give the impression that I thought that Henry squandered and gambled away *all* the monastic property. Yet the very object of the passage is to show that he did otherwise, by speaking of the cathedral churches which Henry refounded out of monastic property. The odd thing is that Mr. Froude had not skipped the words that imply this, but had distinctly noticed them. He alters my words so as to make them apply to churches in general, and not to a particular class of churches of which I was speaking. But he shows that he had himself read the passage in its real meaning. For he goes on, with singular self-contradiction, to cry out—

"Mr. Freeman says that *all* was squandered and gambled away. Did he never hear of the new bishoprics? He had himself spoken of the new foundations in a previous sentence. Did he never hear of Edward the Sixth's grammar-schools? He perhaps refers to the Abbey plate and jewels. Did he never attend to the enormous exertions of Henry the Eighth to put the kingdom in a state of defence against the threatened invasion of Spain and France? of the castles which were built at Deal and Dover, and many other places besides? of the fortifications of Portsmouth? of the fleet? of the survey of the whole south coast and the preparations made to protect it? . . . Yet Mr. Freeman says *all* was squandered and gambled away."*

Mr. Froude cannot seriously doubt my having heard of the new bishoprics. He must at least know that I had heard of the bishopric of Gloucester. Now I cannot expect Mr. Froude to look at anything so humdrum as my article "England," in the "Encyclopædia Britannica;" but it so happens that there, at p. 336, I have mentioned most of the points about which Mr. Froude thinks that I still have to learn, except the grammar-schools of Edward the Sixth, which have nothing to do with Henry the Eighth, but which I mention in their proper place in p. 339. I there further remark that the pensions assigned to the ejected monks and nuns seem to have been honestly paid.

Next comes an objection which is wholly beyond me. I am charged

* I cannot help mentioning that, six-and-twenty years back, in the first of the many South-Saxon journeys which my work has made needful for me, I came on the small castle of Camber, familiar doubtless to Mr. Froude, as being a work, not of the Conqueror, but of Henry the Eighth. It was then strongly brought home to my mind, and I have never forgotten it, that Henry did do something for the national defences.

with "two misstatements and one evidence of carelessness," where I can see neither misstatement nor evidence of carelessness.

"This could not have happened," Mr. Freeman goes on, 'to one who had made history the study of his life. But Mr. Froude, by his own statement, has not made history the study of his life. Mr. Froude, in that singular confession which he once published, explained that he took to the writing of English history because he had nothing else to do.'

"In this passage there are two misstatements and one evidence of carelessness, which so accurate a writer ought to have avoided. I never made any such statement. I never gave any such explanation; and the 'confession' of which he speaks as appearing on a fly-leaf of the 'English in Ireland,' is the preface to the stereotyped edition of the 'History of England,' which appeared two years before. Mr. Freeman, who speaks so vehemently of my errors, might at least have consulted the last edition of my work to see which of them I had corrected."

It is a little hard that Mr. Froude should expect me to buy every new edition of his books merely to see whether he corrects his mistakes. I wonder whether he does as much for me. But it was most certainly in the fly-leaf of the "English in Ireland" that I read what I called "Mr. Froude's confession;" and I do not see the difference between my summary of that "confession" and the "confession" itself. I said that Mr. Froude, by his own account, "took to the writing of English history *chiefly* because he had nothing else to do." Mr. Froude's destiny again drives him to leave out the word "*chiefly*." Surely my words were nothing more than a rendering into homelier English of Mr. Froude's own saying that "the occasion of his undertaking the present work was, as regards himself, an involuntary leisure forced upon him." How the leisure was forced upon him he goes on to tell us at great length: but that has really nothing to do with the matter. He adds, as a second reason, "the attitude towards the Reformation of the sixteenth century which had been assumed by many influential thinkers in England and on the Continent." I took this simply as giving the reason why he chose one particular period rather than another. The autobiography which follows is really interesting, and it tells me at least a great deal that I never knew before about Mr. Froude himself; but it contains nothing to show that Mr. Froude's writings are accurate narratives. He says that he does not know what I mean when I say that "Mr. Froude, by his own statement, had not made history the study of his life." I confess that I hardly expect him to know exactly what I mean. But I could show him, both in England and in Germany, the living men who have done so. And I think that those men would be found to know very little about leisure, voluntary or involuntary, as an occasion for undertaking their studies and their writings. But Mr. Froude, interesting as his autobiography is, does not show that he prepared himself for studying and writing about a later period by the needful study of earlier periods. He says in a general way that my evidence of his inadequate knowledge of those periods "is not of a convincing kind." I do not expect that it will be of a convincing kind

to Mr. Froude; for his standard and mine differ so utterly on all questions of knowledge and ignorance, accuracy and inaccuracy, that we have no common ground on which to argue the general question. When he comes to particular instances I can better grapple with him.

Mr. Froude quotes, with substantial but not literal accuracy, part of a sentence where I say that "the man who insisted on the Statute Book being the text-book of English history, showed that he had never heard of *peine forte et dure*;" he leaves out the words which follow, "and had no clear notion of a bill of attainder." I could say something, and I have elsewhere said something, as to Mr. Froude's ideas about bills of attainder; but I will stick to the instance which Mr. Froude chooses. The notion that he should never have heard of *peine forte* drives Mr. Froude to an exclamation:—

"That I had never heard!" It is true that my recollection failed me when a demand was made upon it in an unexpected form. I found at Simancas a report containing, among other things, a confused account of the punishment of an English pirate. He was said, I think, to have been put under a cannon. I have no doubt that the reference was to the '*peine forte et dure*,' though at the moment it did not occur to me; but to say that I never heard of it is mere childishness on Mr. Freeman's part."

Mr. Froude's recollection must have failed him more than once. There is nothing about the man having been put under a cannon, but there is something about its being intended that a cannon should be put over him. And in this case this is not a distinction without a difference. The story is given, with a reference to "MSS. Simancas," in Mr. Froude's eighth volume, at p. 449 of the only copy that I have, whether stereotyped or not I do not know. It bears date 1863:—

"Cobham was tried for piracy the next year at the indignant requisition of Spain; he was found guilty, but he escaped punishment; and there was some insincere shuffling in connexion with his prosecution, for the Spanish ambassador was assured that a sentence had been passed upon him, the description of which might have been borrowed from the torture chamber of the Inquisition, but which assuredly was never pronounced in an English court of justice.

"Thomas Cobham," wrote De Silva, 'being asked at his trial, according to the usual form in England, if he had anything to say in arrest of judgment, and answering nothing, was condemned to be taken to the Tower, to be stripped naked to the skin, and then to be placed with his shoulders resting on a sharp stone, his legs and arms extended, and on his stomach a gun, too heavy for him to bear, yet not large enough immediately to crush him. There he is to be left till he die. They will give him a few grains of corn to eat, and for drink the foulest water in the Tower.' 'His relations,' De Silva added, 'are doing all in their power to prevent the execution of the sentence.' Had any such sentence been pronounced it would not have been left to be discovered in the letter of a stranger: the ambassador may perhaps in this instance have been purposely deceived, and his demand for justice satisfied by a fiction of imaginary horror."

Mr. Froude calls this a "confused account." There is nothing confused about it, save the confusion between refusing to plead and not answering when asked whether he had anything to say in arrest of judgement. The description of the punishment is a perfectly clear description of the ordinary *peine forte et dure*. The only thing at all

remarkable is that the "weight" which was usually laid on the sufferer was in this case to take the form of a gun. Mr. Froude says that "such a sentence was assuredly never pronounced in an English court of justice," and thinks that it must have been "a fiction of imaginary horror." Yet it is nothing but the sentence which the law prescribed in certain cases, and which was not uncommonly carried out. From Mr. Froude's amazement at the *peine forte et dure* I inferred that he had never heard of the *peine forte et dure*. Mr. Froude says that the inference was "mere childishness;" but surely it was at least very natural.

This is perhaps the climax of Mr. Froude's hard destiny, when he was thus driven to misquote himself. He then comes down to the humbler work of misquoting me:—

"My negligence comes next under consideration. 'Lord Macaulay,' Mr. Freeman tells us, 'clearly made it his business to see with his own eyes the places of which he had to speak.' Mr. Froude seems never to have done anything of the kind."

As Mr. Froude quotes, this certainly would mean that Mr. Froude never went to see any place; and Mr. Froude again emphatically says, "yet Mr. Freeman says *never*." I must again ask to be judged by the whole passage, and not by the words which Mr. Froude chooses to take from the middle of it:—

"And there is one point in which Mr. Froude shows a striking contrast to Lord Macaulay. One of the best points in Lord Macaulay's History is the vivid way in which he brings before his readers the past history and present state of every place which witnessed any event of importance in his story. Lord Macaulay clearly made it his business to see with his own eyes the places of which he had to speak. Mr. Froude seems never to have done anything of the kind. He can vividly describe a place which he has seen; but it is plain that a large part of the places which figure in his story he has never seen."

Mr. Froude had clearly seen Edinburgh; he had clearly not seen Gloucester. I did not say that Mr. Froude never went to see any place; I said that he never, as Lord Macaulay clearly did, made it his habitual business to go and see places. Mr. Froude goes on to say that Lord Macaulay was rich and he was poor, and that he did go to as many places as he could afford to go to. Such an excuse must be accepted; but, till I read that sentence, it had never come into my head to think whether Mr. Froude was rich or poor. I merely compared what seemed to me to be a literary merit in Lord Macaulay with what seemed to me to be a literary defect in Mr. Froude. I know nothing of Lord Macaulay's wealth or poverty, except what may be learned from his published "Life." From that it appears that at one time of his life he was positively poor.

Mr. Froude then goes on to deal with the charge of "fanatical hatred" towards the Church of England at all ages. He quotes, again with substantial though not quite literal accuracy, a passage where I say—

"Besides all this, Mr. Froude's treatment of later times displays one charac-

teristic which goes yet further than all these to disqualify him for treating any subject of mediæval history. This is his fanatical hatred towards the English Church at all times and under all characters. Reformed or unreformed, it is all the same; be it the church of Dunstan, of Anselm, or of Arundel, of Parker, of Laud, or of Tillotson, it is all one to Mr. Froude."

Mr. Froude comments—

"I might have expected much from Mr. Freeman, but all my experience of him could not have prepared me for this passage."

Now I am not bigoted to the particular phrase "fanatical hatred." Perhaps Mr. Froude and I might not agree as to our definition of the phrase. Perhaps he might reserve the name for the outpourings of some spirit yet fiercer than his own. But as I do not remember to have come across such a spirit, I must speak according to my means. Mr. Froude goes on to speak about a particular set of dogmas of which he highly disapproves. My point is that I cannot understand getting so angry about any set of dogmas. In Mr. Froude's case the religious communion reviled happens to be the Church of England: what I object to is the reviling of any religious communion after Mr. Froude's fashion. I object to speaking of the ministers of any such communion in the way in which Mr. Froude habitually speaks of the Bishops of the Church of England. I trust that few people of any way of thinking would deem it decent to speak in a grave History as Mr. Froude speaks through many pages of his "Conclusion," winding up with vol. xii. p. 554 of my—possibly not stereotyped—copy.* There are other astounding passages through the book, some of which I have spoken of elsewhere. It may be through some moral or intellectual defect; but I cannot throw myself into this state of mind. I have no quarrel with the Turk, if he would only keep out of Christian lands; I have no quarrel with the Pope, if he would keep within the Latin-speaking lands of the West. Mr. Froude waxes wrathful at the bare thought of a priest or a bishop, save only now and then, when he is overcome by the poetic beauty of some particular character in ecclesiastical lore. Then he bridles himself, and, by a natural reaction, gives us the very best things that he ever does give us. He must allow that I have at least done justice to him on this head. And I certainly did, rightly or wrongly, connect Mr. Froude's amazing vehemence on these matters with the known facts of his own life. Many of us have changed our opinions; but I should have thought that a lingering kindness to opinions which one has once held was only natural. Mr. Froude's language about the English Church seemed to me to be what we might look for in a fierce polemical pamphlet, but to be quite unworthy of a grave History. Still, if he dislikes the words "fanatical hatred," I will not insist upon them.

I cannot help smiling at one question which is put by Mr. Froude, "When have I ever spoken of Tillotson?" I really do not know

* After all, the theory of Bishops there set forth, though certainly strange, is hardly new. Something very like it was held by the Abbots of Iona.

whether he has ever spoken of Tillotson or not. I could not say without a good deal of search whether he has ever spoken of Dunstan or Arundel. Till I looked back to a particular passage while writing this article, I could not have said offhand whether he had ever spoken of Laud. Of Anselm I have complained that he did not speak when it was most natural to speak of him. Parker comes within Mr. Froude's main period, and he fares accordingly. But could not Mr. Froude see that when I spoke of Dunstan, Anselm, Arundel, Parker, Laud, and Tillotson, I simply chose the names of Archbishops who typified marked periods in the history of the English Church? I did not at all imply that Mr. Froude had said anything, good or bad, of each of those Archbishops personally. I might very easily have used the shorter formula, "from Augustine to Tait," and I should certainly not have meant thereby to imply that Mr. Froude had said anything personally disrespectful of the present Archbishop.

Mr. Froude further complains that I said that, though now a fanatical enemy, he had once been a "fanatical votary" of the mediæval Church. He thinks, very truly, that I must refer to the fact that he was a contributor to the series of "Lives of the Saints," published, he says, thirty-six years ago. A long time ago it certainly was, though I could not offhand have said the exact number of years. Mr. Froude asks, with perfect fairness, whether I have read his own contribution to that series, and whether there is any trace of fanaticism in it. I must answer, with perfect openness, that, after thirty-six years, I cannot tell. I perfectly well remember the series; I remember its general character; I remember that Mr. Froude was understood—rightly, it seems—to have been a contributor. I do not remember this or that particular number of the series, and I have not the books to refer to. It is quite possible that the others may have been fanatical, and Mr. Froude's not. If so, I regret a not very unnatural mistake. But certainly fanatical devotion to the mediæval Church is the general impression which the series left on my mind. So I remember the "Tracts for the Times." I remember their general purport; I remember who were the chief authors of the series; I do not, except in the case of one or two which made themselves exceptionally famous, remember, after all these years, particular tracts or their authors. The point is that to have been a contributor to either series marks a man as having been, not only a member, but a very thorough-going member, of a certain theological party. There is something strange in the change from that state of mind to the state of mind shown by Mr. Froude's History. And the thing becomes stranger when the road between the two states of mind lies through "Shadows of the Clouds" and the "Nemesis of Faith." As for the mere departing from many of the notions of our youth, that is common to Mr. Froude with a great many of us. If any one chooses, on the strength of certain youthful writings of my own, to say that I was once a fanatical votary of the mediæval Church, all that I can answer is that he is stating a fact

rather strongly. But then I have not changed into a fanatical enemy of any religious body or of any set of religious dogmas, and I have not written the "Nemesis of Faith" betweenwhiles.

Mr. Froude says that he left off writing "Lives of Saints," because he found himself "in an atmosphere where any story seemed to pass as true that was edifying." A very unhealthy atmosphere certainly, and one which Mr. Froude, like others, did well to leave. The only question is whether the remedy may not have been worse than the disease. Certainly in the "Annals of an English Abbey" we find ourselves in an atmosphere where any story seems to pass as true which is unedifying. We have now reached Mr. Froude's dealings with times earlier than those of Henry the Eighth. On these Mr. Froude says:—

"Mr. Freeman is hard to please. One moment he blames me for not having attended to earlier times. The next he blames me for making 'raids' into them."

Mr. Froude, I suppose, sees some contradiction here; but the two bits of criticism simply come to this, that Mr. Froude would do well not to write about earlier times till he has got them up better. He adds:—

"The word 'raid' seems to imply that particular periods are the reserved property of particular persons, who claim to have specially attended to them. It will be an unfortunate day for literature when a monopoly of this kind is allowed, or when the self-constituted owners are permitted to treat as trespassers those who wish to look into such periods for themselves."

Let them look by all means; it is the very thing which we are always asking them to do. It is the very thing for which we are always giving them the means of doing. If Mr. Froude will stoop to read through my History of the Norman Conquest, or one volume of it, or one chapter of it, he will see that I throughout give him the means of testing every statement, and of coming, if he chooses, to a different conclusion from mine. Let him look for himself by all means; the more he looks the better. All that we ask is that he shall not attempt to write in detail about those times till he has looked a little more thoroughly into them than he has done as yet.

Mr. Froude goes on to say:—

"The authorities with which I have dealt in these brief raids are easily accessible also. I can wish for nothing better than that the reader will be pleased to compare them, and will then reconsider the language in which Mr. Freeman speaks of what I have written."

This is exactly what I have been saying over and over again. It is exactly what I wish to have done. The process is a very easy one. Any one who understands Latin can compare Mr. Froude's "Annals of an English Abbey" with the original "Gesta Abbatum Sancti Albani." Mr. Froude says that there is no difference between the two narratives, except that he "substitutes a story in English for a story in Latin, a short story for a long one, and a story in a popular form for

a story in a scholastic one." "These differences," he adds, "appear to me to arise from the nature of the case;" and this would be perfectly true if there were no other differences between the two narratives. But my position is that the differences between the two St. Albans histories are much wider than this. I say that, in the great mass of cases—it might be dangerous to say in every case—Mr. Froude's story is essentially different from the story in the book. Mr. Froude's story is suggested by the story in the book; this is all that can be said. As a rule, the details are quite different. And, curiously enough, the details which are purely imaginary, those which are found in Mr. Froude's narrative without anything to answer to them in the original, are largely of a kind which suggests, as I before hinted, that they pass as true because they are unedifying. I gave a number of select instances, by no means all that I could have given, in the *Saturday Review*, September 8 and September 29, 1877. Mr. Froude, it seems, has not done me the honour to read those two notices. I will therefore speak only of the two cases of which Mr. Froude has chosen to speak, leaving the rest to any one who will take the trouble—and it is rather an amusing process—to compare the two books, the *Annals* begun by Matthew Paris, and the *Annals* written by Mr. Froude. In p. 24 of the volume of "Short Studies" which contains the "Annals of an English Abbey," Mr. Froude says: "Sir Robert Fitzwilliam laid claim to a wood on the Church estate." In the "*Gesta Abbatum*," i. 220, the claimant is described as "Robertus Filius Walteri, cui vix aliquis comes in Anglia potuit æquiparari." In p. 229, Robert is more fully described:—

"Incipiente enim tunc guerra, constitutus est Robertus dux exercitus insurgentium in regem; unde in titulo litterarum suarum se constabularium exercitus Dei nominabat."

That is to say, Mr. Froude's "Sir Robert Fitzwilliam" is no other than the renowned Robert Fitzwalter, leader of the Barons on the march that won the Great Charter—he whose name comes, second of all men under the rank of Earl, among the twenty-five barons who were to enforce the Great Charter. Mr. Froude tells us, and we are bound to believe him, that Fitzwilliam was simply an uncorrected misprint for Fitzwalter. Be it so; but such a misprint could not have been left uncorrected by any man to whom the name of Robert Fitzwalter was a living thing. Let Mr. Froude by all means look a little more for himself into the original records of the thirteenth century; it is exactly what he needs.

Now I come to the amusing story about "*prædictæ rationes*." In the "*Gesta Abbatum*," i. 29, 30, we read that Abbot Leofric, in a time of famine, sold some of the plate and treasures of various kinds belonging to the church and monastery, to distribute to the poor. It was always a moot point whether so to do was sacrilege or not. The author of the "*Gesta*"—that is, there is no reason to doubt, Matthew Paris—does not presume to decide whether the Abbot was right or wrong. But he argues the general question at some length, and he inclines to the

belief that, at all events, vessels dedicated to divine service should not be alienated. Of the Abbot personally he says: "Si tamen abbas memoratus hoc faciendo bene egerit novit ille qui nihil ignorat." In the course of his argument he naturally quotes the Gospel narrative about Judas and the ointment. He then ends his story thus:—

"Hæc inquam, quia tunc temporis prædictæ rationes in conventu magnam discordiam suscitaverunt; quam vix abbatis supplicatio humilis sedavit et potestas sæcularis perterrendo temperavit."

Mr. Froude, on his principle of substituting a short story in popular form for a long story in scholastic form, gives us the following version:—

"Whether the Abbot did well or ill in this judgment of his," snuffed a discontented brother,—*noverit ille qui nihil ignorat*—"let Him determine who knoweth all things." The apostle who thought most about the poor was the traitor Judas; the poor we had always with us, and pious monks of St. Albans were not to be met with every day. There was open enmity at last, and the secular arm had to be called in. Leofric, excellent as he was, proved *rebellibus austerus*—a severe master to rebellious servants. Rough policemen came down from London, and chained up the most refractory in their cells; the rest were left to grumble in private over their shortened rations."

A better specimen of Mr. Froude's way of dealing with the story could not be wished for. He deals with this story after his received manner of dealing with stories. Every detail is fictitious; most of the details, one might say, are unedifying. Of the snuffing brother, the rough policemen from London, the chains of the most refractory, the shortened rations of the rest, there is not a sign in the "*Gesta*." And there is no other known record from which Mr. Froude can have got them. The Latin epithet given to Leofric is in the text not applied to him, but is applied elsewhere to another Abbot. Now as for "*prædictæ rationes*." I certainly never seriously thought that Mr. Froude took "shortened rations" to be the proper translation of "*prædictæ rationes*." But I did and I do think that the notion of "rations" was suggested to Mr. Froude by the sight of the word "*rationes*" in the Latin. I think so, because, as I said in my articles on the Life of Thomas, there are other cases in which Mr. Froude's version contains some statement which, as a fact, has nothing like it in the original, but which seems to be suggested by the mere look of some word in the original. The greatest case is where Mr. Froude, without authority, without probability, only just within the bounds of possibility, sends Thomas to study at *Oxford*. There is nothing about *Oxford* in any of the books; but, not far off from the mention of his studies, there is a mention of *Otford*.

Of the life of St. Hugh there is not much to say. Mr. Froude says that he revised his account, and found only "two errors, and those of an utterly trifling character." I have just looked back to my article (*Saturday Review*, March 19, 1870), and there I find mentioned,

merely as specimens, at least eleven errors, none of which seems to me to be trifling. But then I know that my standard and Mr. Froude's are not the same.

Mr. Froude further ventures to say that "I can invent when perception fails me." This charge is serious; but I must be allowed to think that Mr. Froude's evidence will hardly be thought convincing. His proof is that I said that Mr. Froude "wrote nearly the whole of his St. Albans narrative in the belief that the abbey church, lately raised to cathedral rank, was a ruin like Rievaulx or Tintern." He asks what he is to think of me, because in the very sketch with which I am finding fault I had these words under my eyes: "In the general ruin the church of St. Albans was saved by the burgesses." I certainly had those words under my eyes, and, because I had them before my eyes, I said "*nearly the whole* of Mr. Froude's St. Albans narrative." I fully believed that, up to the 87th page of that narrative, Mr. Froude had fancied the church of St. Albans to be in ruins, and that he found out the contrary not earlier than the writing, perhaps only in the revision, of the 88th page. If it be not so, Mr. Froude did himself great injustice in his way of expressing himself. Up to the 87th page, if he did not believe that the whole of the abbey of St. Albans—the church, one would have thought, included—was a mere ruin, he wrote exactly as if he did believe it. In p. 6 he tells us that "the surviving ruins convey a more imposing sense of the ancient magnificence than Melrose, or Fountains, or Glastonbury." In p. 37 we read that at a certain date "began in earnest the erection of those splendid buildings, amid the ruins of which sentimental Ritualists sigh over the ages of faith and pray for their return." In p. 87 we read that Abbot Wallingford "contributed most towards the erection of that magnificent pile of buildings whose ruins breathe celestial music into the spirit of sentimental pietism." We have now gone through "*nearly the whole*" of the narrative. There is little more than a page left. In that page Mr. Froude mentions the preservation of the church; but he still goes on to talk about ruins, "ruins of the rest," ruins which have "stood for three centuries," which "preach," and so forth. What ruined buildings there are at St. Albans to do all this I cannot guess, unless he means the passage broken through between the presbytery and the Lady chapel. I have been at St. Albans a good many times, but I never saw any ruins at all suited to have this wonderful effect on the mind. In fact the passage in Mr. Froude's story about the burgesses buying the church reads very much like an afterthought stuck in after what comes before and after it was written. As a piece of rhetoric, the conclusion would be much better without it. Of course I must now believe that Mr. Froude did know throughout that the church was standing; but the kind of way in which Mr. Froude wrote was certainly very likely to make a plain reader think otherwise. The drawing, which he says was in some other place pre-

fixed to the opening chapters, I never saw. It is not prefixed to it in "Short Studies," the only place where I ever saw the "Annals of an English Abbey."*

So much for my power of "invention." Now for one word about that "unknown foreign ecclesiastic," the "Bishop of Lexovia." Mr. Froude is perhaps not likely to understand how odd it seems to students of mediæval history that a man engaged on subjects kindred to their own should not know that Lexovia meant Lisieux. But the point was not so much that Mr. Froude did not know what Lexovia meant, as that he wrote in a grand kind of way, as if a place whose name Mr. Froude did not know could not be worth knowing about. But let this pass. I must correct Mr. Froude on a more important point. He says—

"The Reviewer . . . often as he has told his readers that I was ignorant of the modern name of Lexovia, has never hinted at the cause which led me to speak of Lexovia," &c. &c.

This is not so. It may be that the Reviewer has not gone into the cause in connexion with Mr. Froude's name; but he did, on July 1, 1876, go rather minutely into it in connexion with a kindred statement made in *Fraser's Magazine* by a certain "J. A. F.," who took upon him to make a very unsuccessful attack on Lord Macaulay. "J. A. F.," unlike Mr. Froude, knew that Lexovia meant Lisieux; but he told the same story about the alleged 72,000 hangings, and he expressed his own belief that 1000 would be nearer the mark. The Reviewer went into some figures, founded on another paper in the same magazine (since reprinted in Mr. A. H. A. Hamilton's "Quarter Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne"), by which he tried to show that about 54,000 was a not unlikely number. Mr. Froude may not accept the Reviewer's arguments; but he has no right to say that the Reviewer has never spoken about the matter at all.

I now come to Mr. Froude's great point, the Simancas Manuscripts. In reading the wonderful stories which I find that Mr. Froude substitutes for the statements of his authorities wherever I have the means of testing him, the thought sometimes came into my head, How far can we trust Mr. Froude's statements when we cannot test them, when no reference is given, or only so vague a reference as "MSS. Simancas"? Both Mr. Froude and others have made a great deal out of this suspicion of mine, as if I had charged Mr. Froude with falsifying, or garbling, or making some unfair use of the Simancas MSS. I never said or thought anything of the kind. I did say, what is surely true, that Mr. Froude had

* I have looked at the passage in "Short Studies" once more, and it strikes me as even more curious than I thought at first. Mr. Froude says, "part of the church itself has been used since the Reformation for the Protestant service. The ruins of the rest have stood," &c. &c. This must mean the "ruins of the rest of the church." Mr. Froude therefore still thinks that part of the church is in ruins. Is it possible that Mr. Froude has never been at St. Albans, and that it is the drawing which he had made which has misled him? The long, low-roofed nave of St. Albans might easily be so drawn as to suggest a roofless building.

an advantage in the nature of this part of his materials, because, if he made mistakes, there was very little chance of their being found out. But I never charged him, I never suspected him, of wilfully falsifying his materials. I merely thought that it was likely that Mr. Froude would use one kind of materials in the same way in which he used another. I thought that, if we could compare a page of Mr. Froude's which has only a vague reference to Simancas with the actual materials at Simancas, the two might very likely stand in the same relation to one another in which a page of the "Annals of an English Abbey" stands to the page which answers to it in the "Gesta Abbatum." I did not say that it was so; indeed, I hinted the possibility of a chance the other way. For I know that people who seem to think that easy and obvious materials may be used anyhow, do sometimes take greater care when they have to deal with special and out-of-the-way materials. Still, knowing how utterly unlike to the facts Mr. Froude's statements were when I could test them, I could not unhesitatingly accept Mr. Froude's statements when I could not test them. I had no right to say that they were wrong, but I could not feel certain that they were right. That was all. But it seems that the means of testing Mr. Froude's statements were somewhat less difficult than I had fancied. Mr. Froude says that he placed copies of his Simancas collections in the British Museum nearly ten years ago. I was not aware of this fact till last year, after I had made my reference to the matter in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. I then read, in a number of the *Academy* which I received at Palermo, that Mr. Froude's collections were in the British Museum. Mr. Froude now says that he "gave notice that he had done so *when he published* the last volumes of the History." Mr. Froude does not say where the notice was given, and I cannot find it in my copy of those volumes. It may be in some later stereotyped edition. But in my copy the references throughout those volumes are to Simancas, not to the British Museum. But if, instead of "MSS. Simancas," the reference had been "MSS. British Museum," not much would have been gained. If I am puzzled with something that Mr. Froude says, my zeal would hardly go so far as to carry me up to London to turn over the whole of Mr. Froude's collection on the chance of finding an explanation of some particular point. I do not understand Spanish, and there is the further fact, not to be forgotten, that, after all, Mr. Froude's collections are copies and not originals.* What is wanted in such cases is such a reference, or such an extract, as may enable the reader to test any statement at once. If the Master of the Rolls would have Mr. Froude's documents compared

* It does however happen that I have before me at this moment specimens of Mr. Froude's copies compared with specimens of copies officially made at Simancas. And it needs no special knowledge of Spanish—one's ordinary knowledge of other Romance languages is enough—to see that the differences are considerable. In short, as far as those pages go, my suspicion that Mr. Froude as a transcriber of manuscripts would be very like Mr. Froude as a translator or reporter of printed matter is fully confirmed.

with the originals, and printed in a book, then they would be of practical use. But simply to send me, with no further clue, to a large collection of MSS. in the British Museum, gives me no further help than to send me to the same collection at Simancas. Mr. Froude complains that I have not gone to the British Museum to look at his MSS. I can only answer, first, that till last year I did not know that they were there; secondly, that I am not going to write the History of Elizabeth.

As for a challenge which Mr. Froude made to the Editor of the *Saturday Review*, proposing that he should have some kind of inquiry made as to Mr. Froude's way of dealing with the MSS., as also about a "contemptuous refusal" which Mr. Froude got from the Editor, I have nothing to say. I know nothing about the matter, except that I remember reading the challenge in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. But I know not what kind of letters the Editor of the *Saturday Review* may have written to Mr. Froude either in this matter, or in another which he mentions earlier in his article. I never had anything to do with the editing of the *Saturday Review*, nor was its Editor ever in the habit of showing me the letters that he wrote.*

And now for a word or two as to the "Life and Times of Thomas Becket." I will strictly confine myself to the questions which Mr. Froude raises in his article. Out of the many cases in which I have shown that Mr. Froude has made statements which have nothing whatever answering to them in the contemporary writers, Mr. Froude speaks of three only. The others, I suppose, will be dealt with in his promised volume. Mr. Froude, to be sure, says that all that I say on other points than these three is "vapour." It is "vapour" then to trouble one's head as to who Thomas was, and what position he holds in the general history of the twelfth century. It is "vapour" to trouble oneself whether the occasions of the dispute between Thomas and the King—the stories, for instance, of William of Eynesford and Philip of Blois—happened as Mr. Froude says that they happened, or as the contemporary writers say that they happened. If these points, and a crowd of others, are "vapour," one might have thought that the other three points were "vapour" also. But let us come to these three points. Except in one case, where Mr. Froude brings in a new error, there is really nothing to do except to remind my readers of what I have really said before, which is naturally a very different thing from what Mr. Froude makes me say.

Of Mr. Froude's three points, the first relates to his inference, from a certain passage in Edward Grim, that Thomas, at the time of his appointment to the archbishopric, was "known to the world only as an

* I see by chance in *Saturday Review*, February 19, 1870, that the Editor made Mr. Froude an answer in print, in which he speaks of the "comic character" of Mr. Froude's proposal. I do not know whether this is the same as the "contemptuous refusal" of which Mr. Froude speaks.

unscrupulous and tyrannical minister." On this head I can really do nothing more than to ask any one who cares about the matter to look back to what I have said about it, and to compare it with what Mr. Froude has said about it, both now and before. I will only correct one implied misrepresentation on the part of Mr. Froude. Mr. Froude says :—

"Every one, except Mr. Freeman, will admit that in these words Grim was referring to proceedings on the part of the Chancellor on which his friends looked back with regret, and of which he himself could give no satisfactory explanation."

I need only quote my own words in my second article in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW :—

"Edward Grim laments that the temptations of power and high office led Thomas, churchman as he was, to forget all ecclesiastical rule, and to take a part in the bloody work of a soldier. The censure is perfectly just; but it is made on altogether different grounds from those into which Mr. Froude has so oddly twisted it."

This is all that I need say on this head. But when Mr. Froude, in trying to upset my argument, brings in a new error of his own, I must point it out. He objects to my giving Thomas, as Chancellor, a share in the restoration of peace at the beginning of Henry's reign.

"Becket's advice may have gone along with that of the great council of the realm, on which the king acted. But, unfortunately for Mr. Freeman's argument, Becket was not Chancellor till 1157; Henry succeeded to the throne in 1154; and Fitzstephen expressly says that these bands were broken up and their castles destroyed within three months of his coronation.

"*Miseratione Dei, consilio Cancellarii et cleri et baronum regni, qui pacis bonum volebant, intra tres primos menses coronationis regis Wilhelmus [Willelmus of course in the original] de Ypra violentus incubator Cantiae cum lachrymis emigravit. Flandrenses omnes collectis impedimentis et armis ad mare tendunt. Castella omnia per Angliam corruunt, praeter antiquas pacis conservandae turres et oppida.*

"In this passage the word 'cancellarius' either cannot refer to Becket, or relates to him before his promotion."

Now William Fitzstephen does not say that the whole work was done within three months from the coronation; he only says that William of Ypres left the country within that time. But this is of no consequence, because there is no doubt that William Fitzstephen does mean to speak of Thomas as Chancellor within the first three months of Henry's reign, and because there is no doubt that he is quite right in so speaking. The appointment of Thomas as Chancellor was one of Henry's first acts after his coronation in December, 1154. Mr. Froude of course got the statement that Thomas was not Chancellor till 1157 from Roger of Howden, who undoubtedly says so. But, as Mr. Froude doubtless reads Roger and all other books in the last edition, it is odd that he did not make the references suggested in Professor Stubbs' note (i. 215). William Fitzstephen implies that Thomas was appointed Chancellor at the very beginning of Henry's reign. Gervase (1377) distinctly

says that it was so. He records the coronation, and adds, still under 1154:—

“Egit [Theobaldus] igitur apud regem, ut statim in initio regni cancellariam concederet clerico suo Thomæ Londoniensi, cui anno præterito Cantuariensis ecclesiæ dederat archidiaconatum.”

He then records the Christmas court, at which it was determined to drive strangers out of the land, and to destroy the castles. His first entry under 1155 describes the carrying out of this decree by the flight of William of Ypres, followed by the destruction of the castles. Here is a clear and evidently well-considered narrative; but that is not all. Roger might be right, and Gervase and William might be wrong. Mr. Froude has taught us to test such questions by official documents. Now in the Pipe-roll of the second year of Henry the Second (p. 21) we read:—

“Thomas Cancellarius reddit computum de firma de Berchamstede de xviii. libris et x. solidis de dimidio anno.”

This is at Michaelmas, 1156. Thomas was therefore Chancellor in March, 1156, and as much earlier as we please. Therefore Roger is wrong; therefore there is no reason to doubt that Gervase and William are right; therefore Mr. Froude's objection to my account of Thomas's chancellorship falls to the ground.

The second point is this. Mr. Froude said that Thomas did not give Henry warning as to the change in the relations between them which was likely to follow if he accepted the archbishopric. Mr. Froude said that it was certain that he gave no such warning. I showed that Herbert of Bosham said that he did give such a warning, and that there was nothing in any other writer to throw doubt on Herbert's statement. Mr. Froude said that Cardinal Henry told Thomas that he “need not communicate convictions which would interfere with his appointment.” I showed that there was not a tittle of evidence to show that the Cardinal said anything of the kind. Mr. Froude now quotes a passage from William of Canterbury, which by an odd chance I was not able to refer to when I wrote my article at Palermo. But there is nothing in this extract, any more than in the passages which I did quote, which bears out Mr. Froude's assertion. Neither in William of Canterbury nor anywhere else does the Cardinal say a word about “communicating convictions.” I must leave this matter also with any one who thinks it worth while to compare my former statements with Mr. Froude's present and former statements.

The third and last point is as to the impunity which was enjoyed by the murderers of Thomas. I, following Mr. Robertson, explained it in accordance with a distinct statement of law or custom made by Archbishop Richard. Mr. Froude explains it in accordance with an *à priori* view of his own. Again I ask the reader to look back and to judge between Mr. Robertson and me on one side, and Mr. Froude on the other. Mr. Froude believes himself entitled to hold his opinion. The same right is claimed by those who believe that the earth is flat or

that the English people are Jews. Mr. Froude says something about being bespattered with mud. I know nothing about the mud or the bespattering.

I have now done with Mr. Froude, I trust for ever. He "desires me to take back my imputations." I do not exactly know what this means; but I cannot, even to please Mr. Froude, either alter the facts of history or acknowledge that I said what I never said. I leave the matter in the hands of any fair-minded reader who will take the trouble to compare the things which I have really said about Mr. Froude with the utterly different things which Mr. Froude tells the world that I have said about him. Mr. Froude says of me that, for the future, I shall take my own course. I leave him to take what course he chooses. I shall take, as I have always taken, the course of historic truth.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

ANCIENT EGYPT.

V.

THE last period of ancient Egyptian history extends through about seven hundred years, from the decline of the Empire, about B.C. 1200, to the Persian conquest by Cambyses, B.C. 527.* It begins with the loss of the foreign provinces. The Egyptian monarchy thus shrinks from the dimensions of an empire to those of a kingdom. Next the kingdom breaks up, resolving itself into an aggregate of principalities. Thus internally powerless, its independence is threatened by the great Ethiopian monarchy on the south, and by the Assyrian Empire on the north-east. At length the battle-ground of the Asiatic and African powers is shifted by the strength of Assyria from Syria to Egypt itself, and there the Ethiopians in vain strive to beat back the overwhelming force of the Assyrians. With the decline of Assyria and Ethiopia there comes a breathing-time for Egypt, once more independent. But Babylonia inherits the policy and the success of Assyria, and Persia with the conquest of Babylon takes up the scheme and finally accomplishes it, when Egypt is reduced by Cambyses to a province of the great Eastern Empire. Here the history of the Pharaohs closes. The manly efforts of the Egyptians to recover their independence, in spite of temporary success, have no place in the larger events of the world's history. They were little more than provincial revolts, and ended in that complete exhaustion which is proved by the welcome with which Alexander was received.

The history of the time is less personal than political. Its interest does not centre in the achievements of great conquerors, but in the development of political events. We watch an oriental balance of power, which, when it is finally disturbed, results in a fierce conflict of races,

* It now seems certain on Egyptian evidence that the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses must be carried up from B.C. 525, long the received date, to B.C. 527.

in which nation after nation almost disappears. This more interesting aspect of history is due to the abundance of our materials, the stories of the hostile nations, the Ethiopian, Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian texts, and the writings of spectators of the strife, the Hebrew historians and prophets, and the Greek historian-traveller, Herodotus.

The events recorded or illustrated by these ample sources can only be treated in outline. This is, however, all that is necessary for our purpose. There is little matter of controversy as to details, and the documents are accessible to all. What is needed is a connected historical outline. No sketch of Egyptian history could be complete without an attempt to give the student a guide through the complicated series of events which are crowded into the age of decline.

The fall of the Empire seems to have been wholly due to internal causes. The exhausting wars of Ramses III. forced him to concede to the Libyan tribes the right to settle in Egypt, that he might recruit his armies from their warriors. Hence there grew up strong bodies of mercenaries useful to ambitious military leaders. The progress of social decay was marked by a great conspiracy against the king, in which high functionaries plotted with the women of his household. His wealth was lavished in temple-gifts and endowments, and contributed to increase the power of the priesthood and to aggravate the discontent of the people. So long as the great conqueror lived the Empire was strong, but with his death it was left to be snatched at by several sons, whose short reigns and broken succession are proofs of their weakness and turbulence. Side by side with the kingly power had grown up a rival pretension. The high-priests of Amen at Thebes played the part of Mayors of the Palace to these fainéant Ramessides: they advanced by sure degrees, until at last one of them, Her-hor, assumed the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, and founded a new Dynasty, the Twenty-first. In his time we see the last traces of Egyptian rule of the Eastern provinces: they were doubtless lost by the progress of the First Assyrian Empire (B.C. 1130-1090) followed by the Israelite Empire of David and Solomon. Hence perhaps the removal of the capital from Thebes to Tanis on the eastern border, and the alliance of the priest-king with Solomon. The change of capital may however have been due to a political compromise with the Ramessides, who lingered on, and disappeared not long before the Tanite priestly house was expelled by a new intrusive line.

A family of Shemite chiefs settled in the Delta rose to high power as commanders of the mercenaries, and at length one of them, Sheshonk I., the Shishak of the Bible, about B.C. 970, overthrew the Tanites, securing the throne by the marriage of his second son and ultimate heir to a princess of that house, and invested his heirs in succession with the high priesthood of Amen. The family of the priest-kings fled to Ethiopia, and there founded an independent kingdom, destined to play a great part in later history.

The annals of the Twenty-second Dynasty record one great event, the successful war of Shishak in Palestine. The notice in Hebrew history has its commentary in the famous wall-sculpture of the great temple of Amen-Ra at Thebes, where Shishak enumerates the long list of his conquests. This record will not bear comparison with the older lists of the Empire. For nations and tribes we have a series of towns, but the contribution to Biblical history is most interesting, and we perceive the policy of Jeroboam in the occurrence of Levitical cities of Israel as well as towns of Judah. Jeroboam desired not merely to crush the house of David in its own territory, but also to destroy its orthodox influence in his kingdom. The most interesting name in the list is that of Judah, strangely written Judah-melek, where we should have expected the word Judah in the second place if "melek" be kingdom.

Thus for a moment the Eastern power of Egypt revived, but Ethiopia was irrevocably lost, and the successors of Shishak wanted power and energy to maintain his policy. Their history for the next two centuries is a blank. We know little more than their names, and that ultimately their line broke up into three royal or princely houses.

An event recorded only in the Chronicles may be the key to the sudden decline of the house of Shishak. We there read how under Rehoboam's second successor Asa, Zerah the Ethiopian invaded Palestine, and was defeated by the king of Judah. This war is nowhere else recorded. The succession of the priest-kings is incomplete, and we know nothing of their history for a century and a half or more later. Was Zerah one of them? Did he conquer the family of Shishak, and on his reverse retreat to Ethiopia, leaving them to survive in peaceful but impotent possession of Egypt? Some such events must be read between the lines of what we know of the history of this age, and it is precisely what occurred again and again in later times. The remote basis of operations of the Ethiopian kings who conquered Egypt made their tenure of the country insecure, and each expedition left it rather paralysed than dependent.

An Ethiopian conquest is the first event that breaks the dull monotony of the history of Shishak's successors. The story is well told by the conqueror himself, in a stele which is by far the most interesting state document in the whole range of hieroglyphic texts. It was found at Napata, the Ethiopian capital. Before speaking of its contents we must endeavour to form a clear idea of Ethiopia, known to the Egyptians as Kesh, the Cush of Scripture.

Ethiopia, the land of the Upper Nile, about as far as the junction of the White and Blue rivers, is hard to define. Its limits varied in antiquity, for they depended more upon political than geographical divisions. Roughly it consisted of two widely different regions. The northern portion is the narrow Nile-valley, obstructed by several cataracts and shut in by barren rocky deserts, the southern is the broader valley,

bounded by deserts subject to tropical rains which gradually change to prairies. The division may be placed not far from Napata, near which the Nile takes a great bend, flowing south-west for a long distance in its upper course before that site is reached. We cannot therefore divide the two tracts from east to west, as the more fertile country is at first on the upper but more northern course of the stream. Thus each region contains about half the course of the Nile between the First Cataract, the boundary of Egypt, and the junction of the White and Blue Niles. Lower Ethiopia is the poorest portion of the Nile-valley. Upper Ethiopia is in part a splendid country, of old richly peopled, and containing great cities. The two regions may be best conceived of as corresponding to the plain of the Delta, and to the valley of Upper Egypt, inverted. Here the narrow valley is the natural bulwark of the spreading country beyond. No invader could advance from Egypt upon the Nile, for it is no longer a water-highway. Nor could he move up the long tedious course of the narrow valley without risk of being stopped at every few miles by a much smaller force. The only practicable approach was through the waterless desert, which foiled the enterprise of Cambyses. The oldest royal capital was Napata, as the nearest point to Egypt, the sovereignty of which was claimed by the kings who ruled there. When this pretension was finally overthrown, Meroë, probably recommended by its central position, succeeded to Napata.

The great table-mountain now called Gebel-Barkal, and in the inscriptions the "Sacred Mountain," was held in reverence as early as the time of Ramses II. Beneath it he raised a temple to Amen-Ra, the god of the neighbouring city of Napt, the classical Napata, and Noph of the Bible. To this southern seat of Theban worship the fugitive high-priest line of the Twenty-first Dynasty betook itself, and refounded there its kingdom. Exactly when this took place we do not know, but it was probably on the accession of Shishak. They do not appear in history until the reign of Piankhee Mee-Amen, the king of the famous stele of Napata, about B.C. 750. Everything shows, however, that at this date the Ethiopian monarchy was firmly established, and had maintained by policy if not by war a hereditary claim to the rule of Egypt, while the Thebaïd was actually its most northern province.

Ethiopian civilization as we see it at this age is Egyptian, with some curious variations, to receive in later times a fuller development. The priest-king is more distinctly sacerdotal in his kingly character than his Theban ancestors. He is first priest, then king, whereas the Pharaoh was priest because he was king. Hence a growth of superstition and a sacerdotal exclusiveness. Hence war made in the name of Amen-Ra to conquer Egypt his territory. In the importance the stele gives to the royal hareem there is a first indication of the place ultimately taken by the queen in Ethiopia, where we find heiresses ruling as queens regnant, not as queens consort, unlike the Egyptian usage. Here at least the influence of the subject race is apparent.

At this very time Cush first undoubtedly appears in Scripture as a great independent power. In earlier ages we read only of Cushite populations. In the tenth chapter of Genesis their settlements are given, and we see that the race extended from Chaldæa along the eastern and southern coasts of Arabia into Africa above Egypt. In later books the name Cush seems restricted to that branch of the Cushites which inhabited Ethiopia, the other Cushite settlements appearing under the names of the races or territories specified in the table of Genesis x. as descendants of Cush. As a nation the Cushites appear in the armies of Shishak and Zerah. If Zerah were a king of Ethiopia, the Ethiopian state is mentioned during its earliest period, but the first certain notice is that of Isaiah.

The Burden of Egypt, that striking picture of the age we had reached, is preceded by a prophecy as to Ethiopia. The subjects are like, each nation is portrayed, its coming judgment is predicted, and its future turning to the true religion. But the view is strikingly different. The lofty lines in which the Ethiopians are depicted show respect for a nation beautiful and warlike, whose piety would readily draw them on Zion, as the suppliant Ethiopia of the lxxviiith Psalm, and of the later Isaiah (xlv. 14). Ezekiel adds another touch in describing the Ethiopians as free from care. In the two prophecies first noticed in the Psalm and in the later Isaiah, Egypt takes a lower place as an inferior people. Indeed, the Burden of Egypt speaks with contempt of the weakness, vacillation, and base superstition of the Egyptians.

Compare this with Homer. The Ethiopians stand in the extreme limits of the poet's view to the eastward, in a border-land of truth and fable beyond his knowledge of geography. They are divided two-fold. Memnon, their leader, son of the Dawn, was the most beautiful of all who came to the War of Troy. So pious are they that the gods are their constant guests, when hecatombs are sacrificed. Such are the gentle Ethiopians (ἁμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας) with the general traits of beauty, courage in war, and piety.

To return to the state of Napata. Egypt under Shishak was an empire. Under his successors it wears the semblance of an undivided kingdom. The descendants of Shishak appear as beautifiers of the temple of Amen-Ra at Thebes, and as the heads of the state at the burial of each successive sacred bull Apis at Memphis. But the Ethiopian king's narrative shows how all this became a mere titular supremacy which at his time had fallen to pieces. It may have come about in this wise. The division of Egypt into forty-two provinces or nomes had its origin in local worship. So intensely local was that worship that it even led to little religious wars like those which Juvenal ridicules. Consequently each nome had a marked individuality of its own, and the aggregate of the nomes could only be held together by a strong-handed central government. Thus, whenever ancient Egypt fell under foreign rule, either the natural instinct of the people or the policy of the stranger, or

both, tended to resolve the monarchy first into the two kingdoms of the Upper and Lower country, then into the nome principalities. Egypt was thus reduced to petty kingdoms at the close of the Shepherd-rule, and to the nomes both at the troubled end of the Nineteenth Dynasty and in the latter days of Shishak's foreign line.

When the Ethiopian king, Piankhee Mee-Amen, resolved on his Egyptian war, the Lower country and Middle Egypt were broken up into a number of small principalities, while the Thebaïd was a province of the Ethiopian monarchy. Of the petty rulers, four, of whom three bear names of the family of Shishak, are allowed the Egyptian royal ring, and were thus kings; the rest were independent governors. The whole number of these little principalities appears to have been twenty-one, or little less than that of the nomes of Lower and Middle Egypt. How this condition had been brought about has been already suggested. It must have been sudden, for neither the monuments of Thebes nor of Memphis show any trace of a breaking up of the state. Probably in the later days of the house of Shishak the priest-kings reconquered the Thebaïd, and the policy of the defeated dynasty, which had set up princes in various cities of Egypt at the head of mercenary troops, led to its natural result, the independence of every prince and governor strong enough to maintain himself. It is noticeable that five chief princes who are selected with the four kings for portrayal on the stele as doing homage to Piankhee are each called "great chief of the Mashuasha," and other princes mentioned in the inscription are similarly qualified. This shows at once the prevalence of the system of military chieftains with mercenary garrisons, and the importance of the Libyan settlers of the tribe called Mashuasha, the fatal bequest of the wars of Ramses III. Dr. Brugsch, indeed, believes an Assyrian supremacy to be the true explanation of the problem, but this is not proved, and the Ethiopian invasion falls either during the temporary decline of the Assyrian Empire, when the kingdoms of Syria and Israel presented effectual barriers to its westward extension, or in the next period occupied in overthrowing those barriers.

The immediate cause of the Ethiopian king's expedition against Egypt was the news that Tafnekht, now Prince of Saïs, had conquered Lower and Middle Egypt. This chief, the founder of the house of the Psammetichi, which for the last time restored the Egyptian kingdom, was a national leader. All his rivals were drawn into his party by force or policy. That common action of which they had been incapable was at once theirs when Tafnekht directed their movements. The King of Ethiopia, seeing the Thebaïd in danger, despatched an expedition which achieved a partial success; following in person he reconquered the whole of Middle and Lower Egypt, Tafnekht, when all hope of resistance failed, sending his submission from Saïs.

The long document which narrates these events is full of picturesque detail. The priestly character of Piankhee is shown in his exclusiveness

and his attachment to the worship of Amen, for he admits King Nimrod alone, whom he by no means favoured, into his palace, as he was clean and eat no fish, and it is assent by Amen that he despatches his soldiers, enjoining them to lay aside their arms and worship at Thebes. There is a touch of savagery in the king's story of the slaughter of war, as in the siege of Hermopolis Magna, yet it is relieved by his care for non-combatants and children. But the reader's sympathies are with brave Tafneklit, whose touching appeal to the conqueror tells how he had fled to the islands of the sea and been forced by an enemy to return and hide himself in sanctuary at Saïs. Sick and in rags, he satisfies his hunger and thirst with bread and water alone, he goes not to the feasting-house, and the harp is no longer played before him. All hope of his project of an independent Egypt had vanished, the last effort had been made in some voyage to secure such aid as that of the Ionians and Carians who supported Psammetichus, his successor, in the next century, and the patriotic leader swears fealty to the half-foreign Theban. He disappears from the scene, but the inheritance of his project was left to the succession of brave and politic Saïte princes, who finally achieved it, after many years of the greatest calamities Egypt ever endured.

The Ethiopian conquest was not wholly repugnant to the Egyptians. Piankhee was a Theban and a priest, and already the ruler of the Thebaïd. He was only heartily opposed by the patriotic Saïtes, and perhaps by those princes who thought that an Assyrian protectorate would be the best guarantee of the continued existence of their petty power. Through a space of some sixty years the Ethiopians continued to hold the Thebaïd, and from time to time to subdue the princes of the Delta. Their succession is doubtful, and it is probable that the greatest of their line, Tirhakah, under whom their power over Egypt virtually ended, was, in his earlier years, contemporary with one or more Ethiopian kings of Egypt, the Empire of Piankhee having for a time broken up. By the date of Tirhakah, the long wars had estranged the two nations, and the Ethiopian records the conquest of Egypt in the inscriptions of temples at Napata, and even at Thebes.

This was the age when Assyria and Ethiopia came into conflict, and the petty wars against small princes were changed for a mighty struggle of two races, which ended only with the political extinction of the Ethiopians, soon followed by that of the Assyrians, worn out by the ceaseless activity of their military rulers.

At this time Isaiah foretold the downfall of the Ethiopians, and, in more precise terms, the calamities coming upon Egypt. Already divided into cities and kingdoms, the Egyptians would engage in civil wars. The princes of Zoan, Tanis, the leading royal house of Shishak's line, and the princes of Noph, Napata, the Ethiopian over-kings, would equally be deceived, and the country would fall into the hands of a cruel lord, a fierce king.

In the constant growth of the Assyrian power, which had overthrown

kingdom after kingdom, the sovereigns of Syria and Palestine turned a longing eye to the ambitious Ethiopians. The fall of Hoshea, the last king of Israel, in B.C. 721, was the result of an alliance with Ethiopia, but it was some years before the two rival armies met. In B.C. 714, at Raphia, on the Egyptian frontier, the Assyrian Sargon defeated Shebek, the Ethiopian, who fled away across the desert, guided by a Philistine shepherd.

It was an unequal contest. The Assyrians were close to their basis of operations. Palestine was not many days' march from the Euphrates, and scarcely ever were they without the aid of subject-princes, terrified into this policy by the frightful punishments of those who dared to assert their independence. The Ethiopians, if defeated, had to regain Upper Egypt through the territory of the princes of Lower Egypt, desirous of freedom, and not always disposed to risk the enmity of Assyria by supporting their southern over-king. Once in the Thebaïd the Ethiopians were safe for the time, but their resources lay beyond the barren tract of Lower Ethiopia, to which their Egyptian province was a mere outpost. It is a marvel that they had the courage over and over again to renew the contest, which always ended in their failure.

When Sargon had defeated Shebek the princes of the Delta at once threw off his yoke and put themselves under the protection of Assyria. The tremendous calamity which overtook Sennacherib at the moment when Tirhakah was advancing too late to aid a vanquished confederacy, closes for a time the Assyrian expeditions to the west. Tirhakah firmly established himself in Egypt, and remained undisturbed until the reign of Esarhaddon, by whom the whole country was subdued, and the city of Thebes sacked. Twenty small tributary princes were then established, and garrisons placed in the chief fortresses (B.C. 672). Tirhakah twice reconquered Egypt; and the Assyrians, under Assur-ban-habal, as often recovered the country, Thebes being twice taken. On the last occasion Tirhakah, wearied by the calamities of his long reign, had retired to Ethiopia, and his successor had to meet the attack. The punishment of Thebes was final. The whole population was led away into slavery, the temples pillaged, obelisks carried as trophies to Nineveh. It is to this last and most cruel sack of Thebes, No-Amon, that the prophet Nahum probably refers when he warns Nineveh of her approaching fall, by the example of her ancient rival. Thebes fell in B.C. 666 or 665, Nineveh in B.C. 625. "Art thou better than No-Amon, who was enthroned among the Nile-streams, the waters round about her, whose rampart [was] the river, her wall of the river? Cush and Mizraim [were] her strength, and [it was] infinite; Put and Lubim were thy helpers. Yet [was] she carried away; she went into captivity" (Nahum iii. 8-10). No-Amon lay on either side of the Nile, here separated by two islands. With the prophet, as with the Arabs, the sea is the great river. Ethiopia, Egypt, Libyans (Mashuasha), and other mercenaries, supplied the armies of the Ethiopian king of Thebes. The final destruction of the

imperial city, which never afterwards attained more than provincial power, was as complete as that which afterwards overtook her conqueror and rival. Throughout the earlier period of these wars, while Egypt was not yet invaded, and Ethiopia had only once received a check, the prophet Isaiah ceaselessly warns Judah against the Egyptian alliance. It was rather Egypt than Ethiopia to which Judah looked, desiring to form a confederacy, weak in itself, and which could not stand against the great king of the East without calling in the unwelcome support of Ethiopia.

The yoke of Assyria, now declining in power, was soon thrown off, and it is not certain that the Ethiopians ever afterwards gained a momentary influence in the affairs of Egypt. The Saïte house, true to its leadership, overthrew the other lines, and on the ruins of what Herodotus terms the Dodecarchy arise the last great Egyptian kingdom. The activity of the Saïtes marvellously restored the prosperity of Egypt, but they were in advance of their times. The long reign of Psammetichus, the true founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, witnessed a great disaster. His success was due to his Greek mercenaries, and the favour he showed these strangers caused the desertion of a great part of the native army, who established themselves in furthest Ethiopia, where they were heartily welcomed by the king of the country.

Necho, the active successor of Psammetichus, for a moment restored the ancient Empire. Nineveh had fallen, and it did not appear that Babylon would fill her place in the world. The king of Egypt overran Palestine and Syria, and posted a strong force at Carchemish. Here they were disastrously routed by Nebuchadnezzar, and the dream of empire vanished. Many years passed, during which the Saïtes prospered, and strengthened their kingdom by sea and land. In the east they were not strong enough to do more than effect small diversions and ceaselessly intrigue, as the king of Babylon was repeating with even more thoroughness the conquests of Assyria. Jeremiah, like Isaiah, denounces the Egyptian alliance, which, however sincere on the part of the two states, Egypt and Judah, was sure to leave the more eastern exposed to the vengeance of Babylon. The defeat of Carchemish is but the prelude to the conquest of Egypt. Years pass, and Jeremiah is carried by the exiles into Egypt, where he still predicts the long-delayed invasion of Nebuchadnezzar. Ezekiel, in his distant captivity on the banks of the Chebar, sees the calamity of Egypt and Ethiopia near at hand. Pharaoh, the great crocodile lying in the midst of his rivers, is to be drawn forth to perish in the desert. As Nahum warned Nineveh by the catastrophe of Thebes, so Ezekiel warns Pharaoh by the downfall of the Assyrian king, the tallest and widest spreading of the cedars of Lebanon. Nation after nation falls before the sword of the Babylonian, and Pharaoh and his host at last sleep in the pit among the multitude of the uncovenanted slain.

In these predictions the geography of the African monarchies is

clearly indicated. Pathros, Upper Egypt, is markedly distinguished from Mazor or Mizraim, properly Lower Egypt. Cush and the mercenaries are spoken of, and the three capitals prominently mentioned, Zoan, No (Thebes), and Noph (Napata). Two successors of Necho, vanquished at Carchemish, had reigned, and nearly forty years had passed before the blow fell on Egypt. The slight statement of this event in ancient history is at length verified by a fragmentary cuneiform record of Nebuchadnezzar's invasions of Egypt. It is to be hoped that fuller accounts may be found to clear up this difficult portion of history. It is probable that the fall of Apries, second successor of Necho, the Pharaoh Hophra of Scripture, and the rise of Amasis, were due to the king of Babylon; for this story, as told by Herodotus, is very improbable without the circumstance of a foreign invasion; but a second expedition seems to have been necessary to secure the submission of Amasis. (T. G. Pinches, *Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 3 Dec. 1878.)

A century passed between the Assyrian conquest and the Babylonian, and in less than half a century later the Persian Cambyses made Egypt a satrapy of his Empire. With that event our survey closes.

A word must be added as to the state of Egypt under the Saïte monarchs. It is astonishing to see the new vitality which bloomed in the century of peace. The temples were restored, the arts revived; and as if to wipe out the memory of decline, the Egyptians returned to the manners and style of the old monarchy. There was much that was artificial in this; the visitor to the tombs of this age, while he admires the delicacy and finish of their sculptures, observes that they lack the life of the more ancient works. Yet in spite of an innate weakness the Saïte monuments far excel those of the age which preceded them from the fall of the Empire. The decay of religion is noteworthy. It is a time when the last remains of belief are scarcely traced under the growth of superstition. Everything portends that ruin which, though arrested by the healthy vigour of the struggle with Persia, during two centuries of misery broken by occasional glimpses of freedom, yet came with the second Persian conquest, when Egypt had so lost all life that she soon welcomed the Greek conqueror of her enemy, without the slightest effort to regain her freedom.

Here, for the present, the subject may be laid aside. It may be taken up with the story of the Persian age, when the Greek historians are corrected from the Egyptian texts, the Macedonian dynasty and its administration of Egypt, the influence of the Greek learning of Alexandria in producing a new development of Egyptian religious thought, the contact of the Greek and the Hebrew in that centre of learned activity, and the Alexandrian school of Judaism, the policy of Cleopatra and its influence on the Roman Empire. The origin of monasticism, and the Egyptian and Alexandrian parties in the Church, the history of the separation of the Copts from the Greeks, and the overthrow of both

nation and rulers by the Muslim invasion, end this second period of the history of Egypt, during which Greek influence is always the central force. There yet remains the story of how from Byzantine art of Constantinople, tempered by the influence of the Persian and the Copt, and regulated by the wants of the Arab mind, there grew up on the ruins of old Egypt that fair art, rich in fancy but not lacking imagination, which, after passing through the same order and phases as Gothic, is yet maintaining a lingering existence under the coarse discouragement of Turkish rule. For the rest, before and after those six centuries in which, under Fatimees, Iyyoobees and Memlooks, Egypt once more held imperial sway, and the splendours of Cairo recalled the ancient glories of Thebes, the history of the country is but that of the Arab world. Since the Turkish conquest, indeed, all history ceased until the rise of the ruling house, which, in spite of many crimes and its vulgar contempt for the beauties of Arab life and Arab art, has brought Egypt once more into the rank of nations, and, if well advised, may yet revive her ancient strength. These are the subjects of the Greek and the Muslim periods, with which, at some future time, the thread of our story of Egypt may be taken up again.

One of the objects of these articles has been to draw attention to the value of Egyptian and other ancient texts in illustration of the Bible, and to indicate the effects of a serious comparative study. This is a matter which affects the clergy very nearly, and therefore the series cannot be closed without drawing attention to a paper in the last Number of this REVIEW, in which a clergyman directly, and by implication, pronounces against the importance of Hebrew in the education of his order.*

* "The Professional Studies of the English Clergy," *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, April, 1879. By Dr. Littledale. The following extracts are necessary to be cited in support of the position taken above.

"Although it is true that there is no kind of knowledge which may not be pressed into the service of religion, and be useful at one time or another to a clergyman, and while theoretically every branch of divinity ought to be familiar to those who undertake the office of religious teaching, yet there are certain departments of theology which, on the one hand, are useless if no more than a mere superficial smattering be attained, and, on the other, have only a very indirect bearing on the ordinary routine work of a parochial clergyman. Such, for example, are Hebrew and the textual criticism of the Old and New Testament. I am not to be understood as depreciating the importance of these studies, or as desiring aught than that all who show any capacity for pursuing them with success should do so to the full. But the mere rudiments, if not serving as a starting-point for additional study, are of the very slenderest value,—in truth, as regards Hebrew, more misleading than entire ignorance, as too many uncritical and worthless volumes are extant to warn us,—and contribute nothing to the mental development or the general utility of a teacher; while the time occupied in communicating these rudiments is a very appreciable fraction of the whole much too brief available period of training, and the effect of too discursive a range of subjects is far from advantageous to minds of small literary capacity. Hence it is necessary to draw more definitely than is now usual a line between compulsory and optional subjects in courses of reading, doing all that can reasonably or feasibly be carried out for the encouragement of the latter."—P. 5.

"It is by no means certain that the best method is always pursued in respect of even those studies on which most stress is laid. I do not, as a rule, find amongst the younger clergy whom I meet that intimate and localised familiarity with the Authorised Version of the Bible in its whole extent which is well-nigh indispensable for successful preaching, catechising, and discussion. This is of far greater practical value for the ordinary cleric than even a tolerable knowledge of the original language and textual criticism of some four or

If the clergy are to be mere State functionaries, it is by no means necessary that they should be learned ; but if, like the great Churchmen of all ages, they are to be leaders of men, they must be learned ; and if learned, must be acquainted with Hebrew or some Semitic language. Without such knowledge they can neither understand the Old Testament nor the New, nor explain the relation of the two. The whole controversy as to the meaning of faith will be unknown to them, and they will accept apparent but not real contradictions as matters of belief. Ignorant of Semitic life, they will explain away the Sermon on the Mount, and so deprive us of Christian ethics. They will not understand the history of the early centuries of the Church ; nor know why they are not the heretics they profess not to be. They will force on their congregations interpretations long disavowed, unless a Pan-Anglican Synod should, with the aid of foreign Churches, from time to time register and endorse the march of criticism. The more they sink beneath the intellectual level of the laity, the more will they hide themselves in a cloud of invincible ignorance, and be despised or hated, according to their intellectual weakness or their personal influence, until at length the priest shall disappear before the protest of the indignant prophet.

The Church of England for the last twenty years has been advancing in a far different direction. Ever since the production of Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," learned men have been sought out for promotion, and the last instance has been the appointment of one of the widest in knowledge and the wisest in its use to a high dignity of the Church. The encouragement of learning has not been without its effects on theological candidates, and a backward tendency would discredit their zeal and be a fraud upon the State.

But how, it may be asked, can the general body of theological students acquire a Semitic language, besides New Testament Greek ? The only answer is, if a knowledge of the Authorised Version is, as all admit, one of the first requirements, let it be a knowledge, and let other training give way to it. Otherwise, you take away the Bible from the clergy and the laity at one blow. Let something of Church History, often a dangerous and disheartening study in youth, be left to maturer years ; let a more reverent spirit be inculcated by not pressing into immature minds Aryan definitions of the mysteries of religious belief. Conceive for yourselves the training of St. Paul, of Apollos, of Origen, and lop off at least the useless, often profane and mischievous, speculation of the schoolmen. What is needed is a sound knowledge of Hebrew, or, if that cannot be, of the easiest of the Semitic languages,—that which may be called the sacred tongue of the New Testament, five selected books of the Old and New Testament,—deeply important as New Testament Greek must always be,—and the results of such study might be more surely and readily attained by the bulk of candidates, and be spread over a much wider area, by obliging them to master the Bible in that recent Oxford edition by Messrs. Cheyne, Driver, Clarke, and Goodwin, which gives in the form of foot-notes all the important various readings of the text and suggested amendments of the translation."—P. 33.

Syriac; and let the Greek of the New Testament be thoroughly studied in relation to Syriac, if not to Hebrew. A couple of years passed in these pursuits would produce a new generation of men stronger, wiser, and more charitable than the generation of whom we are. It is well that the teacher should be mighty in the Scriptures; it is well that he should be able to render a reason for the faith that is in him; but if he have not charity, all this will avail nothing. The common bond of learning has saved many a scholar from failing in this chief Christian grace. It has made a stern theologian, like Dr. Pusey, show tender kindness to young men whose position was in the other pole of dogmatics. It binds together Greek and English, and even Latin scholars, Churchmen and Dissenters, Christians and Hebrews. Nowhere has charity so triumphed as here: give us an ignorant clergy, and you deprive us of our last hope of an Eirenikon.

Of course indolence, ignorance, and fanaticism will raise their old cry that the parish parson has no time amid the pressing wants of his people for learning, and that his Hebrew will be soon forgotten. The English clergy, second to none in their zealous work, have always found time for healthy recreations, which have saved them from becoming picturesque mystics. Semitic learning is the stumbling-block; but why should they not keep up Hebrew, as well as Greek and Latin? Besides, what is here claimed is simply a thorough grounding in a Semitic language as a key to Semitic thought and expression. This once well taught,—and nowhere in the world better than at Cambridge, not even at Leipsic,—even should the cares of the flock and the difficulties of living prevent the student from maturing into the scholar, yet the true elements of knowledge will no more leave him in the Semitic than in the classical field. The contention that Hebrew is useless, because as generally taught it produces no results, is clearly a fallacy. The proposal to fall back upon Cheyne and Driver's excellent edition of the Authorised Version in lieu of critical study is good enough for such girls as lack the piety of their Hebrew sisters, and the force of many Englishwomen whom Miss Swanwick has encouraged to achieve Greek.

The project of introducing into clerical training those feminine disabilities, against which women have for once and all revolted, can only spring from the fear of learning, the great bugbear of modern theologians. Yet a dispassionate review of what has been the effect of German and Dutch criticism, selected as the least orthodox, leaves the mind convinced that the true gain to religion far outbalances any fancied loss. What do we not owe to Ewald alone? Cheyne and Driver's Bible is crowded with references to German scholarship. For to German scholarship it is mainly due that this edition presents the materials for a better text, and thus one more safe as a guide for the clergy. In such a text many difficulties may disappear, and the bitter springs of some controversies be dried up; but need we therefore lament?

To look for a moment beyond theological results of learning, let it never be forgotten that criticism struck a fatal blow at the odious Hindu custom of Suttee by discovering that it rested on a false reading in the sacred literature of India.

It is with no hope of convincing Dr. Littledale that these words have been written. He requires his ideal candidate to cram so much technical knowledge, in order to preach well and confute all heretics, that a true acquaintance with Scripture, absolutely necessary to the teacher, and only to be learnt from the original languages, must be put off to a more convenient season. But it may be well to protest in the name of the laity against the artificial production of a new species of clergyman, not only unacquainted with Scripture, but taught that this unacquaintance is a qualification for his high post.

Let it not be written upon the sepulchre of the Church of England—
“Ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered.”

REGINALD STUART POOLE.

ON THE STUDY OF NATURAL HISTORY.

NATURAL HISTORY, as commonly understood, refers to the study of animals and plants. A profound truth is contained in this popular acceptance of the term. For in order that either animals or plants may be thoroughly understood, both require to be studied; while the two together constitute a group of natural objects which may be considered apart from the non-living world. Animals and plants taken together, then, form the subject-matter of a distinct science, BIOLOGY—the science of living bodies.

The study of the Natural History of living creatures has of late assumed a greater importance than it was ever before thought to possess. Recent advances in science seem also to indicate that this history needs re-writing from the standpoint which our most expert and zealous biological explorers have succeeded in attaining. No scientific questions have perhaps excited greater interest than those which concern the problems of animal or vegetable life, the origin of such life, and the origin of its multitudinous forms.

Apart, however, from such interest in it as may be due to controversies of the day, the love of this study is one which must grow upon men as they advance in the knowledge of their own organisation, owing to the very conditions of their existence. For man is so related to other living creatures, that fully to understand himself, he must, more or less thoroughly, understand them also.

Every increase in the knowledge of the organic world has its effect upon the study of man, and helps him not only towards a better knowledge of his own organisation, but also helps in the pursuit of his own happiness and in the fulfilment of his duty.

To man alone is at the same time apportioned the physical enjoyment, the intellectual apprehension, and the æsthetic appreciation of that marvellous material creation which on all sides surrounds him,

which impresses him by its many active powers, and of which he alone forms the self-conscious and reflective portion.

His connection with it is, indeed, most intimate, partaking as he does all the orders of existence revealed to him by his senses—inorganic or organic, vegetative or animal. The mineral matters of the earth's solid crust, the chemical constituents of oceans and rivers, even the ultimate materials of remote sidereal clusters, contribute to form the substance of his body. The various activities of the vegetable world have their counterpart in the actions of that body. When we study the laws of growth, as in a creeping lichen or gigantic eucalyptus, or the actions of roots or leaves, when we follow the course of the spore dropped from a fern frond, or when we investigate the meaning and action of flowers of whatever kind, we come upon processes which the human body is also destined to perform. But the animal world especially concerns man, since, being an animal himself, he shares the pleasures, pains, appetites, desires, and emotions of the sentient myriads which people earth, air, and water. His frame, like theirs, thrills responsively to the ceaseless throbbings of that plexus of ever-active agencies, lifeless as well as living, which we call the Cosmos. Thus man plainly shares in the most diverse powers and faculties of his material fellow-creatures, and he sees also reflected by such creatures, in varying degrees, those different kinds of existence which unite in him. Man *sees* this reflection, and in so seeing recognises as existing in himself a faculty much above every power possessed by any other organism. Unlike even the highest of the brutes, he not only feels the Cosmos, but he thinks it. He is not only involved with it in an infinity of relations, but he recognises and reflects upon many of such relations, their nature and their reciprocal bearings. "The proper study of mankind is man," but to follow out that study completely we must have a certain knowledge of the various orders of creatures in the natures of which man, in different degrees, participates. Man's intellect is indeed supreme, nevertheless it cannot be called into activity unless first evoked by sense impressions which he shares with lowly animals; nor can his intellect, even after it has been aroused into activity, continue to act save by the constant renewal of sense impressions—real or imagined. Such impressions give rise, in him, to imaginations, reminiscences, anticipations, and emotions, which serve as materials for the exercise of intellect and will; and as these imaginations, reminiscences, anticipations, and emotions are possessed also by brutes, it is to the study of such creatures that we must have recourse to obtain one of the keys needed to unlock the mystery of man's existence.

In addition to the above considerations, the organic world is of course useful to us in a variety of ways. Man, as lord over all other organisms which people the globe, rightfully disposes of them for his profit or pleasure, finding in the investigation of their various natures an inexhaustible field for his intellectual activity, and in their forms

and relations a stimulus for his deep-seated apprehension of beauty. Thus, many considerations and influences concur to impel us to the study of Nature, and especially the Natural History of the many living creatures which are so variously related to us.

But a Natural History which shall include both animals and plants must be a history of creatures of kinds so various that their number baffles the power of the imagination, as a little reflection will suffice to show. Beasts alone are numerous, but very much more so is the group of reptiles. Serpents and lizards, indeed, so swarm in the hottest regions of the globe that, in spite of the multitude of forms already described, it is not impossible that nearly as many more remain to be discovered. More than ten thousand different kinds of birds have been now made known to us, and fishes are probably not less numerous than all the other above-mentioned animals taken together.*

Beasts, birds, reptiles and fishes, however, considered as forming one group, constitute but a comparatively small section of the world of animals. Creatures allied to the snail and oyster, but all of different kinds, exist in multitudes which are known to us, but doubtless also in multitudes as yet unknown. Worms form a division so varied in nature and so prodigious in number, that the correct appreciation of their relations one to another and to other animals—their classification—forms one of the most difficult of zoological problems. Coral-forming animals and cognate forms, together with star-fishes and their allies, come before as two other hosts; and there are yet other hosts of other kinds to which it is needless here to refer. Yet the whole mass of animals to which reference has yet been made is exceeded (as to the number of distinct kinds) by the single group of insects. Every land-plant has more than one species of insect which lives upon it, and the same may probably be said of at least every higher animal—and this in addition to other parasites which are not insects. The lowest animals have not yet been referred to, but the number of their undiscovered kinds which may exist in the ocean, and in tropical lakes and rivers, may be suspected from the variety we may obtain here, in a single drop of stagnant water. Recent researches, moreover, have shown us that the depths of the ocean, instead of being (as was supposed) lifeless as well as still and dark abysses, really teem with animal life. From those profound recesses also creatures have been dragged to light, forms which were supposed to have long passed away and become extinct. And this leads us to yet another consideration. It is impossible to have a complete knowledge of existing animals without being acquainted with so much of the nature of their now extinct predecessors as can be gathered from the relics they have left behind. Such relics may be

* The number of kinds of fishes described by ichthyologists only about equals the number of birds. But then ornithologists reckon such small differences as making a distinction of kind, that if ichthyologists pursued a similar course the number of fishes reckoned as distinct would be much in excess. Besides, there are probably many more new kinds of fishes to discover than there are of birds.

bones or shells imbedded in muddy deposits of ages bygone, and which deposits have now turned to rock, or may consist of but the impress of their bodies, or only a few footprints. Rich as is the animal population of the world to-day, it represents only a remnant of the life that has been; and small as our knowledge may ever be of that ancient life (from imperfections in the rocky record), yet every year that knowledge is increased. What increase may we not also expect hereafter, when all remote and tropical regions have been explored with the care and patience already bestowed on the deposits which lie in the vicinity of civilised populations?

But, besides the forms of animal life which are thus multitudinous, acquaintance must also be made with myriads of vegetable forms in order to understand the Natural History of animals and plants. Numerous as are the different kinds of trees, shrubs, creepers, other flowering plants, ferns, and mosses peculiar to each great region of the earth's surface, the total number of the lowest flowerless forms is yet greater. Known sea-weeds of large or moderate size are numerous, but some naturalists think there are still more yet unknown. But, however that may be, their number is small compared with the swarms of minute algæ and fungi which are to be found in situations the most various. For not only do fungi live upon the surface of other plants, but they penetrate within them, and, as "mould," deprive the stoutest timber of its substance and resisting power; they devastate fields of promising grain, destroy the hope of the vine-grower, and ruin our homely garden produce. And as certain animals are destined to nourish themselves on certain plants, so do different kinds of these lowly plants nourish themselves on different animals. Ulcers and sores may support their appropriate vegetation, the growth of which has caused havoc in many an hospital ward, with an atmosphere teeming (as it often teems) with their minute reproductive particles. Analogous particles of other plants even form no insignificant part of our coal-fields, as the produce of coral animals has built up large tracts of land in the State of Florida and elsewhere, and as a vast deposit is accumulating on the floor of the Atlantic from the ceaseless rain of dead microscopic shells which have lived in its surface waters.

Again, to know living animals thoroughly it is necessary also to be acquainted with extinct animals, so we cannot have an adequate conception of the world of plants without an acquaintance with its fossil forms—forms some of which afford evidence of startling climatic changes, as do the fossil vines and magnolias of the Arctic region.

But it may be asked, if the multitude of living forms is so great, why should the Natural History of plants and animals be treated simultaneously? Has not the progress of science been accompanied by an increasing division of labour, and is it not wise of naturalists to devote their whole lives to some special group? To this it may be replied, that modern science tends both to unite and to separate the several departments of inquiry. The area to be explored is so vast, and

contains such rich variety, that no human mind can hope to master the whole study of either animals or plants. On this account some naturalists are no longer content with being exclusively ornithologists or entomologists, or with devoting themselves to single primary groups of birds or insects, but spend their whole time—and wisely so—upon some still more subordinate section of zoology. Nevertheless, such students should also give time to wider study, without which they cannot really understand the special groups to which they are devoted. Such subdivision moreover has, as Goethe remarked, a narrowing tendency. Indeed, the necessity for each student to understand various branches of science is constantly increasing. A certain knowledge of astronomy and chemistry has become necessary to the geologist, and of geology and chemistry to the biologist. Again, the progress of knowledge has more and more revealed the intimate connection which exists between the two great groups of living creatures—animals and plants. So intimate, indeed, is this connection now seen to be that, in spite of the manifest differences between most animals and plants, the position, or even the existence, of the line which is to divide these organisms is a matter of dispute. It has thus become manifestly impossible to understand adequately the creatures belonging to one of these groups without a certain acquaintance with those belonging to the other group. The powers which animals possess cannot be satisfactorily understood without a knowledge of the corresponding powers of plants. Our knowledge, for example, of animal nutrition and reproduction would be very incomplete unless we had a conception of these processes generally, and therefore of the modes in which they take place in plants also. On these accounts it is desirable that both the great groups of living creatures should be considered conjointly, and the study of living organisms treated as one great whole.

An objection of an opposite nature may, however, be made to the plan here advocated. It may be objected that plants and animals should not be considered separately from minerals, but that all terrestrial productions should be treated of as one whole, and their substantial composition and powers exhibited as diverging manifestations of one great unity. In support of this objection may be urged that very increasing inter-relation and cross-dependency between the sciences which have been just referred to. It may be contended that, though animals and plants do indeed require to be treated as one whole, yet they do not form a really isolated group for the following reasons. The laws of mineral aggregation in crystals are imitated in the growth of certain animals. The ultimate constituents of the organic and inorganic worlds are the same. The physical forces—light, heat, and electricity—are both needed by and are given off from living organisms, as manifestly by fire-flies, warm-blooded animals, and the electric eel. The diverse manifestations of life are thus, it may be said, merely due to the play of physical forces upon very complex material conditions.

To this it may be replied that, at least practically, the living world does constitute a domain apart, and the Natural History of animals and plants (or Biology) a very distinct science, for all that it reposes upon and is intimately connected with the sciences of non-living matter. It may also be contended that there really is a fundamental distinction between the activities of even the lowest living creature and all merely physical forces. For even if the several separate actions of organisms can be performed by inorganic bodies, yet no inorganic body displays that *combination* of forces which characterises any living being. The very composition, again, of the organic world differs strikingly in its complexity from that of the inorganic.

Assuming then, provisionally, that animals and plants may together be reasonably separated off from the non-living world and treated as one whole, we find that whole to present remarkable characters of both change and permanence. Individual organisms, at longer or shorter intervals, disappear and are replaced by others like them, and such succession has in some cases endured for very prolonged periods. In most cases, however, kinds as well as individuals have arisen, had their day and died, and have been succeeded by kinds more or less divergent; and this process of replacement has occurred again and again. Has the whole series of successions also had its beginning, or has vegetable life eternally flourished on our planet and eternally nourished race after race of diverse animal tribes? The answer to this question (as far as it can be answered by Physical Science) is, of course, to be sought in the Natural History, not of organic beings, but of the earth and other planets of our system. But let it be granted that the duration of terrestrial life is only, when estimated by sidereal epochs, as the up-growth of a day; yet measured by any more familiar standard its antiquity is such as the imagination refuses to picture. More than this: even the various kinds of animals and plants have had, and have, at least a relative constancy and permanence. Nature, as we see it, does not present a scene of confused and evanescent forms in a state of Protean change. Were such the case our existing classifications could not have been devised. Our minds perceive that the living world possesses certain permanent characters, and it suggests conceptions not only of "order," "causation," "utility," "purpose," but also of "types" and "creative ideas," to attempt to estimate the value of which would be to enter upon philosophy; for the value to be assigned to such conceptions depends upon the system of philosophy which any one may deem the more reasonable. The advocacy of any system of philosophy would be quite out of place in this Essay. Here a single observation must suffice. Those who believe that the First Cause of all creatures which live or have lived is a Divine Intelligence having a certain relation of analogy with the intelligence of man, must also believe that all creatures respond to the ideas of such creative Intelligence. They must also further believe that in so far as the ideas we derive from the study of creatures are true ideas—that is, truly correspond with their objects—

such ideas must respond, however imperfectly, to the eternal ideas of such a Divine Intelligence, since things which agree with the same thing must in so far agree with one another.

Remote as such questions may appear to be from the study of Natural History, they have during the present century much occupied the attention of distinguished naturalists. They have also been the occasion of investigations which, as we shall shortly see, have borne fruit the value of which all scientific men now admit. These investigations have called forth a new conception as to the whole mass of living creatures, and of their relations one to another—a conception which renders inadequate all previous pictures of the world of organic life.

From our present standpoint, that world, and indeed the entire universe, may be not inaptly symbolized by a waterfall, such as that of Terni, with its look of changelessness due to unceasing changes, themselves the result of a permanence not at first apparent. The well-known rainbows above the great clouds of sun-lit spray look like fixed and almost solid structures. Though the spectator knows that the same falling water cannot be seen for many seconds, and that the persistence of the elements of colour must be even less, yet an impression of persistence and stability remains which, though in some respects an illusion, is not altogether false. Though the physical elements are fleeting, yet both the cascade and its iridescent arcs are persistent—*ideally* in the mind which apprehends them, and *really* in those natural laws and that definite arrangement of conditions which continually reproduce the ceaseless flux accompanying their persistence.

Similarly the ocean, with its obvious changes of tides and currents, storms and calms, has been a type of changefulness; and yet viewed in comparison with the upheavals and depressions of the earth's solid surface there is a relative, though by no means absolute, truth in the words:

"Time writes no wrinkle on thy azure brow;
Such as creation's dawn beheld, thou rollest now!"

But science reveals a succession of changes far from obvious which have taken place since the first fluid film condensed from the hot vapour of the earth's primeval atmosphere. Such are, changes in its composition, its temperature and its living inhabitants, from the time when it swarmed with extinct predecessors of our present crabs, cuttle-fishes, and star-fishes; and afterwards, when huge reptiles dominated in it, till they yielded place to the whales and dolphins of a later epoch, and till at last, after untold ages, the canoes of the earliest races of mankind began at last to ripple its waters.

With the advent of man began a succession of ideal changes. For the growth of knowledge causes our ideas of each part of the universe to alter and grow more exact, just as the aspects of objects change as they may be viewed through a succession of less refracting and more transparent media. How different was the ancient conception of the ocean

as a fluid boundary encircling the flat plane of the earth, from that obtained by Columbus when, having traversed an unknown ocean and reached a new world, he exclaimed "*Il mondo e poco!*" To-day deep-sea explorations are giving us new conceptions, and its Natural History needs re-writing from a fresh stand-point.

The whole universe of fixed-stars and nebulae may also be conceived as a vast fountain of light and motion. For though (save for the occasional temporary brightness of some world in conflagration, and save for the apparent diurnal revolution of the heavens) it is apparently changeless; yet reason exhibits it to us as an area of ceaseless change. Indeed, as races of living beings succeed each other, so we may fancy that the falling together of worlds and systems may generate new suns and worlds, like the fresh flowers of a new spring.

But if the image of the ocean as reflected in the mind of man has repeatedly changed in the course of ages, this is still more the case as regards the starry vault. A collection of visible divinities; a hieroglyphic to be puzzled over by the soothsayer; a concentric series of star-studded crystal spheres; and finally, the more and more consistent mind-pictures of Copernicus and Galileo, Kepler and Newton! If it is difficult now to realize the change of view introduced by the discovery of Columbus, it is almost impossible to do so with respect to that which was occasioned by the acceptance of heliocentric astronomy, and which of course rendered a new description of the heavens inevitable.

These considerations may serve to prepare us for analogous changes with respect to our present subject—organic nature. This likewise has not only its real elements of permanence and change, but also its ideal changes, due to the different modes in which it has presented itself to men's minds at different stages of discovery. Such changes render necessary fresh descriptions at successive epochs, and one such epoch is that in which we live.

Animals and plants must always, to a greater or less extent, have occupied the attention of mankind. It is probable that a certain amount of pleasure was felt even in primeval times in observing living beings. The child of to-day delights in the companionship and observation of animals, and in the childhood of the human race animals were regarded as objects of interest and curiosity as well as of utility in furnishing food and clothing. That such was the case seems evident from the portraits which have come down to us of the reindeer and the mammoth (the extinct woolly elephant), traced on bones by the flint-workers, their contemporaries.

Indeed, the earliest of our race could not avoid a certain study of animals the capture of which they needed for their food or clothing. But in addition to attention due to such needs, many phenomena of animal life are well fitted to strike a savage mind, and this the more from that sharpness of the senses which the ruder races of men possess. The earliest hunters must have observed the habits of their prey, and have incidentally noticed in their pursuit peculiarities of

other creatures, which were not those they pursued, but were related to them as enemies or dependents.

In temperate regions certain phenomena of animal and plant life must very early have forced upon man's attention their regular recurrence, coincidently with that of the seasons. For with the annual reappearance of certain constellations men must have noticed such orderly recurrence of flowers and fruits, and the return of migrating birds. The obtrusive note of the cuckoo, and the quick gliding flight of the swallow, must have early been welcomed as the harbingers of approaching summer.

In this way a series of recurring changes—a cycle of phenomena—must have come to be observed. In other words, both permanence and change must have been noted as existing simultaneously in the organic world.

Such conceptions must, of course, have been of the most incomplete and rudimentary character, since the mind can only bring back from the observation of the external world that which it has gained the power of apprehending. The traveller who is ignorant of history and natural science comes back from imperial Rome or sacred Athens, from the impressive solitude of Carnac or the busy quays of Trieste, but little the richer intellectually for the many instructive objects which have met his unappreciating gaze. Thus, with the cultivation or debasement of men's minds, the mental images and intellectual conceptions they form of Nature necessarily undergo corresponding changes, and the surrounding conditions of scene and climate must also largely influence their interest in, and their conceptions of, natural objects.

The ancient Egyptians, enclosed in their narrow limestone valley, bounded by desert sands and the hot and riverless Red Sea, do not seem to have been favourably circumstanced for the development of a great love of Nature. Yet their frescoes show that apes, antelopes, leopards, giraffes, and other strange beasts were objects of careful attention; and Solomon's taste for natural knowledge may have found its parallel amongst Egyptian priests long anterior to the scientific glory of Alexandria.

The Greeks, more happily situate in their beautiful land, botanically so wealthy, and which is split up into so many islands, and has a coast line so irregular through many estuaries, can hardly have failed to appreciate organic nature, seeing that they loved not only human beauty, but that of earth, sea, and sky also. But, however that may be, it is certain that it was there that Natural History first attained a considerable development under an august master. It was congruous that the people who so early attained a social culmination in art, the drama, history, rhetoric, and poetry, constituting them the models and teachers of mankind for thousands of years to come, should have also led the way in Biological Science.

Aristotle, the first-known true man of science, must be considered (from his knowledge of recondite points of anatomy, and from his sketch

of animal classification) to have been one who bore within him in germ the biology of later ages. Such a man could not have arisen among a people to whom the investigation of Nature was new or unwelcome.

The legal Roman spirit seems to have had little inclination for the study of Nature, yet in Pliny we meet with the proto-martyr of science. The great song of Lucretius is full of sympathy with organic life in all its forms; and poetry like that of the Georgics must have been intended for minds alive to rustic beauty and the harmonies of rural life.

Whether such incipient scientific culture as existed in classical times would or would not, if left to itself, have soon ripened into that of the modern world, cannot be proved. The fall of the Roman Empire, however, made retrogression inevitable. It may be that such retrogression has had its scientific compensation. For, judging of the source by the outcome, the tribes which issued from the glades of the great Hyrcanian forest must have brought with them a deep, innate love of natural beauty. As the floods of tumultuous invasion subsided, and were succeeded by disturbances comparatively local, Teutonic homesteads began to appear on sites which seem to have been in part chosen from a love for the picturesque. Soon, one by one, also arose the monastic cradles of mediæval civilisation, sometimes nestling in leafy dells by streams or lakes, sometimes perched on mountain crags with difficulty accessible.

With the advent of the thirteenth century came the first pale dawn of that *renaissance* which, rapidly maturing, burst on the world in its full blaze three centuries later.

It was then that the naturalistic spirit began to assume that predominance which it has ever since retained. Discovery on discovery in every department of science opened out fresh vistas on all sides to the gaze of eager students, and the immensity of the task before inquirers became more manifest to them at each step made in advance.

The past also began to acquire a new significance, for the study of it (as made known in terrestrial deposits) suggested the modern view of the mutability of the earth's surface. No doubt in very early times the occasional discovery of fossil shells and bones—disclosed by some landslide—may have led to vague surmises, as the finding of elephants' bones (many of which so much resemble human bones) may have given rise to tales of giants. With the advance from primeval to classical times clearer notions arose, and Pythagoras (according to Ovid) promulgated the most rational view as to the excavating action of rivers, the upheaval and submergence of land and similar phenomena.

But in the Middle Ages these views seem to have faded from view, so that when in the sixteenth century fossil remains began to be collected in Italy and their significance correctly appreciated, an important revolution in men's minds commenced.

In spite, however, of the gradually clearer apprehension of the fact that many living forms had become extinct, the belief in the fixity of

the different kinds of animals and plants was accepted as a matter of course. There were, however, exceptions to this belief as to fixity which continued to be made, as they had been made during the Middle Ages. During those ages creatures, such as worms and flies, had been supposed to be spontaneously generated by the action of the sun on mud and in other ways, and creatures which were erroneously supposed to be hybrids had also been supposed to have been occasionally generated. With these exceptions, however, all animals were supposed to have existed unchanged and without fresh creations since their first formation after the beginning of the world.

The interest felt in all the natural sciences continued to increase through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and therewith went on a rapid augmentation in the number of known species of animals and plants.

Much gratitude is due from us to the great compilers of those centuries whose ponderous works were treasure-houses of the natural history of their day. Conspicuous above all was Aldrovandus, whose thirteen folios began to appear in 1640, to be followed in the next century by the richly illustrated folios of Seba.

Thus the way was gradually prepared for a decisive step in advance, marking the first great epoch in the modern natural history of living beings. Such a step was the introduction of a good classification.

It is, of course, difficult to acquire, and impossible to retain and propagate, a thorough knowledge of any very numerous set of objects, unless they are systematically grouped according to some definite plan of classification. On this account the study of living creatures (to the vast number of which attention has been directed) stood in especial need of some convenient arrangement, if only for the purpose of serving as a *memoria technica*.

Attempts at a classification of living beings had been made by many naturalists from Aristotle downwards, and amongst the more recent, that of John Ray* (1628-1705) may be honourably distinguished. But it was not till 1735 that a classification was put forward which marked that epoch in the study of natural history above adverted to. It was promulgated by the publication of the *Systema Naturæ* of Linnæus. His genius also did away with that obstacle to natural science, a cumbrous nomenclature, by devising an admirable plan of naming.† He divided all living creatures into two great series of successively subordinate groups (one series of animals, the other of plants), the animal and vegetable kingdoms. He defined his various groups of either kingdoms by certain resemblances and differences in form and structure, and though his arrangement of plants has been mainly discarded, and his arrangement of animals much changed, and further subdivided, yet the principles he introduced and many parts of his actual classification have

* See his *Methodus plantarum nova*, 1682, and his *Animalium quadrupedum et serpentini generis*, 1693.

† Promulgated by him in the tenth edition of his *Systema Naturæ*, published at Stockholm in 1758.

been and will be maintained. For his reform in nomenclature above referred to we owe him hearty thanks. Till then, the mode of naming animals and plants was at once cumbrous and little instructive, a descriptive phrase* being often employed to designate a particular kind.

The system of naming which Linnæus devised was a binomial system which is now universally adopted. By it every kind of living creature bears a name made up of two words. These (like the family and Christian names of a man)† indicate two things. The word which comes first indicates to which smaller group or "genus" the designated animal belongs. The second word indicates which kind or "species" (out of the few or many kinds of which such smallest group or "genus" may be composed) of the genus the designated animal may be. Thus, for example, the name borne by the sheep is *Ovis aries*—that is to say, it is the kind *aries* of the group, or genus, *ovis*. The word pointing out the group to which the animal is referred is termed the "generic" name; the word pointing out the kind is called the "specific" name—*Ovis* being the name of the genus and *aries* being peculiar to the species. This great reform has been of very great benefit to the study of natural history.

As has been already remarked, Linnæus's classification of animals and his classification of plants have not shared the same fate. The former has been modified and enlarged, the latter has been discarded. For this there has been a valid reason. Classifications may be of many sorts. We may classify any one given set of objects in a variety of ways according to the way we choose to consider them.

But there are two fundamental differences with respect to classification. An arrangement may be intended merely for convenient reference, or it may be intended to group the creatures classified according to their real affinities. A classification intended merely for convenient reference may be made to depend upon characters arbitrarily chosen and easily seen, and which may stand alone and not coincide with a number of other distinctions. For example, when beasts were arranged in a group of "quadrupeds" (having for their common character the possession of four limbs), such an arrangement excluded from the group whales and porpoises (which are really most closely related to other beasts), while it included lizards and frogs, which are of natures very distinct both from beasts and from one another. But a classification may be made to rest on distinctive characters, which coincide with a great number of other distinctions, and so lead to the association of creatures which are really alike, and which will be found to present a greater and greater number of common characters the more thoroughly they are examined. A

* Thus, for example, one kind of bat was called by Seba, "*canis volans ternatanus orientalis*," and a kingfisher is termed "*todus viridis pectore rubro rostro recto*."

† It is not improbable that Linnæus was influenced in this reform by the then recent introduction of family names into Sweden. His father was the first of his race to take one, and he chose the name Linnæus as his surname.

system of classification of this latter kind is called a "natural system," because it represents and leads us directly to understand the inter-relations of different creatures as they really exist in Nature.

A natural system has also other advantages; it not only serves as a *memoria technica* as well as a mere artificial system may do, but it also serves (since it must become modified in details as our knowledge increases) as a register of the knowledge existing at the time of its promulgation, and also as a help to discovery; for since by such a system these animals are grouped together by a great number of common characters, it leads us (when any new animal or plant comes under our notice) to seek for certain phenomena when once we have observed others with which such expected phenomena are, according to our supposed classification, associated. Thus a natural system serves to guide us in the path of investigation. Now Linnæus's classification of animals was, to a considerable extent, natural, and therefore has, to a considerable extent, persisted. But his classification of plants reposed upon variations in the more internal (reproductive) parts of flowers (stamens and pistil) as other anterior and less celebrated systems had reposed on the form of the coloured parts of flowers,* or on such parts together with their green envelope† (or calyx), or only upon the form of the fruit.‡ The genius of Linnæus was not, however, blind to the imperfection of his own classification, for he himself proclaimed§ that a natural system "was the one great desideratum of botanical science."

The desideratum was supplied at a memorable era. In 1789 Antony Jussieu|| inaugurated this botanical revolution by publishing his *Genera Plantarum*, and therein that natural system of classification of plants which has since (with but small modification) been generally adopted.

The great French naturalist, Buffon, did not live to witness the publication of the last-mentioned work. Had he lived to study it, he might have gained a truer insight into the importance of biological classification, and have endeavoured to improve on Linnæus's system instead of contenting himself with criticising and despising it. In spite of his defective appreciation of the importance of a good arrangement and nomenclature, Buffon greatly aided the progress of Natural History, not only by his eloquent descriptions of the animal world and his zeal for the discovery of new forms, but still more by his suggestive speculations. Amongst these latter may be mentioned his theories of the earth, of the process of generation, his view as to the relations between the animals of the old world and of the new, and, most striking of all, his enunciation of the probability that species had been transformed and modified. In spite of much that was erroneous in his ideas his suggestions have borne good fruit.

* Rivinus, 1690.

† Magnol, 1720.

‡ Kamel, 1693.

§ Phil. Bot. 77.

|| The botanical expert will of course understand that what is due to Antony Jussieu's uncle Bernard is not here forgotten; but however great was his merit and preponderant his share in producing the grand result, it was none the less by the nephew that these results were embodied and published in the work above referred to.

Almost simultaneously with the promulgation of a natural system of plants, George Cuvier was labouring to complete a zoological task similar to the botanical one effected by Jussieu. Cuvier, availing himself of the work of Linnæus, elaborated his *Règne Animal*,* and carried zoology by his untiring researches and encyclopædic knowledge to the highest perfection possible in his day. He did this not only as regards living kinds, but also with respect to extinct species,† which he, for the first time, restored in imagination, giving figures of what were their probable external forms. As then, Linnæus, by his nomenclature and system of zoological classification, made one important step in the progress of modern biology, so a second step was effected by the arrangement of all known animals and plants, in a truly natural system, by Jussieu and Cuvier.

A further advance was at the same time rapidly approaching, for simultaneously with the perfecting of the knowledge of structural anatomy as so many matters of fact, a movement of deep significance was stirring the minds of men in Germany—a movement which resulted in the birth of what has been called “philosophical anatomy.” With this, the names of Oken, Goethe, Geoffrey St. Hilaire, and Owen are, with others, indissolubly associated. According to this “philosophical anatomy,” it is possible for men, from a judicious study of living creatures, to gather a conception of certain formative “ideas” which have governed the production of all animals and vegetables. These ideas were conceived as either ideas in God or as ideas existing somehow in a Pantheistic universe. The “ideas” were supposed to be nowhere actually realized in the world around us, but to be approximated to in various degrees and ways by the forms of living creatures. The naturalists of this school triumphantly refuted the old notion that all the structures of living beings were sufficiently explained by their wants. Thus they pointed out the absurdity of supposing that the bones of the embryo’s skull originate in a much subdivided condition, in order to facilitate parturition, when the skulls of young birds, which are hatched from eggs, also arise in a similarly subdivided condition. Many other similar popular instances of final causation in animal structure they similarly explained away. Some of the views put forth by leaders of the movement—as, for example, by Oken—were extremely fantastic,‡ and were connected with the philosophic dreams of Hegel and of Schelling. Other of their views, however, were both significant and fruitful, for they directed special attention to such facts as the presence in some animals of rudimentary structures. Rudimentary structures are minute structures which some animals have (*e.g.*, the wing bones of the New Zealand Apteryx), and which are minia-

* The first edition of the *Règne Animal* did not appear till 1817, but a preliminary work in one volume, entitled “Tableau Élémentaire de l’Histoire Naturelle des Animaux,” appeared in Paris in 1798.

† His first treatise on fossils was his *Memoir on Megalonyx*, published in 1796. From that time he continued to publish memoirs on fossil forms, till in 1811 his classical work, the “*Ossements Fossiles*,” made its appearance.

‡ Thus he represented the teeth as being the fingers and toes of the head.

ture representatives of parts which are of large size and of great use in other animals. Other such significant facts are those of animal development, as when Goethe discovered in the skull of the human foetus a separate bone of the jaw, which is no longer separate even at birth, and which, before his time, was supposed only to exist in lower animals.

Thus fresh interest was lent to a most important study, which may be said to have been initiated by Caspar Friedrich Wolff,* which was further developed by Pander† and Döllinger, and carried to great perfection by Van Baer‡ and Rathke. The study in question was that of animal development—that is, a study of the phases which different animals go through in advancing from the egg to their adult condition. It had of course been long known to all that such animals as the frog and the butterfly undergo great changes during this process, but the study of development revealed to us the strange fact that animals generally, before birth, also undergo great changes, during which each such creature transitorily resembles the permanent condition of other creatures of an inferior grade of organisation.

Philosophical anatomy and the study of development were both highly provocative of research, tending as they did to destroy conceptions on which men's minds had previously reposed, without at the same time substituting any other satisfactory and enduring mental resting-place. They thus prepared the way for that great modern advance—the conception of organic evolution, or the development from time to time of new kinds of animals and plants by ordinary natural processes—a conception the promulgation and general acceptance of which constitutes another great epoch in the cultivation of Natural History.

But as the Linnæan movement was despised by Buffon, so was philosophical anatomy despised by Cuvier. Each of these great naturalists seems to have been so attracted by the brilliance of such faces of the many faceted form of truth as they clearly saw, that they became more or less blinded to other of its faces, in themselves no less brilliant and captivating.

But if philosophical anatomy and the theory of Wolff had to encounter strenuous opposition, still greater was the opposition which met the efforts of those who first asserted organic and specific evolution.

Before the theory of evolution was distinctly enunciated it had had its prophetic precursors, even as far back as the days of Aristotle. In modern times, Buffon, as has been already said, threw out suggestions concerning the transformation of species, and Goethe, Geoffrey St. Hilaire, and Dr. Erasmus Darwin also entertained similar views. But it was not till the beginning of the nineteenth century that the doctrine of evolution was (in modern times) unequivocally put forth. It was

* In 1759 in a dissertation as Doctor, at Halle, he put forward his *Theoria Generationis*, embodying very many new and accurate investigations.

† "*Historia Metamorphoseos*," 1817.

‡ "*Entwickelungs-Geschichte der Thiere*," 1827—1837.

so put forth by Lamarck* in the year 1802. He declared that all existing animals had been derived from antecedent forms according to an innate law of progression, the action of which had been modified by habit, by cross-breeding, and by the influence of climatic and other surrounding conditions. His views were accepted by few, and encountered much ridicule; but the gradual modifications of opinion which were being brought about by philosophical anatomy and the study of development prepared the way for his more happy successors. After a considerable interval he was followed by Alfred Wallace† and Charles Darwin,‡ who attributed the origin of new species to the occurrence and parental transmission to offspring of indefinite minute variations—no two individuals being ever absolutely alike. Such variations they conceived as taking place in all directions, but as being reduced to certain lines by the destructive agencies of Nature acting upon creatures placed in circumstances of severe competition, owing to the tendency of every kind of organism to increase in a geometrical ratio. This destructive action together with its result was termed by these authors "Natural Selection," but the whole process has been more aptly designated by the phrase, "the survival of the fittest."

The doctrine of evolution, however, has been accepted and advocated by other writers, who deny that "Natural Selection" can be the cause of the origin of species. They say that such origin must be due to whatever produces individual variation, and ultimately to inherent capacities in the organisms themselves. Thus Owen§ has declared that "derivation holds that every species changes in time, by virtue of inherent tendencies thereto;" and Theophilus Parsons,|| of Harvard University, in 1860, put forth a similar view. In this country the same theory was independently put forward and advocated at much length in 1870¶ by the author of the present paper. In the work referred to, the objections to "Natural Selection" were fully gone into,** and the theory maintained that external stimuli so act on internal predisposing tendencies as to determine by direct seminal modification the evolution of new specific forms.

We may then conceive the evolution of new specific forms to have been brought about in one or other of the six following ways. The change may have been due:—

- (1.) Entirely to the action of surrounding agencies upon organisms which have merely a passive capacity for being indefinitely

* In his "Resarches on the Organization of the Living Bodies" (1802); in his "Philosophie Zoologique" (1809); and also in the introduction to his "Hist. Nat. des Animaux sans Vertebres" (1815).

† Journal of Linnean Society, vol. iii., July 1st, 1858; and "Natural Selection." Macmillan. 1871.

‡ Journal of Linnean Society, vol. iii., July 1st, 1858; and "The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection." John Murray. 1859.

§ "Anatomy of Vert-brates," vol. iii. Longmans. 1868.

|| American Journal of Science and Art, July, 1860.

¶ "Genesis of Species." Macmillan. 1870.

** See also "Lessons from Nature." J. Murray.

varied in all directions, but which have no positive inherent tendencies to vary, whether definitely or indefinitely.

- (2.) Entirely to innate tendencies in each organism to vary in certain definite directions.
- (3.) Partly to innate tendencies to vary indefinitely in all directions, and partly to limiting tendencies of surrounding conditions, which check variations, save in directions which happen accidentally to be favourable to the organisms which vary.
- (4.) Partly to innate tendencies to vary indefinitely in all directions, and partly to external influences which not only limit but actively stimulate and promote variation.
- (5.) Partly to tendencies inherent in organisms, to vary definitely in certain directions, and partly to external influences acting only by restriction and limitation on variation.
- (6.) Partly to innate tendencies to vary definitely in certain directions, and partly to external influences which, in some respects, act restrictively, and in other respects act as a stimulus to variation.

It is this last hypothesis which appears to have the balance of evidence in its favour.

But whatever view may be accepted as to the *mode* of evolution, a belief in the *fact* of evolution has given an impulse to natural science the effect of which can hardly be over-estimated. By this belief the sciences which relate to life have been all more or less modified, for light has been thrown by it on many curious facts concerning the geographical and geological distribution of animals and plants. The presence of apparently useless structures—such as the wing of the Apteryx (before referred to) or the foetal teeth of whales which never cut the gum—become explicable as the diminished representatives of large and useful structures present in their more or less remote ancestors.

The curious likenesses which underlie superficial differences between animals become also explicable through “evolution.”

That the skeleton of the arm of man, the wing of the bat, the paddle of the whale, and the fore-leg of the horse should each be formed on the same type is thus easily to be understood. The butterfly and the shrimp, different as they are in appearance and mode of life, are yet constructed on one common plan, of which they constitute diverging manifestations. No *à priori* reason is conceivable why such similarities should be necessary, but they are easily explicable if the animals in question are the modified descendants of some ancient common ancestor. We here, then, see an explanation—possibly complete—of the theories of philosophical anatomy. That curious series of metamorphoses which constitutes each animal's development, as recently explained, also receives a new explanation if we may regard such changes as an abbreviated record or history of the actual transformation each animal's

ancestors may have undergone. Finally, by evolution we can understand the singularly complex resemblances borne by every adult animal and plant to a certain number of other animals and plants. It is through these resemblances alone that the received systems of classification of plants and animals have been possible; and such classifications viewed in the light of evolution assume the form of genealogical trees of animal and vegetable descent. We have thus a number of facts and laws of the most varied kind upon which evolution throws a new light, and serves to more or less clearly explain. Evidently, then, with the acceptance of the theory of evolution, the natural history of animals and plants needs to be rewritten from the standpoint thus gained. And though there is no finality in science, yet there is much reason to suppose that a long period will elapse before any new modification of biological science occurs as great as that which has been and is being effected through the theory in question.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

COMMERCIAL DEPRESSION AND RECIPROCITY.

THE commercial distress continues. The suffering it creates is scarcely abated. It began, it may be said, with the American financial crisis in 1873; it then spread, more or less, over the whole world, especially amongst the nations most distinguished by civilisation, by industrial energy, and by commercial ability. It has visited mankind with a depression unequalled for width of range and intensity of suffering and duration. Great populations are bowed down with markets destitute of buyers, with profits diminished or extinguished altogether, with wages ever sinking, labourers thrown out of employment, their families reduced to misery, great factories and mines ceasing to work, merchants and shopkeepers paralysed with losses, the once well-off brought to poverty by failing dividends, impoverishment working its way into well-nigh every household. These are fearful events: still more is a depression, prevailing for so many years in an age marked by unprecedented industrial and commercial power, a phenomenon calculated to excite wonder. By what causes can such a desolation have been brought about? Civilisation never was so strong before, with powerful machinery for the production of wealth. At no preceding time has such a breadth of cultivated land been applied to the support of human life. The instruments for distributing wealth—ships and railroads—were never so abundant. The nations of the world have been welded together into a compact whole, and distant lands been made close neighbours to each other by inventions which a century ago would have filled every mind with astonishment. By what conceivable force has it come to pass, amidst resources so many and so mighty, that impoverishment, destitution, and misery have raised their heads in every region of the globe?

An eager search for the causes which have generated so terrible a calamity has occupied the thoughts of countless minds. The press of

every country has abounded with suggested explanations of the disaster. Parliaments and Chambers of Commerce have eagerly debated the source of so much suffering. All classes of society, the rich and the working men, have ardently discussed the dark problem; every kind of theory has been brought forward for rendering such distress intelligible. Men of the highest ability, statesmen and traders, great employers and leaders of unions, have poured out explanations, and have founded on them the proposal of remedies: nevertheless, it cannot be yet said that a clear understanding of the real nature of the depression and of its originating cause has been reached and generally recognised. A further investigation seems not only allowable but needed.

In the first place, What is the meaning of the expression—commercial depression? Want of buyers, deficiency of buying power, markets unable to take off the goods made and repay their cost of production. Makers and sellers are depressed; they cannot find the indispensable buyers. But why are buyers few and weak? Because there is an immense diminution of the means of purchasing. In what does purchasing power consist? In goods to give in exchange; these are the things with which buying is made. Money, it is true, whether of coin or paper, is the actual instrument of buying and selling; but money is only a tool for exchanging purposes, and must itself be procured by the buyer by a previous sale of his own goods. Every purchase with money implies a previous sale of goods for acquiring the money; hence each such purchase is only half a transaction. The hatter sells his hat for a sovereign, and with that sovereign buys a pair of shoes; the hat has been exchanged for shoes. It was the hat which bought the shoes; and the great truth stands out clear that all power of buying resides ultimately in commodities.

Hence we can answer the question, Why is there commercial depression? Because there are few commodities, few goods to buy with. Thus trade becomes stagnant, mills and factories are paralysed or work on a smaller scale, money markets are agitated, banks and great firms break, from one single cause—goods to buy with are deficient. Those who formerly had produced wealth, and with it procured money wherewith to purchase, no longer possess such wealth: they have no goods, or few, and the markets are struck with palsy, and makers, both masters and labourers, are visited with serious loss or ruin, simply through lack of buyers. This explanation places us at the heart of the commercial depression. Manufacturers and sellers cannot dispose of the commodities they have produced, because the usual purchasers have few or no goods wherewith to buy. The question immediately arises, How came it to pass that the buyers and consumers lost their power of purchasing, have fewer goods to give in exchange? In consequence of a general fact which was itself the result of many possible causes. There has been over-consumption, more has been consumed and destroyed than was made to replace the consumption. Over-consumption did the

mischief. It left a net diminution of the stock of commodities to exchange, and thereby brought consumers and would-be buyers to poverty.

But what is over-consumption? Are not all things, all wealth, consumed? They are; all articles made are consumed and destroyed; some very swiftly, such as food, coals, and the like; others very slowly, such as engines, buildings, ships, and generally all fixed capital. So far, consumption is universal, and over-consumption is a phrase which cannot be used. But here a distinction comes into play, which explains the nature and essence of over-consumption. All consumable things divide themselves into two classes—first, capital; and secondly, luxuries or enjoyments. The test which discriminates between the two is this—capital is consumed and destroyed, but is restored in its integrity, if business is sound, in the wealth produced; luxuries disappear, and leave nothing behind them. The food and clothing of the labourers; the manures bought and laid out on the land, the wear and tear of the ploughs, are all reproduced in the wheat grown. The consumption of the hounds and huntsmen generates nothing but enjoyment. Capital, we know, is the sum total of all the things which are necessary for the production of wealth; and it is clear that if the capital thus destroyed is restored in full in the products realised, the making power of the nation will remain undiminished, its possession of wealth will continue the same, its buying and selling will go on as usual, and no commercial depression will make its appearance. The nation will retain its prosperity; there will be the same quantity of commodities to be exchanged. But now reverse the process. Let a portion of the capital destroyed be not replaced by the products; the necessary consequence will be that with lessened producing power there will be a diminution of the wealth made. The nation will now be poorer; it has less to consume. The cause is at once visible—the capital has been destroyed and restored only in part: this is true over-consumption.

Mere truisms, we shall be told—everybody knows them. Perfectly true; but truisms are the special, the greatest forces of political economy. Much more, yet truisms are everlastingly forgotten; they are the last things which occur to the minds of even able and intelligent men for the explaining of economical phenomena. They are not clever, not subtle enough; they belong too much to everybody; but, by being passed over, they leave facts and their causes unexplained.

And now let us cast our eyes around us, and try whether we can discover over-consumption enough to account for the magnitude and severity of the commercial depression. But before doing this, it is desirable to make a few remarks on some explanations which have been largely insisted on as revealing the origin of the suffering. The most popular is over-production: too many goods, it is said, have been made. The demand, the natural demand, of the markets has been exceeded; unsaleableness and loss are the inevitable consequences. It is true that there has been over-production, and it is perhaps still slightly going on;

but it was the second, not the first stage of the malady. Speculative over-production is a very common occurrence. The wealth of a particular market is over-estimated; adventurers push forward, the market becomes glutted, and loss ensues. But such over-production does not last long; it speedily corrects itself, and speculation of this kind never is found existing in all markets at the same time. Now the leading feature of the depression is its universality; it shows itself in almost all countries simultaneously; and this is decisive against over-production being its origin. General over-production is impossible till the millennium arrives, when every man shall have wealth and enjoyment, shall be rich, to the utmost extent of his desires, and no one will be willing to work in order to obtain more.

Many of the working classes have laid the blame of the suffering on the misconduct of manufacturers who have adulterated their goods and driven off consumers from buying them. But this explanation is a complete mistake. The unworthy, the insane behaviour of such misdoers cannot be too severely reprobated; but it would not create a universal depression. English calicoes, unsaleable in China, could not create stagnation of trade in America, in France, and in Germany; on the contrary, it would tend to impart increased activity to rivals who now could compete with especial credit against British makers in foreign lands.

Another explanation of the commercial distress has recently come forward in some quarters; and much stress has been laid upon it by Lord Beaconsfield, in a speech in the House of Lords, on the depression of agriculture. "Gold," it is alleged, "is every day appreciating in value, and as it appreciates in value the lower become prices." The mines of the world furnish diminishing supplies of the metal in which prices are estimated; it is becoming scarcer, whilst the wants for coin, as trade develops itself in new countries, are continually increasing. The metal is scarcer and in greater demand; its value rises, and consequently less of it, as price, is given for commodities. Traders encounter lowering prices, and are plunged into losses.

Such is the theory; but, even if the facts on which it is founded were established it would furnish no real explanation of a commercial depression so protracted. Gold, it is affirmed, is appreciated; but what is the proof of the truth of this assertion? There are very few facts harder to prove or disprove than an increase or decrease of the value of gold compared with that of other commodities. The process for discovering the existence and the magnitude of such a fact is most difficult. To show that the mines have poured smaller quantities of the metal into the world by itself alone is no proof at all that its value has mounted up; the actual existence of that rise of value must be demonstrated; and a change in the supply affords no such proof. The effect of the lessened production must be distinctly shown; and how is this to be done? Gold, in a country where it is the standard, measures every value of every

commodity, for all have their prices given in gold. A change in the value of gold affects every price; and that there has been such a general change of prices must be shown by every price being equally altered. But a fatal difficulty besets this calculation. The price of every article can vary in two ways. In exchanging it for gold, the value of the gold, on the one side, may have changed, and less or more of it will be given for the commodity. But at the very same time, on the other side, the value of the commodity also may have altered, from causes connected with its production; and so two forces may be telling upon it at the same moment, and they may be acting in opposite directions. The changed value of the metal may be lowering the price, whilst the new circumstances of the article sold may be sending it up. Thus the investigator encounters conflicting phenomena leading to opposite conclusions, whilst the validity of his proof, that there has been appreciation or depreciation, depends absolutely on his establishing that all prices have alike been affected by the change in the value of gold. To arrive at a conclusion that is trustworthy, he must deal with the contradictory evidence given by the articles whose prices have moved in what he considers the wrong direction. He must look into their history, and point out the forces which in each case have been more than a match for the altered value of gold. In these investigations, such articles are always numerous—and vast, complicated, and of uncertain issue is the task to attain a result which can be depended upon as true. It was largely and confidently held that the new discoveries of Californian and Australian gold had created a great depreciation of gold. I am compelled to confess that in presence of counter-movements of price in so many important articles of general consumption, I have never been able to feel that that proposition had been made good.

The variation, then, in the supply of the metal is in nowise sufficient evidence of a corresponding change of prices, especially in a case like that before us; when, as another writer has pointed out in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 2, 1879, "the average annual production of gold in all quarters has been very little less than it was twenty years ago. For the seven years, 1872—1878, there was a diminution of 8 per cent.; not a decrease likely to produce such a fall of 50 to 80 per cent. in general prices as we see around us." Then there arises the critical question—Have no forces come into play to counteract the tendency of a diminished supply to cause appreciation? "Fifty-nine millions of gold were added to the banking reserves, which are specifically a support and stimulus to credit and trade." Other machinery also has been brought to combat the hypothetical increased value of the gold; other contrivances to perform the same work, so as to render nugatory the reduced supply. "In the United Kingdom there are several more bank offices now than in 1872. In the leading Continental countries the increase of such facilities has been far greater; and the same is true of all North, and of a large part of South America." A Parliamentary Committee, even

under the authority of the Prime Minister, would have but scanty materials for establishing the fact of an appreciation of gold.

But a far stronger reason can be given for disconnecting a variation in the value of gold from the creation of the commercial depression which has so long prevailed. Granted, let us say, that there is appreciation—that gold is worth more of all other commodities—that all prices have dropped, because a smaller quantity of gold has the same power in exchanging that the larger previously possessed. What possible effect can such an event produce in engendering a long-continued commercial depression? The appreciation attacks all prices alike; all articles of every kind now sell for less, save where circumstances incident to the article itself battle against the fall of nominal value. All commodities, everything for sale, stand in identically the same position towards each other. The seller of tea, with less money received, can buy as much bread or clothing as before, for they too stand at a lower price. A universal reduction of all prices has no importance. A sovereign does its work with precisely the same efficiency, whether it is worth ten shillings or thirty. The change of prices creates no poverty; there is the same quantity of wealth in the country as before, save only in respect of the use of gold in the arts. Gold ornaments become dearer in the future; that is all. Commercial depression, we have seen, means diminished power of buying; who can buy one particle the less, because all prices have gone up or down? If a man sells at a smaller figure, he also buys at the same reduction. Trade can be, will be, so far, as brisk as ever, the artistic employment of gold excepted. Coin is only a tool. It brings no riches to a nation; no buying power. The great service it renders to men is to get over the difficulties of real barter. If appreciation or depreciation of gold drove society to barter, then the evil would be enormous; but a change of value acts only on the manner of using the tool of exchange. A greater or less weight of metal has to be employed, and there ends the matter. What conceivable depression of trade is found in altering the weight of a tool, however universal it be?

Nevertheless, a change in the value of the currency, especially if it is sudden and large, always produces very grievous havoc, but not commercial depression. It creates thorough disturbance in the relations which debtors and creditors bear to each other. It benefits one class, and equally injures the other. The debtor who is pledged to pay a certain number of sovereigns, if there has been appreciation, is compelled to purchase those sovereigns with a larger quantity of his wealth: he loses. On the other hand, his creditor is now able to purchase more goods with the same coin: what the debtor loses he wins. Thus great disorder arises, much suffering and unexpected gain. The National Debt then comes forward with great power. The taxpayers, who have to supply twenty-eight millions of sovereigns, or their worth, every year, are compelled to give more of their wealth to procure the means of paying their taxes;

and their numbers render the accruing mischief very serious. Still, the point to be insisted on here is that no permanent commercial depression can spring from this source. There is no diminution of the national wealth, no weakened power of buying in the aggregate. The means of one set of persons are reduced; those of another are proportionally enlarged. No explanation of a long commercial depression can be derived from an altered value in the currency.

Let us now endeavour to trace out that over-consumption which is the true parent of the sufferings of the world. First of all, great famines have fallen on important nations. China and India have been plunged into misery too fearful almost to relate. England too has been visited with calamities of the same order. Six bad harvests in ten years count for much indeed of the acknowledged depression of the agricultural business. And what generates over-consumption comparably with a famine? The expenses of cultivation have been incurred; labourers have been fed and clothed; their families have been supported; horses have consumed hay and corn; ploughs, carts, and other machinery have been bought, and their wear and tear incurred; manures, coals, and other materials have been used up; the consumption has been vast. But when harvest-time came, if an ordinary season had met the rejoicing farmers, the gathered crops would have restored everything which had been consumed as capital, besides bestowing profits on the occupiers of the land. The stock wherewith to continue the production of wealth would have been restored undiminished, and a surplus, for enjoyment or for saving, would have gladdened the sons of labour. But what occurred in actual fact? The weather interfered, and no crop was won. The consumption of the tillage had been incurred, but it was unreplaced by fresh products. Capital was destroyed and lost; and if ruin did not overtake the cultivators, a second consumption of capital was necessary for one crop. Can it be a matter for wonder if such countries became poor—if their powers of buying, of exchanging, were shattered? India and China are grand customers of England, and the throb of agony propagated itself across the ocean to this little island. Lancashire and Yorkshire felt the weight of the blow: their people had to learn the fearful lesson, that they lived by receiving in return for giving, and that where there was nothing offered there could be nothing sold.

France, too, suffered agricultural disasters. Her beetroot and silk crops failed a few years ago, and the ravages of the phylloxera destroyed the capital which had been expended on the cultivation of her vines. The value of the wealth which thus perished has been estimated at many millions of pounds sterling—a large contribution to the creation of depression.

War, too, has exercised its peculiar function with great vigour in the causation of commercial distress and its attendant misery among great populations. War, economically, is pure waste; it does nothing but destroy. It calls away vast bodies of men from productive labour; it

feeds, clothes, and maintains them, whilst they produce nothing to restore the consumption; it uses up immense supplies of wealth in military stores which are rapidly destroyed; it disturbs and arrests industry where its armies pass, stopping the traffic of railways and roads and other necessary instruments of industrial energy. Who can measure the waste inflicted on France by the Franco-German war of 1870, or the consumption of German wealth? Huge armaments now spread over many countries keep up the irrational and destructive waste, harassing people with severe taxation, which is paid with the wealth they produce and is consumed upon economical idlers who make no return for what they devour. Can any one feel surprised if trade languishes, and suffering weighs down great industries, when soldiers are extinguishing the wealth wherewith to buy?

America, too, writes a page in the melancholy history, and it is one which is singularly full of instruction. America opened the decennial period which occupies this discussion with a kind of over-consumption which not only annihilated the wealth on which it fell, but further engendered sources of additional distress which swept in ever-widening undulations over the most distant lands. She created a most reckless and unjustifiable excess of fixed capital, without giving the slightest thought to the nature of the process she was practising, to its conditions and its consequences. She built innumerable railways, for the most part in wild regions where no trade or population as yet existed which called for such outlay and could restore the destroyed wealth by development of commerce.

It is of the highest importance to understand the conditions on which fixed capital is created. Unlike famines, it is an act of the human will: man sets up fixed capital at his own pleasure; he is responsible for its effects. Of all the causes which have generated the commercial distress, which is so wide and so enduring, fixed capital probably, in its various stages, and they are many, has exercised the strongest influence. Fixed capital consists of instruments required for production which do not replace all their cost at once, but only a portion of it each succeeding year. Thus a merchant-ship is fixed capital. It is supposed to generate a profit every voyage, a small part of which is assigned to the repayment of the outlay spent on building the vessel. It will require annual repairs for wear and tear; these are debited to the cost of working the ship. In the course of a certain period of time all the original cost is repaid, the ship is worn out, and a new one is built. There will be a surplus advantage if after repayment of the cost of construction the ship is still efficient, and goes on working. It is now a tool that costs nothing.

It is clear from this analysis that there is over-consumption in the construction of all fixed capital. For a time, more or less long, more wealth has been consumed than is made; the difference is a diminution of means. The machine made, no doubt, restores that diminution, but

only gradually. The maintenance of the workers who built the ship is gone ; except the portions successively restored, this is clearly a loss of wealth. Bread and meat have been eaten, and there is nothing wherewith to buy more. But there are two very distinct kinds of over-consumption : one impoverishes, the other does not. Both use up wealth, and it disappears ; but one kind destroys wealth which can be spared ; the other lessens the stock of productive capital. Over-consumption, which lessens capital, generates poverty ; that which uses up savings does no harm. The employer and the workmen may dispose of their profits and wages in any way they choose, without injury to the public wealth. The capital is restored by the results of the business—the share of the things made accruing to each man lies, economically, at his absolute disposal. He can devote them to necessities or to luxuries, or he may throw them into the sea ; no harm to wealth thence arises. He remains where he was ; not richer, but not poorer. Or he may save a part of this share of products which belongs to him ; that is, he may convert them into capital by applying them as instruments for increasing industry. No impoverishment ensues ; for they were his to fling away, if he chose. On the contrary, he enriches himself and his country. He has made the means of producing wealth larger ; he has increased future wages and profits for himself and others ; and he has done this with income which trade had given him to consume in any way whatever.

We are now in a position to perceive the magnitude of the blunder of which the American people were guilty in constructing this most mischievous quantity of fixed capital in the form of railways. They acted precisely like a landowner who had an estate of £10,000 a year, and spent £20,000 on drainage. It could not be made out of savings, for they did not exist ; and at the end of the very first year he must sell a portion of the estate to pay for the cost of his draining. In other words, his capital, his estate, his means of making income whereon to live, was reduced. The drainage was an excellent operation, but for him it was ruinous. So was it with America. Few things, in the long run, enrich a nation like railways ; but so gigantic an over-consumption, not out of savings but out of capital, brought her poverty, commercial depression, and much misery. The new railways have been reckoned at some 30,000 miles, at an estimated cost of £10,000 a mile ; they destroyed 300 millions of pounds' worth, not of money, but of corn, clothing, coals, iron, and other substances. The connection between such over-consumption and commercial depression is only too visibly here that of father and son.

But the disastrous consequences were far from ending here. The over-consumption did not content itself with destroying the wealth used up in making the railways and the materials of which they were composed. It sent other waves of destruction rolling over the land. The demand for coal, iron, engines, and materials kindled prodigious excitement in the factories and the shops ; labourers were called for on every

side; wages rose rapidly; profits shared the upward movement; luxurious spending overflowed; prices advanced all round; the recklessness of a prosperous time bubbled over, and this subsidiary over-consumption immensely enlarged the waste of the national capital set in motion by the expenditure on the railways themselves. Onward still pressed the gale; foreign nations were carried away by its force. They poured their goods into America—so overpowering was the attraction of high prices. They supplied materials for the railways, and luxuries for their constructors. Their own prices rose in turn, their business burst into unwonted activity, profits and wages were enlarged, and the vicious cycle repeated itself in many countries of Europe. Over-consumption advanced with greater strides; the tide of prosperity rose ever higher, and the destruction of wealth marched at greater speed.

England took a prominent share in the excited game. In no slight degree is she answerable for the American rush into railway construction. It was carried out by means of bonds, and England bought largely of those bonds. It has been asserted that she purchased these bonds to the incredible extent of 150 millions sterling. But with what did she pay them? With iron rails, locomotives, and other products of her industry. And what did she get in return? Pieces of paper, debts. Her wealth was diminished, and she paid, in addition, the same penalty as the Americans. Her manufacturers were stimulated by this artificial activity of trade to exaggerated production. Higher wages and profits were distributed over the nation, and an immense impulse was given to luxurious and needless consumption. The approach of the avenging depression was accelerated, it might seem, almost intentionally.

But these American operations did not satisfy English ardour. The passion for lending raged with great vehemence. England showered her loans over many regions of the globe; loans, be it repeated, always made in goods, in commodities produced at great cost, and lost to England in exchange for acknowledgments of debt. England lent ironclads to Turkey, military resources to Bosnia, articles for wasteful consumption to Egypt, innumerable gratifications to American Republics. Her colonies carried off rails and locomotive stores and clothing for their advancing populations—and no better application of wealth could have been made. Future customers for English trade were thus provided, men who would enlarge English industry with ever-expanding demands for its products, demands expressed in corn and wool sent across the ocean to pay with. Nevertheless, the fact remained always the same—England stripped herself of her wealth in exchange for nothing. And it made no difference for the time whether the loan was granted to a solvent or to an insolvent borrower, whatever might be the result later; whether interest was ever remitted or not, in all cases alike England was emptied, and paper documents substituted into the vacuum, whatever might be subsequently their value.

Germany was caught by the same whirl of over-consumption.

Soldiering and war did their wasteful work : nor has the former stopped its devastations. A more severe depression fell on Germany than on any other country, except perhaps America. A harassed Minister is proposing to obtain resources for the support of countless legions of armed soldiers by increasing the over-consumption of wealth by augmented duties at double cost—the cost of the articles consumed, and the extra cost of compelling them to be provided at home. Then a very unlooked-for surprise added largely to her woes. The gold of the French indemnity, which was expected to be her salvation, proved, to the astonishment of the Germans, to be a great aggravation of their sufferings. What could that gold do for Germany, so long as it remained in the country, except place German property in different hands? There was already gold enough in Germany to perform that service. Germany obtained thereby no increase of useful wealth. However, it did execute its function of transferring property to new possessors, and with painfully mischievous energy. First of all, by its help, the Government betook themselves to building fortresses, purchasing military stores, and bringing up the army to the highest standard of efficiency. Did the fortresses and the guns restore the food and materials consumed in their construction? Guns and fortresses were excellent machines for making the national wealth disappear; they could do nothing to repair the terrible waste of the war. Further, much of the idle gold was lent to speculative traders who reckoned on an active demand from now prosperous Germany. They enlarged their factories and increased the stock of goods. Much gold had been paid to individuals in payment of Government debts; these men came forward as buyers; and the eternal tale was repeated—raised prices, increased wages, abundant profits, active consumption of every kind of wealth. Then followed the natural consequence, so touchingly described by the *Neue Stettiner Zeitung*, as quoted in the *Times*: “Five long years of unexampled depression are the bitter penalty we have had to pay for one intoxicating year of joy.”

Over-consumption worked its will on unhappy France; but the blunder was not commercial. Armaments and war impoverished France as they did Germany, but with the severe additional aggravation that the war was carried on within her territory. German industry lay undisturbed, if excited; French trade, besides what the war itself cost, was harassed with interruption and loss at every point. Labourers were hurried away from their fields, manufacturing towns fell into the hands of the enemy, and their works impeded; railways were filled with carriages conveying soldiers, and trucks containing military stores; commercial lines of communication were broken; French harbours blocked against French ships; with many other like disasters. The over-consuming force was immense; but it encountered a resistance that was heroic. After the deeds of violence ceased and a gigantic indemnity had been paid, the French people, with instinctive genius, applied, with most painful effort, the one remedy which political

economy pointed out for the cure. Without knowing political economy they practised what it prescribed. They could do this, because political economy is common sense. France saved. She under-consumed for enjoyment; the surplus she gave away to the augmented taxation, which then cost her nothing. Thus France has come forth from the commercial depression with a freshness and strength which have called forth the astonishment and the admiration of the world.

Such was the over-consumption which prevailed over the greater part of the human race. It destroyed more than it re-made; it diminished wealth rapidly, but it was accompanied by increased activity of trade, by great commercial prosperity. The co-existence of these two facts, apparently so contradictory, was rendered possible by the process of attacking the wealth which still survived, and filling up the gaps, caused by the consumption, by fresh extra consumption. Had mankind been resolved to carry out the process to its last end, the whole wealth of the world would have been destroyed in some three years amidst universal enjoyment; and the great populations would have died out like locusts. All would have been devoured.

This over-consumption, which was the first stage, with its accompanying commercial inflation, generated the second stage in the history of the great depression—over-production. The excited demand for goods to consume—paid for by fresh sacrifices of the still existing capital—raised prices, wages, and profits to an unprecedented height: it seemed to be unlimited. Thus additional machinery for production started up upon every side; new mines were opened, new factories built, new steam engines set to work, new railways opened, multitudes of new labourers called away from the fields to man new mills. "Since 1871-72," justly remarks the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "we have passed through a complete revolution in our iron and coal industries. The number of blast-furnaces for the production of pig-iron increased in 1873-74 from 876 to 959." Then mark the extent of the over-production as shown by the stoppage of work when the excited buying had disappeared, and trade had to deal only with ordinary demands. "There were in 1878 only 454, or about half, at work. Between 1871 and 1873 the number of collieries at work in the United Kingdom advanced from 3100 to 3627, and at the end of 1875 had still further advanced to 4501. In the three years, 1875, 1876, 1877, no fewer than 270 of these collieries failed; and in 1877-1878 the collapse was still more rapid. In the four years, 1871 to 1875, the number of persons engaged in coal-mines rose from 351,000 to 537,000—an extension of employment rapid and violent, almost beyond example; and since 1875, and at present, we are struggling to restore the wholesome equilibrium which we lost eight years ago." That struggle has been vehemently resisted by the working classes. They refused to acknowledge the fact that the machinery for producing was vastly in excess of the power of buying, and that the sale of the products could no longer yield the same remuneration to labour.

They betook themselves to war. Mr. Bevan in the *Times* tells us that there were last year no fewer than 277 strikes in Great Britain against 181 in 1877; but how many of these distressing battles were victorious? Four only. In 17 the operatives obtained a compromise; in 256 the strikers were defeated. What can show more clearly how idle it is to fight with words and arbitrary ideas against the stern realities of the nature and facts of trade?

And now what are the remedies by whose help we may hope to lessen and ultimately to put an end to the painful sufferings inflicted by this unprecedented commercial depression? One in particular is advocated with great warmth by the leaders of the working classes. Work short time, they cry; produce less. The fact they take their stand on is true. Even up to this very day there is more produced than can be sold, except at such a loss as would lead to the closing of the workshops. The advocates of short time acknowledge this fact. They admit that the business can no longer yield them the same weekly wage. They consent to a reduction of wages: but they demand that it shall take the form of their working for five days a week only instead of six, and of their receiving less money at the week's end, but at the same rate of wage per day as they had been earning heretofore. They will thus fight the evil, they say, from which the depression in trade has come—over-production. Buyers will be found for the smaller quantity of goods produced: they will receive lower wages, but they will have given less work: they will maintain the standard of the daily wage unchanged, and when better times come they will recover their old position. But this language does not state, in full completeness, the problem calling for consideration, and it tacitly makes an assumption which is positively untrue. It is assumed that the cost of the production of the goods now made in five days will be the same as when the mill worked six. The idea is that the working, the wage, the goods, their price, of one day a week shall be given up: what happened in the five days will go on unchanged as before. This is a complete and very grave mistake. The goods now made in five days will cost more to make, will be dearer to the employer than when they were produced in a mill working one day more. An employer has many more charges to encounter than wages and cost of materials: interest on his own and borrowed capital, rent of buildings, expenses of superintendence and office-work, the pumping out of the water in the mine by an engine which never stops, and other items of the same kind. These expenses now fall on the goods of five days only instead of six: they swell the cost of their production, and then what is the necessary consequence? Their price must be raised, or the loss on the business, already unendurable, will become still heavier. The selling price must necessarily be raised if the business is to continue: and what will be the effect of such a demand? The number of buyers will assuredly be lessened: some more will drop away from the market: again over-production re-

appears : a further shortening of time to four days forces itself on discussion ; and the same circle of baffled proposing is repeated. And is the foreign rival to be forgotten ? He will be delighted with these raised prices ; he will not merely threaten, as he does now—he will smite. In these latter days he has in many places been advancing with long strides. We have been told of many large contracts which have been sent to foreign countries for execution because English workmen have distinctly rejected a moderate reduction of wages, which would have brought them work and wages and repelled foreign competition. Let short time send up prices all round, and the invasion of England by foreign goods will be at hand. There is no cure here ; but there is something of a very different kind. There is punishment for those who should practise such folly. If the principle is sound, it applies to all trades ; and if all which are distressed take to this kind of short time, then those who buy of them—and none are so numerous as the working classes—will find that prices are higher in the shops, and that they must pay more for what they consume. They will lose immensely more than a day's wages in the week. Well was it said of their counsellors—that they were advising the workmen to commit suicide.

In truth, this policy betrays a profound ignorance of the fact that commercial depression means deficiency of buyers, and this in turn means less to buy with, fewer goods to exchange. To make that little still less would be simply ruinous. The true course to pursue to bring this suffering to an end is to produce more, to divide, amongst all, as many products of industry as is possible. Of course industry cannot continue at a permanent loss : more goods will not be made than can be sold ; but to make as many as possible that can be sold, that will be exchanged, is the only way to enrich masters, workmen, and the whole people together. To accomplish this great result in the presence of disturbing forces all must make sacrifices. Employers must be content with diminished profits and workmen with reduced wages ; then, starting from that point, wealth will increase gradually, as capital is increased by saving, and more commodities come up for division. The sunshine will then not be far off.

The proposal of a second remedy—one stranger yet, more hopelessly indefensible than that we have just discussed—is now surging up in many quarters in England. Let there be Reciprocity—Reciprocity will heal England's woes. It is impossible to escape feeling a blush of shame that in the England we now live in, with her trade of to-day compared with that of thirty years ago, such a cry should come from the lips of eminent and able men. What is become of their common sense ? How have they become infatuated ? Not one single argument has been brought forward in support of Reciprocity which deserves an answer on its merits, which is anything but a mere shadow. Even its advocates virtually confess that it is indefensible—for, from very shame, they disdain all idea of supporting Protection when they insist on Reciprocity. Yet what

is Reciprocity? Simply and nakedly—a demand for Protection. Foreign nations protect their manufacturers, England must protect hers. Foreign countries decree that English goods shall appear in their markets on dearer and inferior terms than the native; let foreign goods be so handicapped that they shall be sold scantily and with difficulty in England; or, better still, not at all. These commercial doctors repel the reputation of being called Protectionists, for they know that Protection is irrational, and refuse to have such a word associated with their names. So they have invented another. It has a different sound; yet Reciprocity is only Protection with an apology. Expel the Protective element from their advice, and they would instantly commit it to the waste-basket.

Let us then proceed to the root of the matter—Protection. What is Protection? Oh! at once exclaim the Reciprocity men, don't ask that question of economists; they are not practical. What know they of business, its ways and its laws? the industrial loss of great nations is not to be put under the feet of theorists and their jargon. Speak to the great manufacturer, the mighty merchant, the omnipotent banker—they know. Be it so, let it be replied. Let the appeal be made to common sense, the common sense of the man who never looks into a book, to the sagacity of an A. T. Stewart, the intuition of an Arkwright. Let common sense decide, and common sense alone; let both sides be sternly forbidden to bring in theory and doctrine; the practical man will sorely need such a prohibition. And be it also remembered that common sense is the essence, the very core and substance of Political Economy, the sole authority for what it utters, the one single instrument by which it reaches the knowledge which guides the conduct of every sensible trader and manufacturer. Political Economy is not afraid of common sense; it would be nothing, not worth notice, without such a foundation for its teaching.

It is natural that in a season of great commercial suffering the man who finds that the goods which he has produced at great cost cannot be sold because a foreign competitor has better and cheaper goods of the same kind in the market, should cry in the bitterness of his heart—What right has such a stranger to be here? Is he to be permitted to take the bread out of the mouths of Englishmen of the highest merit, much risking, hard working, employers and labourers? More natural yet if the Government of that foreigner shuts the doors of the markets of his nation to English goods; is not that an act of war, to be met with retaliation? Quite natural again that a Bismarek, hard up for money wherewith to pay his soldiers, and to provide them with guns and powder, should think heavy duties laid on foreign merchandise a capital contrivance for filling the German Exchequer. Why should he trouble himself with the thought that he thereby inflicts on every German the loss of more money than if he had proceeded by direct taxation? Direct taxation is a method hard to practise, very apt

to create unpleasantness, very visible to the payer, and very quick at stirring his heart. Pooh, pooh, for Political Economy; let it talk to the winds, they are its fit audience.

All this is very natural; but is it the language of common sense? That is the question. Protection finds that certain goods which alone are bought, or in predominating quantities, in the English markets are of foreign make. It finds further that the English factories must be reduced or given up altogether. It then declares that this is wrong, that it cannot be suffered that English industries should be annihilated by foreign competitors, and then it imposes a tax on the foreign articles on their entrance into England, whereby they are made dearer than the English, and so the English ones are bought by the English people. The crucial question at once arises: Why should the question ever arise in buying and selling—where were the goods made? This question must be directly and categorically answered; the answer must be distinctly given without evasion. Common sense absolutely declares that it can find no reason for such a question. Common sense affirms that to make the place of their production, their nationality, a consideration affecting their sale in the market is a theory—nothing less, a doctrine brought from without, a principle utterly unconnected with trade. Some authority, derived from common sense, Protection must assign for this regard for the nationality of the articles bought, or it is out of court. As a naked assertion it merits no notice from any one.

And what is the counter view of Free Trade? It says that every buyer, from the very nature itself of trade, of exchanging, possesses a perfect liberty, is entirely free to buy any goods he chooses in the market, and upon any terms he chooses; if the liberty is interfered with it asserts that this interference cannot and does not come from the nature of trade, but from considerations derived from a thoroughly distinct source. It affirms that a buyer has nothing else to consider in purchasing but the quality and the price of the goods before him, and is free to make his choice without external restraint. Trade it declares to be nothing else whatever but an exchange of goods of equal value: that is its only function. It may be that considerations derived from morals, politics, as in war, or other independent source, may call upon the State to interfere with its course; and trade cannot say No to such control. But it does call for such a reason: and so, again, it asks of Protection, What right have you on grounds of trade—and that is the only one you profess to stand upon—to interfere with my trading liberty out of regard to the place where the goods are made? You must answer that in terms. But this is what Protection has never done.

But it might appeal to Humanity. Would Free Trade wish to see so many worthy fellow-countrymen brought to starvation? On this point the answer is twofold. There is first the case when the industry has never been yet set up. Upon that Free Trade speaks clearly and decidedly. The rule of conduct is that on which households have been

worked since the world began—the women to do the needle-work, the men to lift the weights. By that method there is more good service done and more weights carried than by any other: greater results in return for the food and wages. So it is with nations. Let each produce those goods for which it has the greatest aptitude: the goods made will be more and better, and—which lies in the essence of all trading—there will be the same employment for the populations with greater results. If silks can be more cheaply produced in France, even with only equal quality, England would be as great a fool to manufacture silks as to make clarets. Let France make the silks, and that part of the English people which would have made silks will now manufacture those English goods with which the silks will be bought. Thus more silks and more cotton cloth will be made in the two countries taken together, and equal employment, and subsequently more, provided for each country. If the Frenchmen sell silk to England, they must buy an equal amount of cotton or other goods: for England cannot buy unless she sells to an equal value. I may be allowed to quote a passage written elsewhere:—

“The truth stands out in clear sunshine. Free Trade cannot and does not injure domestic industry. Under Free Trade foreign countries give in every case as much employment to English workmen and capitalists as if nothing had been bought abroad. English goods of the same value must be purchased by the foreigner, or the trade comes to an end. There must be an equal amount of English goods made and sent away, or England will never obtain the foreign commodities. Free Trade never does harm to the country which practises it, and that mighty fact alone kills Protection. Let those who are backsliding into Protection be asked for a categorical answer to this question:—Can and will the foreigner give away his goods without insisting on receiving back, directly or indirectly, an equal quantity of that country's goods? Let the question be pushed home—and all talk about injury to domestic industry must cease.”—*Chapters on Practical Political Economy*, p. 307.

But many deny that trade is always an exchange of goods of equal value, and they appeal, as proving the truth of their denial, to the immense excess often exhibited of imports into England over her exports. Want of space forbids a detailed examination of this assertion here; but a few remarks will suffice to show its inaccuracy. Those who take their stand on the wide discrepancy between imports and exports, as being a phenomenon of pure trade, must hold that the difference in value is made up by a remittance of money; they cannot suppose that foreign countries make a present to England of the excess of commodities imported into her harbours. But they fail to perceive that this remittance of money conclusively proves the truth they attack. It establishes equilibrium: large imports are balanced by small exports plus money. Only that England should send a perpetual stream of money away, ever flowing, never ceasing, is an inconceivable absurdity; and where could she get that money from, that gold, but from foreigners buying her goods? The excess of imports into England is very easily

explained upon a different principle. Those imports in excess are not trade at all; they are payments of debts, nothing else. Immense sums are annually due to England for interest on loans lent to foreign nations and colonies, and for profits accruing on huge investments abroad, whether in foreign securities or agriculture or commerce. These are not exchanges of goods for goods, of buying and selling, but goods sent to pay debts due to England. Reciprocity can derive no help from this inequality between imports and exports to support its cause.

Here common sense now puts the critical inquiry—Who pays the Protection duty imposed on the foreign goods, or else the increased price for the English-made articles realised by the aid of the duty? The English buyers—Protection is compelled to answer—the English consumers. So then, continues common sense, the action of Protection is simply to impose a tax on the people of England for the support of a certain number of persons who otherwise could not obtain a livelihood from the business they are carrying on. This is a Poor Rate, pure and simple.

There remains the second case—when an industry has been developed under Protection, and would come to an end under Free Trade. This is a practical problem to be left to the statesman. That business ought not to be maintained by Protection: it has no right to tax the country permanently for its support. The transition period will be painful—it is for the statesman to deal with it. Only one remark may be added. Not a few trades have been expected to be cleared away when the prop of Protection has been removed, and yet have sustained themselves manfully in the free air of heaven. The silk trade of England is an instance of this kind.

A few words will suffice on Reciprocity, for it is a distinct proposal to impose Protection. But this proposal has an absurdity which is peculiarly its own. Reciprocity is demanded as a counterblow to Protection practised against England by foreign countries. France, it is said, adopts Protection against England, let England retort with enacting Protection against France. But, ludicrously enough, Protection is not said by the advocates of Reciprocity to be a wise policy: on the contrary, it is virtually admitted that it is not capable of defence. Thus, under the pleasant sound of a pretty word, the cry becomes—Let us do ourselves harm, because it will harm the Frenchmen also. Let a tax be laid upon the people of England, because it will do harm to French trade; and this imposition of a tax on the English people, this diminution of English trade with France, are gravely proposed as correctives for a commercial depression, for a distressing stagnation of trade. Wonderful, indeed, is such an idea. To demand Protection on the ground that it is a policy good in itself, and capable of being defended, is a reasonable issue, meriting discussion; but to recommend that a bad thing should be done, because it would be bad also for our competitors, is a policy hard indeed

to characterise. To do ourselves good is not pretended: harm for harm, blow for blow, to our own additional hurt, is all that is thought of.

But, in truth, there is a capital blunder involved in the cry for Reciprocity, of which those who utter it do not seem to be conscious. They confound into one two acts which have no connection whatever with each other. England repealed the protective duty on French silks; she thereby relieved herself of a tax, and created more wealth and a larger trade. France protects her cotton factories against the English, thereby bringing two losses on herself—a diminution of trade, and the still severer one of supporting a portion of her population at the expense of the whole French people. Therefore, Reciprocity exclaims—Since France refuses to buy our cottons we will not buy her silks. But what connection have cottons with silks? None. The question who should make silks for England was settled by England on its own merits. It was clearly the true policy for England to buy cheap and not dear silks. So ends that matter; England pursued the rational course. What France does in the matter of cottons does not touch the English decision about silks in any way. England suffers a diminution of trade by the lack of intelligence of the French on silks, and that is all. Why should she injure herself by silks because the French injure her by cottons? Reciprocity has for its sole intelligible principle: Let us do some harm to the French. Perhaps a less costly method of hurting her might be found than by altering our excellent regulations about the supply of silks for our wants.

A few words in conclusion. What means must be adopted for bringing the commercial depression to an end? Reverse the practice which caused it. Over-consume no longer, but increase the production of wealth by every possible effort. You will not, of course, produce goods whose cost of production no buyers can be found to repay; but attract buyers by making that cost as small as you can. If this practice is carried out along the whole line of manufacturing, the means of buying will be enlarged; and more buying and a return of prosperity will be accomplished. Let capitalists and labourers join in a hearty determination to make every exertion to produce largely and cheaply. And let them save. Let luxurious consumption, excessive drinking, and all other waste be put aside; and let capital be vigorously accumulated. And let not the dangers of foreign competition be forgotten by a nation whose greatness—nay, the existence of a large part of her population—depend on her being able to sell her products over the breadth of the whole earth. Finally, let the manufacturers and workmen listen to the questions put to them by Mr. C. O. Shepard, United States Consul at Bradford, in his admirable Report to the Assistant-Secretary of State at Washington:—

“1. Can and will England's artisans live as cheaply as their competitors? 2. Will they accept the same wages? 3. Will they give more labour for the wages? 4. Will all classes live within their means? 5. Will young people be

content to commence life where their fathers began instead of where they left off ? 6. Will English manufacturers keep pace with the wants and advancement of the age ? 7. Will they encourage and adopt new scientific and labour-saving improvements ? 8. Will they stimulate, foster, and disseminate both general and technical education ?

More solemn, more all-important words were never addressed to any people. "Should a negative answer be returned to these queries, the three consequences which must quickly and inevitably follow," are told by Mr. Shepard. "Further dejection in business, as compared with which the present will seem but moderate depression. Greatly increased suffering and destitution. An emigration such, perhaps, as has never been known."*

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* Some valuable suggestions of remedies in detail will be found in the able Paper on the Depression of Trade, read by David Chadwick, Esq., M.P., at the Social Science Congress at Cheltenham, October, 1878.

MR. BROWNING'S DRAMATIC IDYLLS.

Dramatic Idylls. By ROBERT BROWNING.
London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1879.

MR. Browning's "Dramatic Idylls" contain all that the terms properly imply; very little of that which popular association connects with them; and though the graceful unrealities suggested by the word Idyllic could never be looked for in any work of his, he has exceeded forecast in the opposite direction. The concentrated vigour of his latest volume may startle even those who have learnt by long experience that his genius is incapable of attenuation, and that writing six short poems, instead of one long one, means with him, not the suspension of constructive effort, but a constructive effort multiplied so many times. It justifies the stereotyped opinion concerning him by dealing chiefly with the unusual in character and circumstance, and with emotions more startling than sympathetic. It belies it in so far that the unusual in its pictures adds often not only to their impressiveness, but to their truth, recalling, as they do, forgotten, rather than improbable aspects of human life; and rough-hewn possibilities, rather than over-specialized forms of human feeling. That the result is on the whole somewhat stern and sad will be approved or disapproved according to the temperament of the reader. It seems superfluous to say, what is implied by the shortness of these poems, that they are free from all tedious elaboration; or to add that the intellectual matter which they contain is strictly subordinate to their dramatic form.

"Pheidippides" differs from the five other Idylls as the classical conventionalities of a Greek subject differ from any possible romance of northern life. It differs also in this respect, that though the most historical in treatment, it is the most pathetic. It is an episode in the life of an Athenian "runner," who was despatched to Sparta to invoke aid against the Persian invasion, and covered the distance of 150 miles in 48 hours; and who ran again, and for the last time, from

Marathon to Athens to tell the result of the battle. The earlier feat is recorded by Herodotus, and referred to by other writers, together with the ambiguous reply of Sparta, and the meeting with Pan at Mount Parnes, and receiving from him a promise of assistance. Lucian mentions the death of the messenger in the act of announcing the victory. Mr. Browning has filled in this outline of semi-mythical fact, and placed Pheidippides before us, not only in the passion of his patriotic impulse, but in all that poetry of visible motion with which the Greek imagination would have clothed him.

Archons of Athens, topped by the tettix, see, I return!
 See, 'tis myself here standing alive, no spectre that speaks!
 Crowned with the myrtle, did you command me, Athens and you,
 "Run, Pheidippides, run and race, reach Sparta for aid!
 Persia has come, we are here, where is She?" Your command I obeyed,
 Ran and raced: like stubble, some field which a fire runs through,
 Was the space between city and city: two days, two nights did I burn
 Over the hills, under the dales, down pits and up peaks.

Into their midst I broke: breath served but for "Persia has come!
 Persia bids Athens proffer slaves'-tribute, water and earth;
 Razed to the ground is Eretria—but Athens, shall Athens sink,
 Drop into dust and die—the flower of Hellas utterly die,
 Die, with the wide world spitting at Sparta, the stupid, the stander-by?
 Answer me quick, what help, what hand do you stretch o'er destruction's
 brink?
 How,—when? No care for my limbs!—there's lightning in all and some—
 Fresh and fit your message to bear, once lips give it birth!"

O my Athens—Sparta love thee? Did Sparta respond?
 Every face of her leered in a furrow of envy, mistrust,
 Malice,—each eye of her gave me its glitter of gratified hate!
 Gravely they turned to take counsel, to cast for excuses. I stood
 Quivering,—the limbs of me fretting as fire frets, an inch from dry wood:
 "Persia has come, Athens asks aid, and still they debate?
 Thunder, thou Zeus! Athene, are Spartans a quarry beyond
 Swing of thy spear? Phoibos and Artemis, clang them 'Ye must!'"

No bolt launched from Olumpos? Lo, their answer at last!
 "Has Persia come,—does Athens ask aid,—may Sparta befriend?
 Nowise precipitate judgment—too weighty the issue at stake!
 Count we no time lost time which lags through respect to the Gods!
 Ponder that precept of old, 'No warfare, whatever the odds
 In your favour, so long as the moon, half-orbed, is unable to take
 Full-circle her state in the sky!' Already she rounds to it fast:
 Athens must wait, patient as we—who judgment suspend."

Athens,—except for that sparkle,—thy name, I had mouldered to ash!
 That sent a blaze through my blood; off, off and away was I back,
 —Not one word to waste, one look to lose on the false and the vile!
 Yet "O Gods of my land!" I cried, as each hillock and plain,
 Wood and stream, I knew, named, rushing past them again,
 "Have ye kept faith, proved mindful of honours we paid you erewhile?
 Vain was the filleted victim, the fulsome libation! Too rash
 Love in its choice, paid you so largely service so slack!"

The beautiful imagery which illustrates the first race is repeated in the second.

He flung down his shield,
Ran like fire once more : and the space 'twixt the Fennel-field
And Athens was stubble again, a field which a fire runs through.

The metre itself, which Mr. Browning employs for the first time, denotes this blending of athletic force and heroic inspiration, and seems to throb with the unresting flight and rythmic footfall of the "day-long runner" who runs for his country's life. An element of more personal interest is supplied by the hope which speeds Pheidippides on his last errand. Pan has promised him release from "the racer's toil," and he can only construe such a release into freedom to marry the maiden whom he loves; but the promise is more poetically fulfilled in the death which overtakes him in the hour of his crowning achievement and of his country's triumph; the heart bursting as from excess of joy. The "Rejoice" which is his dying salutation to the Archons, and its consequent adoption in memory of the event, belong to the historic basis of the story. The Greek conception appears to us too strictly maintained in the first verse, where an invocation to Pan is perplexingly involved with an address to the other gods; while towards the end of the poem its rounded cadences here and there break up into pants, like the action of a mechanism of which the spring is broken. But on the whole the language is singularly little strained by its adaptation to classic thought; and its majestic body of sound conveys a simplicity of meaning very rarely found under like conditions. Mr. Browning's known dramatic faculty of so paving the way to his climax that our utmost surprise has in it a sense of the inevitable, has a ready-made expression in this series of incidents, creating as they do a tension of feeling to which the catastrophe is at once a shock and a relief; but it makes its own subjects in the other Idylls, and is the more apparent in proportion as their psychological interest is more pronounced. The most striking instance of this kind of effect occurs in "Martin Relph."

"Martin Relph" is the confession of an old man guilty in his youth of witnessing a judicial murder, which a signal from him might have prevented, and who ever since has striven to exorcise the memory of the fact by rehearsing it publicly at the place and on the anniversary of its occurrence. This rehearsal, sobbed forth in a mingled stream of narrative, ejaculation, and protest is the echo of an anguish deeper even than its ostensible cause; and its last words flash a sudden, yet expected meaning upon it. The man's soul is wrestling, not with the memory of a deed, but with the phantom of a motive. He brands himself as fool and coward for what he has done; but the terms fool and coward are only the weapons with which he fights off the thought, too clamorous to be silenced, too terrible to be distinctly expressed, that he was something more. He liked, perhaps *loved*, the condemned girl.

Living, she would have belonged to another man. That very man was flying towards the place of execution, staggering, stumbling, straining every nerve, waving aloft the signal of her attested innocence; without voice to cry, without an eye to see him but *his* who faced the assembled crowd. Was it simple horror which struck that *one* witness dumb within sight of the pinioned victim, and the terrified lookers-on, the levelled muskets, and the already present reprieve, through the brief, breathless, ultra-conscious moment which determined the destiny of two lives?

From head to foot in a serpent's twine am I tightened: *I* touch ground?
No more than a gibbet's rigid corpse which the fetters rust around!

Can I speak, can I breathe, can I burst—ought else but see, see, only see?
And see I do—for there comes in sight—a man, it sure must be!—
Who staggeringly, stumblingly, rises, falls, rises, at random flings his weight
On and on, anyhow onward—a man that's mad he arrives too late!

Else why does he wave a something white high-flourished above his head?
Why does not he call, cry,—curse the fool!—why throw up his arms instead?
O take this fist in your own face, fool! Why does not yourself shout "Stay!"
Here's a man comes rushing, might and main, with something he's mad to say?"
And a minute, only a moment, to have hell-fire boil up in your brain,
And ere you can judge things right, choose heaven,—time's over, repentance vain!

Mr. Browning has thrown not only all his power into this situation, but all his subtlety into the open verdict which is our final impression of it. He does not indeed imply that the jealousy at once confessed and disclaimed is what the narrator tries to think it—a figment of his own brain, born of the ingenuity of a terrified remorse; but he allows the very circumstances of the event to justify a doubt if that feeling could be held responsible. We may at least imagine that the latent motive triumphed, if triumph it did, through the fact of its indistinctness; though memory, which knows no perspective but its own, might reject the compromise. The episode refers to some troublous period of the last century, of which one or two passages reflect the coarse moral tone, as well as the social and political disorder which rendered it possible. A regiment is quartered in a village. Its intended movements have become known to the enemy. Treason is suspected; an example,—in other words, a victim required. This is found in the person of an innocent girl whose letter to her affianced husband is captured, and distorted into an evidence of guilt. She is sentenced to die unless her loyalty be established within a week. The burden of proof falls on the lover, and no figure in the drama is so pathetic as this man struggling against every hindrance which selfishness and stupidity can devise for the official acknowledgment of that which nobody disbelieves; and whose maddest endeavours only bring him to the side of the woman he would have saved in time to die with her. When the smoke of the united volley clears away, the frantic figure has disappeared. It is found face downwards in a field still half a mile distant; the hand clenching its signed and sealed paper; some blood about the lips. The mortal

agony of this retrospect is nowhere more fully expressed than in the lines which tell us that it is over.

So, coward it is and coward shall be ! There's a friend, now ! Thanks ! A drink Of water I wanted : and now I can walk, get home by myself, I think.

Like "Martin Relph," Ivàn Ivànovitch and "Ned Bratts" read backwards with singular dramatic effect ; but with this distinction, that in the latter the event is foreshadowed by natural circumstance ; in the former by an artistic device. The picturesque and rapid action of the Russian Idyll is symbolised by an axe, the description of which stands as a literary frontispiece to it. This axe, which is spoken of as in use among Russian workmen at the present day, is a peculiar instrument, combining with its own special properties those of many other carpenter's tools, and loses something of dramatic suitability by the practised skill implied in such a construction. But the versatility thus suggested is part of its dramatic use. It can do all kinds of carpenter's work. It can on occasion do more. Ivàn Ivànovitch is wielding such an axe. His mighty strokes are shaping a tree-trunk into a mast. He stands before us with the blue eyes and "honey-coloured" beard of the northern giant he is intended to be. The time is that of Peter the Great. The place, a Russian village, for which space has been barely rescued from the forest solitudes extending on either side of the road from Petersburg to Moscow. The ice and snow of a Russian winter are on the ground. Suddenly there is a "burst of bells ;" a trampling of hoofs ; and a sledge bearing what looks like the dead body of a neighbour's wife dashes up to the spot ; the horse stumbling and falling in the act. The neighbours gather around. The woman has only fainted ; a long-drawn scream announces her return to consciousness ; by degrees her tale is told. They were about to return together—she, her husband and her three children, from the distant village to which he was summoned perhaps a month ago to help in building a church. But fire broke out ; all hands were needed to suppress it ; and Dmitri must needs despatch his wife and little ones homeward in all haste and alone. The infant in her arms, the two elder boys warmly packed at her feet ; old Droog to carry, and a rising moon to light them on the well-known way—what harm could come to them ? The good horse gallops bravely ; for the moment he is young again. But presently there is a sound—a *soughing*. Droog's ears fly back to listen. It is the wind—he knows it, and plunges on again. But there is no wind ; the breath goes straight up from their lips ; and there is still the sound ! Low, less low, louder, not to be mistaken ; the tread of wolves' feet in the snow. And now they are in sight. They press onwards, line upon line, a wedge-like mass widening in the advance ; through the unnatural daylight born of the moon and snow ; through the cruel pines which bend no branch to hinder or conceal ; distant still, but still gaining on their prey. And now *one* has reached the sledge. Her life shall be yielded

before her children's. They are safe if they will only lie still. But Stepàn will not be still. He was always the naughty one; sullen and puny; the worst of her little brood. She has loved him with heart and soul. But how save him in spite of himself? He will not be advised. He is mad with fear. And now his brother is shrieking. She tugs, she struggles. If she must lose one, it is the strong, not the weak whom the Tsar requires. Perhaps her hands relax. Perhaps they get entangled. Stepàn is gone. But she escapes with two. She is still a rich mother. Some have no boy. Some have, and lose him.

God knows which
Is worse: how pitiful to see your weakling pine
And pale and pass away!

She is all but content. But hark—the tramp again—not the band, —no—the numbers are less—the race is slack. Some alas! are feasting, some are “full-fed.” But there are enough to seize the fresh prey. Their eyes are like points of brass as they gleam in their level line. One, the same, is at their head again. She dashes her fist into his face; he may crunch that if he will. Terentii is gathered into her lap; her very heartstrings tie him round. The bag of relics hangs safe about his neck.

'Twas through my arms, crossed arms, he—nuzzling now with snout,
Now ripping, tooth and claw—plucked, pulled Terentii out,
A prize indeed! I saw—how could I else but see?—
My precious one—I bit to hold back—pulled from me!

But the babe is safe! He will grow into a man. He will wreak vengeance upon the whole brood. She outwits them yet. Day dawns on the farthest snow. Its rosy light is upon it. Home is all but reached. Yet again—no—thank Heaven—not the band; but—yes; *one* is in pursuit! She sees him in the distance

one speck, one spot, one ball

growing bigger at every bound. It is the same again. She plucks him by the tongue; she will tear at it till she wrenches it out. It has but given him a fresh taste of flesh. She falls on the infant's body. She covers it with her whole self. The teeth furrow her shoulder. They grate to the very bone. What more could a mother do? The babe is scooped from under her very heart. At that moment sense forsakes her.

This, then, is the upshot of the story. She has surrendered her children to be devoured, and lives to tell it; yet she scarcely perceives the extent of her revelation. Recalling, rather than relating, the horrors of the night, she is perhaps herself blinded by the sophistries which have covered her escape; and with the retrospect comes also a reaction. Sheltered, revived, with kindly faces beaming upon her, regret itself is melting away in the sweet consciousness of her security. She weeps, relieving, almost happy tears. It is to Ivàn Ivànovitch that her narrative has been especially addressed. His knee has propped her head.

His large paternal hands have smoothed her hair as she lay. In one mixed impulse of yearning gratitude and benediction she has slipped on to her knees before him.

Solemnly

Ivàn rose, raised his axe,—for fitly, as she knelt,
Her head lay: well-apart, each side, her arms hung,—dealt
Lightning-swift thunder-strong one blow—no need of more!
Headless she knelt on still: that pine was sound at core
(Neighbours were used to say)—cast-iron-kerneled—which
Taxed for a second stroke Ivàn Ivànovitch.

The man was scant of words as strokes. "It had to be:
I could no other: God it was bade 'Act for me!'"
Then stooping, peering round—what is it now he lacks?
A proper strip of bark wherewith to wipe his axe.
Which done, he turns, goes in, closes the door behind.
The others mute remain, watching the blood-snake wind
Into a hiding-place among the splinter-heaps.

A woman not devoid of feeling, but in whom even maternal feeling is trampled out by the fear of suffering and death, belongs, like the axe of Ivàn Ivànovitch, rather to modern times; but there are all the elements of ancient tragedy in the conception of such a woman, flying from the death she dare not face, to the Nemesis which awaits her in the uplifted arm of a friend; and we must ascend to the annals of the Greek gods to find an attitude of moral simplicity at once so childish and so sublime as that in which the blow is dealt. The second scene in which Ivàn Ivànovitch appears is a natural sequel to the first; but Mr. Browning has invested it also with the conditions of a complete dramatic surprise. The body is removed to the village court of justice, an open space in front of the church, from which the snow has been cleared; and the Pope, the Stàrost, and the Pomeschik (Lord), come forth to pass judgment on the transaction. The Lord unhesitatingly pronounces it murder. He doubts the woman having been guilty from a legal point of view, though she stood condemned by the higher standards of virtue; and if she had been so, he denies its justifying an arbitrary assumption of the right to punish her. He takes the side of social order and educated common sense. The Pope reverses this judgment. He is an aged man; so old, he says, that the number of his years escapes him; and if he were true to fact instead of to poetry, he would certainly confirm it. Both the wisdom and the weakness of age would place him on the side of social prescription, to which faith and custom would add all the dignity of moral sanction, and all the weight of Christian command. But Mr. Browning's purpose did not require this kind of truth. It needed not the stereotyped minister of any Christian church, but a priest of that primitive natural religion, of which Ivàn Ivànovitch is the soldier; and this priest declares that he has lived from the dreams of youth into the visions of old age; through the forms of law to its essence in the great Spirit whence it flows; and that by that essential law of human duty the apparent murderer is

justified. Life, he says, is God's supreme gift to man; maternity, its highest trust and its crowning responsibility.

A mother bears a child: perfection is complete
 So far in such a birth. Enabled to repeat
 The miracle of life,—herself was born so just
 A type of womankind, that God sees fit to trust
 Her with the holy task of giving life in turn.
 Crowned by this crowning pride,—how say you, should she spurn,
 Regality—discrowned, unchilded, by her choice
 Of barrenness exchanged for fruit which made rejoice
 Creation, though life's self were lost in giving birth
 To life more fresh and fit to glorify God's earth?
 How say you, should the hand God trusted with life's torch
 Kindled to light the world—aware of sparks that scorch
 Let fall the same? Forsooth, her flesh a fire-flake stings:
 The mother drops the child! Among what monstrous things
 Shall she be classed? Because of motherhood, each male
 Yields to its partner place, sinks proudly in the scale:
 His strength owned weakness, wit—folly, and courage—fear,
 Beside the female proved male's mistress—only here.
 The fox-dam, hunger-pined, will slay the felon sire
 Who dares assault her whelp: the beaver, stretched on fire,
 Will die without a groan: no pang avails to wrest
 Her young from where they hide—her sanctuary breast.
 What's here then? Answer me, thou dead one, as I trow,
 Standing at God's own bar, he bids thee answer now!
 Thrice crowned wast thou—each crown of pride, a child—thy charge,
 Where are they? Lost? Enough: no need that thou enlarge
 On how or why the loss: life left to utter "lost"
 Condemns itself beyond appeal. The soldier's post
 Guards from the foe's attack the camp he sentinels:
 That he no traitor proved, this and this only tells—
 Over the corpse of him trod foe to foe's success.
 Yet—one by one thy crowns torn from thee—thou no less
 To scare the world, shame God,—livedst! I hold he saw
 The unexampled sin, ordained the novel law,
 Whereof first instrument was first intelligence
 Found loyal here. I hold that, failing human sense,
 The very earth had oped, sky fallen, to efface
 Humanity's new wrong, motherhood's first disgrace.
 Earth oped not, neither fell the sky, for prompt was found
 A man and man enough, head-sober and heart-sound,
 Ready to hear God's voice, resolute to obey.
 Ivàn Ivànovitch, I hold, has done, this day,
 No otherwise than did, in ages long ago,
 Moses when he made known the purport of that flow
 Of fire athwart the law's twain-tables! I proclaim
 Ivàn Ivànovitch God's servant!

At which name

Uprose that creepy whisper from out the crowd, is wont
 To swell and surge and sink when fellow men confront
 A punishment that falls on fellow flesh and blood,
 Appallingly beheld—shudderingly understood,
 No less, to be the right, the just, the merciful.
 "God's servant," hissed the crowd.

The Lord reluctantly yields the point, and suggests that since the culprit is absolved, no time be lost in informing him of it—

And next—as mercy rules the hour—methinks 'twere well
You signify forthwith its sentence, and dispel
The doubts and fears, I judge, which busy now the head
Law puts a halter round—a halo—you, instead!

Ivàn Ivànovitch need no longer skulk in concealment—

So, while the youngers raised the corpse, the elders trooped
Silently to the house: where halting, someone stooped,
Listened beside the door; all there was silent too.
Then they held counsel; then pushed door and, passing through,
Stood in the murderer's presence.

Ivàn Ivànovitch
Knelt, building on the floor that Kremlin rare and rich
He deftly cut and carved on lazy winter nights.
Some five young faces watched, breathlessly, as, to rights,
Piece upon piece, he reared the fabric nigh complete.
Stèscha, Ivàn's old mother, sat spinning by the heat
Of the oven where his wife Kàtia stood baking bread.
Ivàn's self, as he turned his honey-coloured head,
Was just in act to drop, 'twixt fir-cones,—each a dome,—
The scooped-out yellow gourd presumably the home
Of Kolokol the Big: the bell, therein to hitch,
—An acorn-cup—was ready: Ivàn Ivànovitch
Turned with it in his mouth.

They told him he was free
As air to walk abroad. "How otherwise?" asked he.

The shortest and slightest of the six poems alone separates the thrilling excitements of "Ivàn Ivànovitch" from the grotesque tragedy and saturnine humour of "Ned Bratts," which latter composition carries with it a full taste of the author's quality, not only in that humour itself, but in the fact that he has chosen to make it, as far as outward arrangement goes, the last impression of the book. Nothing indeed could surpass the ingenuity with which he contrives to scarify fastidious sensibilities without violating by a word the natural and historical consistency of a really edifying transaction; and his obvious delight in the achievement compels our sympathy. The subject belongs to a fertile and curious class of mental phenomena; the effects of religious conversion on natures, which religion cannot transform, but which simply adopt it as a new platform, on which their old energies may be more satisfactorily displayed. Such effects have been more often illustrated by fact than fiction; and it remains perhaps for Mr. Browning's genius to clothe them in their more serious dramatic possibilities. Meanwhile, he gives them in a *reductio ad absurdum* in the case before us. Ned Bratts is a notorious publican and sinner of Bunyan's time, whose imagination has been fired by reading the "Pilgrim's Progress" while still in the full bloom of his iniquity. It has been borne in upon him that Christian, or as he calls him, Christmas, is himself; and since, as

he fancies, it is too late for him to go through all the stages of the Pilgrim's journey to heaven, he determines to take a short cut to it by giving up himself and his wife Tabby to justice, and being hanged with her. He carries out this intention at a Special Assize which is held in the town of Bedford on the first day of its Summer Fair; and just as the heat, the crowding, and the excitement of the Court-house are at their highest, the bulky couple force their way into it, book in hand, and Ned opens the catalogue of their joint transgressions. We can picture to ourselves some of the features of this double occasion: its cynical cruelties, its riotous mirth; the fires of genuine religious passion smouldering beneath. But when to this are added the influences of a temperature that would suspend the existence of our more delicate nineteenth century, but only serves to madden the blood of the seventeenth, we acknowledge that the poet's own words are required to do justice to his conception:—

'Twas Bedford Special Assize, one daft Midsummer's Day :
 A broiling blasting June,—was never its like, men say.
 Corn stood sheaf-ripe already, and trees looked yellow as that ;
 Ponds drained dust-dry, the cattle lay foaming around each flat.
 Inside town, dogs went mad, and folks kept bibbing beer
 While the parsons prayed for rain. 'Twas horrible, yes—but queer.
 Queer—for the sun laughed gay, yet nobody moved a hand
 To work one stroke at his trade : as given to understand
 That all was come to a stop, work and such worldly ways,
 And the world's old self about to end in a merry blaze.
 Midsummer's Day moreover was the first of Bedford Fair ;
 So, Bedford Town's tag-rag and bobtail lay bousing there.

Within the Court,

. . . . [their Lordships toiled and moiled, and a deal of work was done]
 (I warrant) to justify the mirth of the crazy sun,
 As this and t'other lout, struck dumb at the sudden show
 Of red robes and white wigs, boggled nor answered "Boh!"
 When asked why he, Tom Styles, should not—because Jack Nokes
 Had stolen the horse—be hanged : for Judges must have their jokes,
 And louts must make allowance—let's say, for some blue fly
 Which punctured a dewy scalp where the frizzles stuck awry—
 Else Tom had fleeced scot-free, so nearly over and done
 Was the main of the job. Full-measure, the gentles enjoyed their fun,
 As a twenty-five were tried, rank puritans caught at prayer
 In a cow-house and laid by the heels,—have at 'em, devil may care!—
 And ten were prescribed the whip, and ten a brand on the cheek,
 And five a slit of the nose—just leaving enough to tweak.
 Well, things at jolly high-tide, amusement steeped in fire,
 While noon smote fierce the roof's red tiles to heart's desire,
 The Court a-simmer with smoke, one ferment of oozy flesh,
 One spirituous humming musk mount-mounting until its mesh
 Entailed all heads in a fluster, and Serjeant Postlethwayte
 —Dashing the wig oblique as he mopped his oily pate—
 Cried "Silence, or I grow grease! No loophole lets in air?
 Jurymen, guilty, death! Gainsay me if you dare!"
 —Things at this pitch, I say,—what hubbub without the doors

What laughs, shrieks, hoots and yells, what rudest of uproars?
 Bounce through the barrier—through a bulk comes rolling vast!
 Thumps, kicks,—no manner of use!—spite of them rolls at last
 Into the midst a ball which, bursting, brings to view
 Publican Black Ned Bratts and Tabby his big wife too:
 Both in a muck-sweat, both . . . were never such eyes uplift.

The attitude of the penitent is as resolute as his mode of appearance. There is no mock humility about it. He pelts his misdeeds at the Judge's ears with undisguised satisfaction at their thoroughness, and undisguised contempt for the law which could leave them so long undetected whilst exerting itself to discover

. whether 'twas Jack or Joan

Robbed the hen-roost, pinched the pig, hit the King's arms with a stone.

He means to expiate what he has done; he stifles his oaths before he has quite enjoyed their flavour, and pays a farther tribute to the decencies of the occasion at what appears for him its thirstiest moment—

Tab, help and tell! I'm hoarse. A mug! or—no, a prayer!

Dip for one out of the Book! Who wrote it in the Jail

—He plied his pen unhelped by beer, sirs, I'll be bail!

But the retrospective zest with which he enumerates their robberies, murderings, and improprieties of every kind savours far more of commission than of expiation; and his mode of tackling the imaginary Apollyon in his path (supposing himself to be in time for him) exhibits all the activity of an unregenerated flesh.

Soon I had met in the valley and tried my cudgel's strength
 On the enemy horned and winged, a-straddle across its length!
 Have at his horns, thwack—thwack: they snap, see! Hoof and hoof—
 Bang, break the fetlock-bones! For love's sake, keep aloof
 Angels! I'm man and match,—this cudgel for my flail,—
 To thresh him, hoofs and horns, bat's wing and serpent's tail!

He cannot quite be Christian, but he can be Faithful. Everything fits. Vanity Fair is Bedford Fair; and St. Peter's Green stands for the Market-place. They flay him, and flog him, and stab him; they knock him about as if he had nine lives, but—

. ha, ha, he,

Who holds the highest card!

A chariot and pair are hiding behind the crowd—he's in it, up, and away—to heaven by the nearest gate—the gibbet will do it for him—swords and knives are not handy, but the gibbet is close—

Then hang me, draw and quarter! Tab—do the same by her

He is the most vigorous compound ever invented of Christian martyr and pugilist dying game.

The request was not likely to be refused. Master Bratts had confessed to many deeds of which no one doubted his commission, and his having eluded their just penalty so long, would not, if he had wished it, have constituted a plea for mercy. The idea that in his zeal he had

overstated his case would not occur to the contemporary mind, though it may present itself to the reader of his adventures. The Chief Justice considered it only due to his truthfulness to grant what he adduced such excellent reasons for deserving; so the pair were handed over to the Sheriff and dealt with as they desired; the "two dozen odd" sentences, previously passed, being remitted by his lordship with a view, we may suppose, to the good day's work which had already been done without them.

This ending is not only natural in itself, but an almost necessary fulfilment of the dramatic conditions of the story. The atmosphere is pregnant from the first with something at once horrible and grotesque; and when Ned Bratts and his Tabby have rolled on to the scene and off it for the last time, we feel that that something has assumed its most appropriate form, and no other conclusion would have been legitimate. Yet it finds us only half prepared. The enthusiasm of the convert is so closely identified with the vapours of heat and beer, that it is impossible to judge beforehand how far it will carry him; the more so, that the possibility of a collapse is constantly present to himself. Half his urgency to be hung "out of hand" lies in the knowledge that he may change his mind if he is not. Such qualms have come to him before, but they have not outlived the night. Even now the glories of the chariot which will lift him above the clouds wavers in the prospective brightness of to-morrow's bear-baiting, and the brawl on Turner's Patch by which it will be crowned; and even now the Iron Cage stares him in the face, and the lost man inside, and that last worst state of him who warred against the light; and though such an image might well turn the scale, we receive a decided mental shock in discovering that it was intended to do so, and that the apparent farce is in fact a tragedy.

We need scarcely say that the self-satire of this conversion implies no denial on Mr. Browning's part of the relative seriousness it might possess. So much is guaranteed to it by the majestic figure of John Bunyan, and by the historic character of the religious challenge which resounded in that year 1672, from the precincts of Bedford jail. Tab Bratts has visited the tinker there; and his spoken words have effected in her a less equivocal reformation than the fiery symbolism of the "Pilgrim's Progress" could produce in her husband. She goes to him with no friendly intent. The blind daughter who carries his laces from house to house has lately avoided hers. These laces are exceptionally strong and invaluable for the unlawful purposes of their trade; and neither she nor Master Bratts is inclined to dispense with them because the profligacy of their manners is likely to offend the bearer. She enters John Bunyan's cell with all the insolence she can command; but the strength which meets her is not of *her* world, and the attitude of defiance is soon exchanged for one of supplication—

Down on my marrow-bones ! Then all at once rose he :
His brown hair burst a-spread, his eyes were suns to see :

Up went his hands; "Through flesh, I reach, I read thy soul!
 So may some stricken tree look blasted, bough and bole,
 Champed by the fire-tooth, charred without, and yet, thrice-bound
 With dreriment about, within may life be found,
 A prisoned power to branch and blossom as before,
 Could but the gardener cleave the cloister, reach the core,
 Loosen the vital sap: yet where shall help be found?
 Who says 'How save it?'—nor 'Why cumbers it the ground?'
 Woman, that tree art thou! All sloughed about with scurf,
 Thy stag-horns fright the sky, thy snake-roots sting the turf!
 Drunkenness, wantonness, theft, murder gnash and gnarl
 Thine outward, case thy soul with coating like the marle
 Satan stamps flat upon each head beneath his hoof!
 And how deliver such? The strong men keep aloof,
 Lover and friend stand far, the mocking ones pass by,
 Tophet gapes wide for prey: lost soul, despair and die!
 What then? 'Look unto me and be ye saved!' saith God:
 'I strike the rock, outstreats the life-streams at my rod!
 Be your sins scarlet, wool shall they seem like,—although
 As crimson red, yet turn white as the driven snow!'"

She remembers no more but that it was by means of the blind girl's guiding hand that she regained her home; and that the same hand bestowed the book as "*father's boon*" upon her.

"Tray" is an anecdote of canine devotion, for the publishing of which no motive was needed but its possibility; though it raises, and in a manner disposes of, a question of considerable importance. A dog plunges into the river to rescue a drowning child; then dives for a second time, and after a lengthened disappearance, the water being deep and the current strong, emerges again with her doll. The facts are described with all the force of contrast in the comments of supposed bystanders, who welcome the familiar mystery of "animal instinct" in a deed to all appearance as intelligent as it is heroic; and allow the "good dog" to risk its life in their stead with a quite undisturbed sense of human superiority. The absurdness of this attitude loses nothing in the sarcastic spirit in which it is conceived, and we must protest in the name of "vivisectionism" against the concluding lines, humorous as they are—

And so, amid the laughter gay,
 Trotted my hero off,—old Tray,—
 Till somebody, prerogated
 With reason, reasoned: "Why he dived,
 His brain would show us, I should say,

"John, go and catch—or, if needs be,
 Purchase that animal for me!
 By vivisection, at expense
 Of half-an-hour and eighteen pence,
 How brain secretes dog's soul, we'll see!"

We are not aware that any one since La Mettrie has thus proposed to catch "thinking in the act." But Mr. Browning's readers will not

resent some acerbity of zeal in his defence of the weaker but "*loving fellow-creature*" which Nature and poetry have so deeply consecrated to their tenderness; and Tray's virtues will find abundant sympathy even among those who hold exploded theories concerning them.

In "*Halbert and Hob*" a fierce son is engaged in a quarrel with a father generally as fierce as himself. He is about to fling him out of the house, and has already dragged him to a certain turn in the stairs, when the old man, who has become passive at the first grip of his hand, tells him that they are repeating step by step a scene in which years ago he and his own father were the actors, and bids him listen to the warning voice by which he was then turned from the completion of his parricidal deed. The words take their effect. It is Christmas night. They pass it silently together. Dawn finds the father dead in his chair, and the son terrified into a premature and harmless senility. This episode, which we need hardly say is related in all the rugged impressiveness of which it is capable, strikes us simply as a study of hereditary character, heightened by coincidences of time and circumstance, which seem the more dramatic in proportion as we admit them to be natural. But Mr. Browning appears to see in it something more. He presents it as an instance of supernatural interference in the lives and in the hearts of men; and its last lines contain an assertion, for the answer to which we must appeal from him to himself. He says,

"Is there any reason in nature for these hard hearts?" O Lear,
That a reason out of nature must turn them soft, seems clear!

But the collective labours of his literary life have negated the words. They all tend to show what infinitely varied products may emerge from the chemistry of the human mind, and how little we can say of any action or reaction of human feeling that it is not natural. To externalize the mystery of Nature in some intangible manner lies in the very language of poetry, even of the poetry which recognises no personal God; and a genius at once so reverent and so critical as Mr. Browning's is always in danger of building up with one hand a theory which he will knock down with the other. Still, we would rather believe that in the present case he expresses himself dramatically, and that not even the relative meaning of his utterance is to be charged upon him. There are at least not wanting in this very volume lines in which the idea of continued divine intervention is merged in a larger view of the capabilities of human existence; to the study of which it remains, whatever its philosophic outcome, his not least valuable contribution.

A. ORR.

ENGLISH AGRICULTURE.

IT is generally admitted that, at the present time, all branches of industry and trade are suffering from a depression which has had no parallel since the gloomy period which preceded Sir Robert Peel's administration. The cry of distress comes from nearly every quarter. Profits have fallen, till we are told that manufacturers and traders are living on their capital. Wages have fallen, and the organization of trade unions has not only been powerless to arrest the decline, but has even facilitated the process of reduction. Traders tell us that they never had so much difficulty in stimulating a ready-money trade, or in getting in Christmas bills where credit is given. Nobody seems to prosper but lawyers and accountants, the latter a monstrous growth of our monstrous bankruptcy law. At the same time heresies on economical subjects, long since dead, as we fondly imagined, are reviving, not merely in the talk of political adventurers, but in the resolutions of Chambers of Commerce, and in the utterances of railway chairmen. The West-end tradesmen of London are more bitter against the "Co-operative" shops than ever, no doubt because retail business is becoming increasingly unprofitable; for it is not easy to see how the aggregate of all the sales effected at all these shops can represent more than an infinitesimal fraction of all the business done, in ordinary times, by the retail traders of the metropolis. The depression of trade is most noticeable in the takings of such dealers in articles of consumption as invite purchase in crowded thoroughfares. I heard a short time since from a tobacconist in the Strand that his receipts from sales had fallen lately at the rate of a hundred pounds a month. The excise has not fallen, but grief is said to be thirsty. The income-tax on trade returns has not been perceptibly diminished, but it must be remembered that trade profits are interpreted by those who return them on averages, and

the trader naturally attempts to treat an income tax as a charge on his calling, to be recouped in extra prices to the consumer. Nor is there any sign that the mischief is diminishing. On the contrary, the most experienced interpreters of trade in the future look gloomily on the prospects. There are some who say that we have only entered into the valley of humiliation, and counsel us to be ready for worse times and sharper privations. Money is likely to be cheap, for there is no enterprise for which savings can be borrowed. There is plenty of capital, but industry is crippled. We know that the South African War will be prodigiously costly, and that it cannot be put on the finances of India, or the exchequer of the Cape colonists. But the prospect of great indebtedness in the future, added to great indebtedness incurred on behalf of peace and honour at present, produces no appreciable effect on the price of Consols. If trade were brisk, the present state of the finances would induce very different phenomena in the money market.

There is one palliation to this universal calamity. Food—*i.e.*, the necessary food of the people—is cheap beyond parallel. But it is not supplied from our own agriculture. The difference between the reputed value of exports and imports is enormous, and to some men's minds is alarming and portentous. It is supposed that England is being depleted of her wealth. Of course, little reliance can be placed on the estimated values of imports, and still less on those of exports. It is certain, too, that whatever may be the values, the exports pay for the imports. But many persons are unaware of the enormous indebtedness of the British colonies, India, and foreign countries to English bondholders, and of the fact that much of what figures as imports is in reality interest on colonial and foreign securities held in the United Kingdom. That we are not exporting these securities in order to pay for food and other commodities is pretty certain, for in such a case we should see a decline in the value of English securities. That we may be, owing to the necessity of procuring these supplies, pressing sales of goods abroad is probable, though it may be concluded that the agency which exchanges goods for food would have its operations crippled if the exchange were not effected. That we do not sell as much as we could, if foreign tariffs were modified, is incontestable; but it is certain that we should sell much less if we followed the example of our neighbours.

The depression in the price of agricultural produce is, we are told, ruining the farmers. That English agriculturists are passing through a stage of depression and positive loss is unfortunately too true, and it is equally true that, owing to the habit which farmers long have had of grumbling even in the best of times, less attention has been paid to their complaints than the public good demands. But there is evidence as to the present state of things which is irresistible. Farms are being thrown up on all sides. Sometimes we are told that this is due to excessive game-preserving, as it very well may be. But, at the present

moment, it is rumoured that the Oxford Colleges which let land at rack-rent are in as ill a case as game-preserving squires are. But the Fellows of Oxford Colleges never preserve game in the fashion which some people have adopted. It is certain that they are the last people who would, if they could help it, dispossess a tenant who paid his rent with decent regularity. Again, one reads in the papers that abatements of rent, varying from 15 to 5 per cent., have been made by generous landlords, whose liberality has been duly chronicled and lauded, though probably prudence has been influential in counselling the reduction quite as much as kindness has been.

The English landowner is, in relation to his tenant, in a peculiarly fortunate position, owing, no doubt, to the great influence which the landowner has in passing the laws which regulate the relations between the owner and the occupier of land. In the first place, he has a secured debt, which must be satisfied, after the dues to the Exchequer and the wages of labour are paid, before any other creditor can get a sixpence. The effect of the law is not merely to secure the landowner, but to injure the tenant, by indirectly raising rent above its natural amount. The Scotch farmer, in his form of the law, that of hypothec, says, and says with reason, that the prior claim of the landlord induces such persons to compete for farms as can only be said to gamble with agricultural industry, and thereby to put the prudent and competent farmer at a disadvantage. The Scotch tradesman says, and with equal reason, that the law of hypothec renders his dealing with a Scotch farmer peculiarly risky, and of course, though risks must be paid for, risks of an artificial kind discourage business. Again, the landlord puts the first payment of local rates on his tenant. He always says, to be sure, that local rates operate in reduction of rent. Some, no doubt, do so absolutely, as for example, a tithe-rent charge. Some do so unequally, as in poor, road, and other county rates, partly because the houses and grounds of country gentlemen are rated at absurdly low sums, on the ridiculous ground of the "hypothetical tenant," when they should have been estimated from the view of the relation of the house and grounds to the status of the certain successor; partly because the occupier is always at a disadvantage in quitting his holding, and therefore is, *pro tanto*, disabled from transferring the tax. The best answer to this argument, which even the Duke of Argyll has adopted, is to suggest that the tenant should deduct all local taxation from his rent, leaving the landlord to make a fresh bargain with him. If the contention of the landed interest is correct, such an arrangement would be no loss to that interest. But it is certain that if the proposal were seriously made, it would not be met in the Houses of Parliament with a spontaneous and universal acceptance.

Again, the law confers on the landowner not only such a progressive benefit as arises from that increased capacity or fertility of the soil which comes from natural causes, and of which no sensible person would wish to deprive him, but also enables him to appropriate such special improve-

ments as, having been made by the outlay of the tenant, are not recoverable from that in which they are invested. There is no word which implies more, and yet has been more loosely interpreted, than fertility. It is supposed to be a quality of the soil, and from one point of view it is, for no cultivation can take place without land, and some qualities of land, are for reasons of climate, or from the absence of certain elements in the soil, or because the ground is bare rock, absolutely infertile. But fertility lies quite as much, from another point of view, in the capacity of the cultivator, or, in logical phraseology, as much in the subject as in the object. The alluvium of California, the prairies of Illinois and Ohio, were just as fertile, from the one point of view, when they were wandered over by hunting tribes, as they are now, when they are occupied by thriving and energetic American agriculturists. The hop lands of Kent, Surrey, and Worcester possessed the natural qualities which make them so valuable before the hop, in the latter end of the fifteenth century, was introduced from Holland, as they now are, when the cultivation of the plant has been carried to perfection in the selection of stocks and in the dressing of the soil. It is intelligence, at first the special intelligence of one or a few men, and finally the diffused or common intelligence of all who are engaged in this peculiar industry, which has conferred what may be called subjective fertility in certain districts.

It is from such fertility that rents have been developed and increased. The first person who, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, introduced winter roots from Holland, the great school of agricultural invention at that time, gained all the benefit of the venture himself. If he were a tenant, his landlord had no means of appropriating his invention, or his capacity for making profit by the invention. As soon as the process was diffused among all agriculturists, the landlord came in necessarily and naturally for his share of the profit. In England the result of this improvement was that the population was doubled in the seventeenth century. At the beginning of the eighteenth another improvement was borrowed from Holland. Some English agriculturists betook themselves to the cultivation of artificial grasses, as they are called. In the reign of George I. the tiny newspapers of the time contain the advertisements of seedsmen calling attention to the new grasses—rye, clover, and saintfoin. The same result followed: the skill of one farmer became in due time the skill of all farmers, and rents increased with the diffusion of intelligence in agriculture. Similarly the population was doubled in the eighteenth century. It is a practice with many people who know nothing of the history of agriculture to speak of the suddenness of mechanical inventions and the slow progress of agricultural improvement. But the fact is that the slowness lies in the diffusion of the process of agricultural improvement. If any one were at the pains to find out what was the produce of a plot of land three centuries ago, and compare it with the produce of the same plot at the present time,

he would be able to measure the growth of agriculture. He could arrive at a solution of the question in a still more rapid way if he compared the rent of the plot at the remote, with the rent of the plot at the present time. No value has risen between now and the Middle Ages in such a proportion as rent has; and the cause is, that present fertility is due to the diffused intelligence of agriculturists.

It is, therefore, of the highest interest to landowners that every encouragement should be given to those processes by which intelligence is brought to bear on agricultural operations, and that intelligence may be extended to as many persons as can possibly share it, under the most favourable conditions conceivable. For it is peculiar to agricultural operations that they have no secrets. The farmer works in the light. He cannot preserve his property in his art, in so far as this consists in hiding skill and method from imitation. No farmer can protect his own craft by a patent. No law of trespass can prevent his neighbours from using their eyes and profiting by the use. Fortunately, too, the farmer invites publicity to his operations, and can hardly, if he were so minded, keep the process dark to which his results are due. It is possible that some farmers make a mystery of the manure which they use in dressing land, and the quantities which they employ. But it may be supposed that the mystery is very penetrable. Further, the value of their products is determined by absolute and naked competition. Better prices mean better qualities. The farmer is the one tradesman who has no fancy price, can employ no tricks of trade. A pair of boots made in Clerkenwell or Paddington may be sold at fifteen shillings in the place of their origin, and at thirty shillings in Regent Street, but the price of a quarter of wheat in Mark Lane, Penzance, or Edinburgh is not differentiated by any consideration whatever, except by the number of pounds to the bushel and the feel of the grain.

When the Corn Law agitation was at its height there was nothing which the wise and shrewd men of that generation insisted on more emphatically than the two economical facts, that free trade in food would not lower rents, but heighten them; would not lower wages, but heighten them. The advocates of protection were as peremptory and impatient as the Duke of Argyll is now, when he resents and mis-states the arguments of Mr. Bear and others in favour of the farmer's freedom. It was an unhappy and mischievous hindrance to wise legislation more than thirty years ago that we had to convert people to the due recognition of their own interests, and the same hindrance will be operative now, and for the same occult causes. To those who remember the days of the Anti-Corn Law agitation, it is plain that the resistance to change was in reality due quite as much to the fear that "territorial influence" would be extinguished by the trade in food, as to the dread that rents would fall. But territorial influence has, happily or unhappily, not diminished, and the predictions of the Free Traders as to the effect of the change on rents and wages have been triumphantly verified.

The income tax is the worst tax which has ever been invented or imposed. It is unjust, immoral, delusive. But it operates in one direction with scientific precision, and if there could be found any excuse for an impost which has done more to degrade the historical integrity of Englishmen than any other fiscal expedient whatever, not excepting lotteries, it is in the evidence which this tax gives us as to the rise in rent. This rise during the last twenty years is 21 per cent., as we learn from the increase in the return on farmers' rents. The ordinary statement that land is a bad investment because it only pays from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent. on cost price is to be corrected, therefore, by the fact that in the purchase of land the regular rise in its value has been as regularly anticipated by vendor and purchaser, and that what people pay for is not merely the present value, but the prospective increase in value.

A part of this rise in rent is due to the diffusion of agricultural skill—*i.e.*, to the increased power of the farmer to produce equal quantities of produce at less cost, or greater quantities at equal cost. That this growing power of agriculture is the cause of the rise in rents, no person who has studied the history of agriculture can for a moment doubt. The fact was obscured for a time by the existence of the Corn Laws, and the effect of these laws, the uncertainty of foreign supply. Under such circumstances, land which would not in the presence of foreign competition have yielded rent, or even profit, under the imperfect agriculture then known, was taken into cultivation, because in the presence of restriction and uncertainty, it might be and often was profitable to till it. But when the Corn Laws were repealed, and the English farmer was only protected by the cost of freight from foreign parts, the invariable law of prices in these industries whose products are various, but which are all in regular demand, came into operation. The price of wheat fell, it is true, but the price of other kinds of grain was increased. This fact is proved by the tithe averages, which, taken from the prices of the three kinds of grain—wheat, barley, and oats—have been in excess on an average during the last thirty years of the values which were treated under the commutation as normal. But if the rise in the price of barley and oats has more than compensated for the fall in wheat, still more have other products of agriculture risen in price. Meat and dairy produce are nearly if not quite double the prices at which they stood, when the energies of the tenant farmers were concentrated on the yield of wheat, and before railway communication enabled the country to forward its supplies to the towns.

It is probable, however, that the rise in rents has been assisted by the competition for farms, and that this competition has had not a little to do with the reduction of the farmers' profits. It cannot be doubted that within the last ten or fifteen years capitalist callings have been seriously overcrowded,—that, for example, there is an inordinate competition between producers and traders for an amount of business which has

not increased proportionately to the number of persons who strive to share it. Now where the product of any industry or trade is valued on the strictest principle of competition, business profits will fall, till the competition of traders and producers is checked, or till habit induces capitalists to acquiesce in lower rates of profit than before. Thus, it is said that much of the depression which prevails in the textile industries is to be traced to over-production, which must mean production at such low rates of profit as do not remunerate the capitalist, and the accumulation of such a supply of labour as tempts the employer to save himself from a further depreciation of profits, by reducing wages. The competition of retail traders is not of the same kind. Custom has, in the distribution of goods, to a large extent, regulated retail prices, as is proved by the fact that the same article is sold at very different rates to different classes of persons, and in different but not distant localities. Retail traders, in fact, generally compete against each other, not by lowering prices, but by extending business. Here the remedy, as stated above, is the co-operative shop.

The farmer is under the sharpest conditions of competition in disposing of his produce. His goods are sold by the higgling of the market. A customary price is unknown to butchers and bakers when they purchase cattle and flour, however much their customers may suspect that they are the victims of artificial charges in dealing with such traders in retail trade. And more than any other producers, they are forced to sell; for, with few exceptions, their produce does not improve with keeping, or is costly to keep. The price of the English farmer's wheat is fixed by foreign supply, plus the cost of carriage; that of his meat and some kinds of dairy produce by the same conditions. His industry is regulated by an ever-widening market. But though he is acute enough in interpreting the best price which he can get, he is very helpless in bargaining for the use of that from which his produce is obtained. It is probable that no occupation is so hereditary as that of a farmer of agricultural land. The number of persons who, not being the sons of farmers, learn the art of agriculture, is certainly very small. Of course the sons of farmers seek other callings, but one son generally looks forward to succeeding to his father's occupation and to the same holding. I have talked to many farmers who have been, from father to son, tenants of the same estate for centuries. Nor is there any occupation which so generally disables the person who has been brought up to it from following any other, as the pursuit of agriculture does. To fail in this calling is to be precluded from other callings, except to a very limited extent, for sometimes a farmer who has not been successful in his own business, becomes a land agent, or land valuer, or a bailiff in husbandry. Hence the competition for farms has been eager. Farmers allow themselves to be bound by covenants which are often of the most absurd character, but which are traditional in lawyers' and land-agents' offices, and submit, though not without deep misgivings, to the

indefinite ravages of ground game. That the risks of the farmer calling's have increased, that the exercise of his skill is checked, and that he has been forced by excessive competition, under very adverse circumstances, into offering more for his holding than will leave him a reasonable prospect of fair profit, is asserted by farmers themselves, and cannot be gainsaid by dispassionate observers, either on fact or principle.

But it may be confidently said, and abundantly proved, that there is no interest the success of which is more advantageous to a community than that of agriculture. The British farmer is on the whole more skilled in his own art than any agriculturist in the world,—*i.e.*, under favourable circumstances, no cultivator of the soil in any European country produces so much from an equal area as he does. His live stock, though, with the exception of sheep, it is comparatively scanty, is of the highest quality. Any one who has seen the agriculture of France and Germany knows how far larger is the yield of English arable, and how much better as a rule is its quality. But this yield is only obtained under favourable circumstances, and these circumstances, taking the whole produce through, are so rarely accorded that the critics of British agriculture tell us that the soil of this country does not produce half what it might under better tillage, or, as we may more accurately say, under fairer conditions of tenure; and some enthusiasts aver that the possible productiveness is far greater than double the actual yield.

The success with which agriculture is practised is the measure of that part of the population which is set free for other employment, or may subsist at leisure. If human labour could procure only barely enough for human subsistence, no one could be spared from the labour of procuring subsistence, there would be no rent, no manufacture, except such domestic industry as could be pursued during the intervals of agricultural toil. But the rudest agriculture always produces far more than is necessary for the subsistence of the cultivator, and improved agriculture many times more than is enough. Hence the possibility of opulence depends primarily on the success with which agriculture is practised, and the growth of opulence depends on improvements in agricultural processes. Now when, owing to the limited area of the soil from which agricultural produce may be obtained, or to discouragements inflicted on the process of agricultural improvement, nations are forced to rely on foreign imports, they have to submit to such restraints on the process of exchange as the fiscal necessities of foreign governments, or the selfishness of powerful interests may impose, in addition to whatever other disadvantages foreign trade involves. And for reasons, too obvious to require explanation, the hindrances which foreign tariffs put on the producers of manufactured goods are far more serious and more general than those which are imposed on the traffic in raw materials. The impulse which induces a Government to listen to the interested false-

hoods of protectionist manufacturers does not extend so far as to affect the importation of raw materials, in those cases, at least, where the raw material is of foreign origin. There is hardly a civilised community which does not put heavy duties on our manufactures, but there are few or none who do not welcome, or, if they could, would not stipulate for, a free exportation of any raw material in which we possess a practical monopoly, and which is essential or highly advantageous to their industries. It is not likely that Bismark's protective tariff will impose heavy duties on English coal, in order to encourage the production and consumption of German lignite or German wood.

The most valuable, because the most certain, free, and intelligible trade is the home trade. We may dissent from some of the arguments on which Adam Smith maintained the superior advantage of the home to the foreign trade, but we may find many which are amply sufficient to justify his inferences. But there is no part of the home trade which is so certain, so regular, and so satisfactory, as that between the agriculturist and the manufacturer for home consumption. The truth was disguised when this country had a practical monopoly of foreign trade and consumption, when British products were so necessary that they overcame the barriers of hostile tariffs, and even total prohibition. But the conditions are changed. This country has formidable rivals in every branch of industry. Despite the mischief which their protective tariff does them, the inventiveness of the American people (doubtless assisted by the cheap Patent Law which they possess, as contrasted with the rapacious jobbery of our own office) is fast making protection superfluous in many manufactures. Mr. David Wells has shown that in the process of sugar-refining—though here the allegations, justly founded, of the English sugar-refiners against the indirect bounties of European countries do not apply—the Americans have outstripped the English. American cotton stuffs are energetically competing with our products even among our best customers, the half-civilised races of the Old and New World. We hear, though perhaps on no very good authority, that Belgium is rapidly rivalling us in machinery. At any rate, exaggerated as many of these statements may be, there is reason to conclude that with our manufactures only, we should really be in the condition of an adverse balance of exchange,—a state of things which all economists have deprecated as retrograde,—and that we are saved from an even more ruinous depreciation of English manufactures, mainly from the enormous indebtedness of foreign countries to England, an indebtedness which must be liquidated by a real balance of imports.

In the present depression of trade nothing is more conspicuous than that of agriculture. Those who know most about the farmer's condition tell us that his capital is nearly exhausted, and that his spirit is well-nigh gone. Living as I do in a town, the trade of which is largely connected with a wide agricultural district,—Oxford is more remote from other considerable places than any other English town, and is therefore,

apart from its academical associations, a typically agricultural town,—I hear complaints far and wide of the indebtedness and poverty of the agriculturists, and reiterated assurances that unless something be done, and that speedily, to relieve agricultural distress, the mischief which is now menacing will be irremediable. High rents, low prices, scanty produce, increased cost of labour, and, it is added, lower quality of labour rendered for larger wages, have, it is said, made the farmer's calling a losing one. Nor, it is further said, will his condition be alleviated by a temporary remission of rent. What he wants is to hold his land at a fair market value, in the estimate of which he has no objection to competition, but in the tenure of which he demands that he shall be secure from capricious eviction, from an unfair appreciation of his rent, and, above all, that he should be encouraged to high farming by adequate compensation for such *bonâ fide* improvements as are made by his own capital, and in which the present state of the law gives him no protection whatever, and from the ravages of ground game.

The institution of private property, as every one knows who has studied, in a merely superficial manner, the history of law, owes its origin to the instinct which even a rudimentary society feels, that no industry will be effective, provident, and continuous in the absence of security. The first kind of property which human societies recognise is that of the products of labour. The last which they acknowledge is the full ownership of land. It is less than a century and a half since the last relics of a custom, by which the assent of the tenant to a landlord's conveyance was necessary, were done away. No society can or will recognise that the right of property in land, and the power of using it at discretion, is as extensive as the ownership over movable goods. It is guaranteed by the fact that land will not be used to the full for the good of the owner immediately, and for the good of the community indirectly, unless the individual owner has adequate motives for turning it to the best account. Hence the possession of land is always, and must always be, proper compensation being made to the owner, resumable at the discretion of the community, and in the interests of the community. If an illustration may be taken from a custom, now obsolete, but once general over all kinds of movable goods, the State cannot, and will not, relinquish its right to the purveyance of land. It will for domestic reasons override the most sacred traditions of the past, the most cherished sentiments of the present. It is important to remember this at a time when the most fantastic theories of the right of property in land are advocated, and are not unnaturally met by theories equally unwarrantable and equally mischievous, as to the right of the State to appropriate the whole natural increase in the value of land, the appropriation of which by the owner is and should be his reward in that great partnership of landlord and tenant from which agricultural improvement alone can be expected.

But the tenant is as much in need of security as the landowner.

And it is in the facts, first, that he does not obtain that security in the contract for the continuous use of land which is essential to the adequate employment of his capital, and next that it is matter of the highest public interest that he should obtain such a security as would encourage him in his outlay, that the fundamental fallacy of the Duke of Argyll's defence of the existing system lies. It is true that at the moment of the contract for the occupation of land the farmer is a free agent. He can take it or leave it alone at his pleasure. No one forces him to become a tenant of this or that man. Of course even this statement of his situation is hypothetical, for a man cannot easily abandon his calling, and therefore may be forced to make disadvantageous terms, and the policy of English law, which permits the accumulation of land in few hands, and hinders the natural distribution of it, puts a direct but artificial power into the discretion of the owner. Perhaps, if the laws of the United Kingdom had not violated natural justice and obvious expediency, by permitting settlements on certain persons, much of the difficulty in the way of agricultural farming would have been obviated. But immediately after the contract is entered on, the tenant is in a position of disadvantage, and the disadvantage increases with the efficiency of his industry, and the vigour with which he applies his art towards inducing the greatest possible fertility on the land which he occupies. Perhaps the nature of a contract for the occupation of land in its most exaggerated features was best seen in the Irish cottier rents. Here the land was let by auction. The policy of England had made nearly every Irishman a cottier tenant, and the offer of rent was far in excess of what could possibly be paid. The landlord did absolutely nothing for the land from which he derived his rent. But to call the cottier's rent a free contract is an abuse of terms. It would be as reasonable to say that the price which Bishop Hatto in the legend wished to procure from the starving inhabitants of the German town was a free contract value. When such a condition of things occurs, all human societies would allege that the ownership of private property must be modified or suspended.

It has been said that the occupier of land is placed at a disadvantage immediately on the acceptance of the contract for occupation, and that this disadvantage increases with the excellence of the work which he does. For quite apart from the fact that he must suffer a loss when he is dislodged from his occupation, however carefully he tries to protect himself against irrecoverable outlay, every intelligent agriculturist is aware that high farming is the only kind of cultivation which can be profitable; in other words, that the only agriculture which pays is that which puts land into the best possible heart. Now, it is much more easy to exhaust land than it is to improve it, to get it out of condition than to get it into condition. But the motive to bring land into condition is discouraged by insecurity, by the sense that whatever the cultivator of the soil may have expended on this necessary process lies

at the mercy of his landlord's caprice or greed. Nor is it any answer to say that English tenants prefer an annual holding to a lease. For in a lease the discouragement is only postponed, as those who are acquainted with the practical working of a Scotch lease allow. The English tenant farmer prefers an annual holding to a lease, because many English landowners do not take advantage of the outlay of their tenants, while a lease would imply that they intended to do so at the termination of the lease, and that in the revision of the lease the tenant's expenditure would be added to the landlord's property. That the Legislature, in passing the absurd and abortive Agricultural Holdings Act, was determined, quite apart from the contracting clauses, to insist that the most costly, the most important, and the most operative part of the tenant's outlay should remain at the mercy of the landowner is shown by the fact that the Act took out of the Schedule of Unexhausted Improvements that operation which is necessary in order to bring land into good condition for profitable agriculture.

It is very probable and, *ceteris paribus*, may be considered as certain that, were solid security given against loss on dispossession, and loss by the confiscation of unexhausted improvements, rents would rise. Nobody believes that it is expedient to let land at less than the market rate of rent, and just as hitherto, in the purchase of land, buyers calculate the prospect of an increased annual value in the price which they are willing to give for land, so the tenant farmer would be willing to pay an additional price for security against loss. It has been argued that the advantage which is claimed for the tenant would appear in his rent. But whatever increase might be effected would not be an equivalent to the advantage which the tenant would find in being able, without peril to himself, to develop the fertility of his holding to the uttermost. Nor is it at all difficult for experts to distinguish in any readjustment of rent, which under this system would have to be made at stated periods, between the tenant's outlay and that value which is added to land by the diffused intelligence of agriculturists in the practice of their art. As long as tenant farmers are at the mercy of land agents, and as long as they take landlords into their counsels, they will be told that there is no distinguishing between the one and the other kind of increment. But a jury of farmers, a *conseil des prudhommes*, would have no difficulty in arriving at a decision.

Some legislation—which shall result in a bonâ fide Agricultural Holdings Act, with compensation or security to tenants accorded in the fullest measure, and with corresponding clauses protecting the landowners against any abuse on the part of the tenant in dealing with the land—is absolutely necessary in order to save the capital of the farmer from extinction, and the art of agriculture from arrest or decline. Such a measure should be enacted by the consent of all parties, for the present condition of things is a national calamity of unexampled magnitude and menace. There are, and there will be, men who are content to sacrifice

the public good to private interest, and to refuse pressing reforms because they dread that the influence which they wield under the existing system will be imperilled. But if it be, as it seems to be, certain, that a great and an all-important national industry is endangered by the present practice, it is equally certain that the remedy must come, and that if it be forced upon the landowners from without and against their will, they will be left in the end as powerless as the Scotch landlords are said to be left in Scotch politics, and the Irish landlords in the face of the Home Rule movement. The highest wisdom in the art of government is that which yields an untenable position. The farming interest will be ruined, and rents must experience a serious and permanent decline; or security must be given, and rents will recover their old level, or even be increased. It is to be regretted that some public-spirited and far-seeing landowners have not had the courage to try what a lease would do, in which the tenant's genuine outlay were efficiently secured to him, the landlord's interests were protected from mismanagement or dishonesty on the part of the tenant, and provision were made for periodical revaluations, in which the landlord's portion, if any, of the natural increase in the value of land, could be distinguished from the special value which has been induced by the tenant's personal and individual outlay.

It is singular that landowners, who resist with such earnestness the claims of a tenant to obtain compensation for his irrecoverable but valuable property, should forget that, with far less reason, they have long ago obtained an analogous security against their own creditors. In strictness there is no more complete conveyance on condition than a mortgage is. The mortgagor transfers his estate to the mortgagee on the understanding that if a payment be not made at a given date the mortgagee shall be entitled to the property which is pledged under the deed. But from very early times an equitable interpretation has been induced on these bargains, and the mortgagor has been protected against the risk of losing his estate by an act of his own improvidence and negligence. But if a landowner is to be saved from the effect of his own errors, *à fortiori* a farmer should be protected from loss incurred by the exercise of his own enterprise, perseverance, and skill. If a landowner, the transfer of whose estate from him to some other person would represent only a private loss, is to be secured against the risk of that loss, much more should an agriculturist, the discouragement of whose skill is not only a personal loss, and a very grievous one, but a national loss of the most serious and alarming kind, be encouraged to press his skill to the very utmost, and to be put into the position of, fairly and without any exceptional advantages, striving to make head against the competition which, more than in almost any other calling, fixes the value of his products by the higgling of the market. I remember that some years ago an eminent nobleman, who had good reason to know the facts of the case, admitted to me that the great

growth of Lancashire industry was due to the almost universal custom of letting land on chief, that is, on a perpetual lease, in which the tenant secured all the advantages of his outlay, and that he believed that in the absence of this custom the growth of the great Lancashire towns would have never taken place.

An ordinary lease is no remedy. Of course there may be extraordinary leases, in which a tenant, in consideration of a very low rent, covenants to make certain permanent improvements, and in which he thereby is repaid in the reduction of natural rent. But in the nature of things these tenancies are rare, it being much more the landowner's interest to make the improvement himself. If there were cases in which such leases were likely to be granted, it would be by corporations, especially those of the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges. But it is the practice of these bodies, who have every interest to secure during the tenure of their fellowships the utmost benefit of the estates which constitute their endowments, to borrow the money needed for the improvement, as the least expensive way of meeting the charge. But in a lease for a term of years, as is frequently said, the first few years—especially in Scotland—are not remunerative, because the tenant is at work in getting his land into condition. During the middle of his lease he does obtain the full value of his outlay, if his bargain has been judicious, the seasons on an average favourable, and the price of produce reasonably good. But during the last years of his lease he has every motive to get the most he can out of the land, and to bring it again into that condition in which he found it. It may be said that the practice is dishonest or unfair, but law and custom are quite as frequently responsible for dishonesty in the conduct of business as human nature is. If the landowner forces the tenant to a game of hide and seek, he must expect the risks of the game, and must put up with them.

But the interests of the public are even more important, if, indeed, they can be estimated separately, than those of the farmer. There is no loss so total as that of a declining agriculture, an artificial barrenness induced on the national estate. English agriculture prospered in spite of her trade; it prospered by reason of her trade; it is paralysed because its capital is exposed to the risk of rapine under the forms of law. The paralysis of credit, when successful knavery poisons the very springs of trade, is in its nature temporary, and appals one more by its suddenness and intensity than it does by the continuity of its force. A market may be closed or narrowed by the malignity of a protective tariff, or by the ravages of war and pestilence. But the world is wide, and trade is always finding new fields for its operations. A prodigal Government may waste the means of the nation which in a moment of frenzy or folly trusted itself to evil guidance, and from which it may not, till a favourable time occurs, shake itself free. But the opportunity is given to the nation sooner or later, and, in the interval, it can sharpen

its energies by reflection, and countervail its losses by thrift and self-denial. But the disease which destroys a national industry of the most important and naturally progressive character, which has till recent times been an example to all analogous industry, is as dangerous as it is insidious. If the cause is to be found, and the remedy can be applied, the mischief should be met without delay. *Ense recidendum est*, however much prejudice may be shocked, power taken away, and pride abased.

The home trade is the most important branch of the nation's business. If this be flourishing, foreign trade will hardly languish. But no activity in the latter will compensate for decline in the former. At the present moment agricultural distress is the cause of much of the depression from which the people is suffering. It is idle to say that the present anxiety is confined, even principally, to the cotton, iron, and coal industries. There is no form of productive industry which is not more or less affected. The last miserable four years do not exhibit their losses in the growth of the public debt, and the decline of the public revenue, in the masses of unemployed capital, and in the wholesale destruction of credit only. The nation is by many millions poorer than it was, and its poverty is most intense in those directions where prosperity was most required, where prosperity has been destroyed, and where prosperity is least easily recoverable. The farmer's capital has been lost, and to talk to him of beneficial leases and free contracts is to mock him with fictions, the hollowness of which he knows—to point out the London Tavern to a wayfarer whose pockets are empty, and whose appetite is keen. There is only one process which will restore him, if it be not too late, and, with his restoration, that of the industries which thrive when he thrives, and this process is the grant of security to his capital. Under such a reform his enterprise would second his intelligence. Without it his intelligence has no fair field for action, because the spirit of enterprise is cowed. Simultaneously, too, with a prosperous agriculture, trade would revive in that direction where manufacturing industry has its surest market, and reaps its quickest returns.

The distribution of wealth in a country is more important than its production; is infinitely more important than its accumulation in large masses. A country whose productive powers are weak cannot, indeed, be rich; but one which merely exhibits the phenomena of vast wealth in few hands may be very poor. But that community is strongest, most able to bear sacrifices, and least liable to be bowed down by reverses, in which the production of wealth is active, but in which the distribution of wealth is also general. When Washington, on removing the custom of primogeniture in Virginia, was urged that the change would put down all the carriages and four, and answered that there would be many more carriages and two, he affirmed the doctrine that nations were opulent in proportion to the extent to which wealth was

distributed, and opulence diffused. The general distribution of wealth in France is one of the causes why that country suffers less from a reverse, and recovers more rapidly than other countries do. The rapid increase of wealth in the United States is assisted by the fact that the natural distribution of wealth is not hindered by any custom or law. The great extent of fertile land easily worked, the tribute of labour which the Old World pays to the States, and the great advantages of climate and situation which the Republic enjoys, might well have been neutralised by a debt created in the most lavish fashion, by a currency which ought to have paralysed the operations of trade, and by an insane protective tariff. But in the United States it is possible to treat the pauperism of adults as a crime, because wealth is so generally distributed, and the debt is being paid off with astonishing rapidity. The ordinary agriculture of France is poor, its herds of cattle and other live stock are inferior, and labour-saving machines are very scantily employed in the tillage of the soil. But it is no doubt the case that France, with a lessened territory, and under the pressure of these adverse times, which in various degrees have affected the industry of nearly all civilised countries, has exhibited more elasticity than any other European nation, and this, though the French have been heavily weighted with the costs of the war of 1870. Any one who compares the present industrial condition of France with that of Germany can see that gains and losses are not always to be measured by numerical quantities of money received and paid.

Perhaps the United Kingdom is the richest country in the world. It certainly possesses more loanable capital than any other, and holds, besides nearly all its own, a vast amount of debt owing by the British Colonies and foreign countries. It possesses huge masses of *intacte divitie*. It is the principal centre of financial operations. It has learnt the art of making its currency the most efficient of any. Its shipping is enormous, some say excessive, and that here the competition of capitalists has induced a depression of freight charges, which has reduced the profit of shippers to zero. It goes on saving, too, despite the very worst bankruptcy law which the civilised world exhibits, a law which appears designed to give the largest latitude to fraud, and to offer the gravest discouragements to integrity. Whatever may be the distress of manufacture and trade, there is no reason to believe that in the aggregate the inhabitants of these islands are consuming their capital. The price of *bonâ fide* securities does not fall, but, on the contrary, rises. Colonial Governments can borrow at rates which are far below that of advances on the best securities in the colony itself, as, for example, on the mortgage of real estate. Wealth is still being accumulated in England, and perhaps parsimony is engaged in adding to realised wealth as much as would be added if industry and trade were prosperous. But, on the other hand, there is no country, except India, in which the extremes of wealth and poverty are so

markedly contrasted as in England. There is no country in which so many people live from hand to mouth, so many who have no other property than that of their power to work for wages, none in which so many people, under the pressure of bad times, are so rapidly reduced to destitution. The fact is, law and custom in this country favour the accumulation and hinder the distribution of wealth, and therefore render the country peculiarly liable to the worst and most immediate effects of reverses in industry and trade.

There is, however, we repeat, no part of the industry of this country which is so seriously affected as that of agriculture, and there is only one cause for this phenomenon, the uncertainty which is artificially imposed on the farmer's calling. In itself it runs many risks. An unkindly spring, a wet harvest, may depress the hopes of the farmer's grain crops; continued drought or untimely frosts may do serious damage to his roots. Generally, however, Nature provides some compensation for the injuries she inflicts, and the gain on one side may balance the loss on the other. But there is no remedy for the uncertainty which an evil custom may induce on the farmer's calling, except the removal of the custom; and when the evil is detected, when the demand for relief becomes more general and more increasing, and when those who are not themselves immediately interested in agriculture begin to see that the fire in the house of Ucalegon endangers their own, it is time that selfish pleasures, stupid pride, the determination to assert indirect influence by keeping the tenant constantly within the risk and terror of loss, should be made to give way to justice and the public good. If it once becomes a public conviction that certain institutions in this country cannot be maintained, except at a great and growing public loss, the institutions will fall with the mischief which they create. No sane man in this country has the slightest wish to dispute the validity of property. No sensible man would desire to restrain bargains for the use of property. But it is quite easy for people to see that certain laws and customs may give an unfair advantage to one of the contracting parties, and that certain facts inherent in the nature of the contract may render it necessary that the law should correct anomalies which have no parallel in other countries, because the usages which give occasion to these anomalies are also without parallel. It is quite possible that at no very distant date the English people may make up its mind that what every economist of repute has condemned, the English law by which estates are inherited and settled, induces mischief so intolerable and loss so disastrous, that it must be peremptorily and irreversibly abrogated. The law of landlord and tenant has effected permanent discontent in Ireland, and will speedily have similar results in Great Britain. Now there is nothing so disastrous to any influence in society as to be put into a condition in which it must yield to menace what it has denied to justice.

The produce which is obtained by enterprise and capital from land, in the cultivation of which the agriculturist knows that he will reap the

reward of his own outlay is astonishing, so much so that Lord Derby's prediction of what this country could produce, if it were adequately cultivated, is probably a good deal below the mark. I have seen maintained on less than fifty acres of land, a hundred sheep, half a dozen cows, thirty lean pigs, and plenty of poultry, and I have been informed by the owner of the estate that the whole of this stock was maintained on the produce of the land. I have seen growing on this land, ryegrass and vetches in a dense mass, five feet high, through which the scythe could hardly force its way, and in the same year the owner scarcely knowing, with all his stock, what to do in August with the residue of his last year's mangolds. When this estate was purchased, the letting value of the land was set down at not more than fifteen shillings an acre, so exhausted was it. Of course one is told that such cultivation does not pay. But it is not easy to see how cultivation does not pay when the land is got into the condition in which it is, by the stock which is kept upon it. It is easy to see how it could not be made to pay, if the tenant were discouraged from improvement by uncertainty as to whether he should get back his outlay. But in the case quoted the owner asserts that he farms at a profit, and should farm at a greater profit, if the hands he hires had not been debilitated by low wages, and demoralised by bad farming elsewhere, and the discontent, and perhaps the dishonesty, which the feud between the farmers and the farm hands has stimulated. For it is said, and it may be well believed, that the efficiency of the farm labourer is declining. Such a result is not to be wondered at. Farms have for years past been depleted of those who, under a voluntary system of emigration, are likely to be the most active, enterprising, and trustworthy among the farm labourers, and the stocks left behind are by parity of reasoning likely to be the least efficient. It is not for nothing that pauper lunacy is so seriously on the increase, and is becoming so alarming a burden to industry. That the movement on behalf of the agricultural labourers' wages was not undertaken too soon appears to me to be self-evident. That the struggle was carried on in a manner which embittered both parties was to be expected, especially when we remember that farmers are likely to be influenced by class prejudices to a greater extent than most other employers of labour, and can detect more speedily than other employers what is likely to ensue from a general rise in wages. But, unfortunately, the English farmer, owing, no doubt, in a great degree to his peculiarly defenceless position, did not, by acknowledging the fair demands of the labourer, make the change in the situation the ground for requiring a reduction in rent, but has gone on raising rent by a ruinous competition for precarious occupancy, and has made common cause with one who is, economically speaking, his natural enemy, the landlord, against the farm labourer, who is, from the same economical aspect of the situation, his natural partner in the business of husbandry. For it is clear that as the diminished cost of cultivation is the true cause why

rent has increased, so anything which adds to the cost of cultivation, and especially dearer labour, should have its effect in diminishing rent.

Even, however, if high cultivation, such as has been indicated above, is not followed by business profit, a rejoinder constantly made, and as constantly denied by those who have no motive to deceive themselves or to be misled, it may be said, and justly, that the rejoinder comes naturally from the mouth of a tenant farmer, who, cultivating land on a precarious and discouraging occupancy, sees in the success of those who are secured in the profit of their outlay, an argument which the land agent or valuer may suggest to the landowner, that a little more rent may be squeezed out of the tenant. It has been stated above that the general disinclination of the English tenant farmer to accept a lease is due to the fact that he fears lest, under cover of fairness, he may be induced to risk his own capital on such current improvements as will make him, on the expiration of the term, liable to a fresh turn of the screw. It is probable that the Duke of Argyll would not even compel tenants to take a beneficial lease, in which rent should be lowered in order to recoup outlay, when it would be, as a rule, much cheaper and more satisfactory for the landowner to make the permanent improvements himself. And if the lease is not beneficial, and if the tenant is active and enterprising, he is likely to find, and he knows it to be likely, that he will be made to pay interest on his own outlay. The Income Tax Act, however, is tenderer to the tenant than his landlord is. In order, we may suppose, not to discourage him from such improvements as are and should be tenant's outlay, but which, it must be repeated, ought to remain his property, it taxes him on half his rent only, though it used to be supposed that the farmer's income, roughly taken, was equal to his rent.

Even if, however, the profits of high farming with full security for outlay were low, and it has been said that (owing partly to the difficulty which a farmer has in betaking himself to any new employment, partly to the very general liking there is for the life of the agriculturist) these profits are likely to be low, the farmers of another generation must bear with conditions of which they are themselves in great measure the cause, and for which, if we are to draw an inference from the number of farms now advertised as vacant, there will soon be a more or less efficacious remedy. Still, high cultivation adds to the aggregate of national wealth. It would be infinitely the better for England if men got bare interest on the money they invest in agriculture, or even less, that the savings of the nation should be invested in bettering English land than that they should be forwarded to the bankrupt Republics of the New World, or to the swindling Governments of the Old. The holder of foreign bonds has doubtlessly no feeling except for himself. It is nothing to him, as long as his interest is paid, that he lent his money to the depraved and rapacious Government of Turkey, or to the dishonest profligate who misrules Egypt. He says, or feels, *non olet*, when the money with which the loan, based on the security of

the Egyptian tribute, and for which Turkey does no service whatever, is extorted from the hunger and rags of the Egyptian peasant. But perhaps there is some comfort in the Nemesis which occasionally visits his investments, and makes him grieve, not over the misery which he has caused, but over the losses which he feels. But the kindest moralist need feel no compassion for the man who, with his eyes open, with the pleasure of his venture before him, and with no remorse that he is doing any harm to anybody but himself, betakes himself to the function of improving the fertility of land in his own country. It may be said that if all the savings of the English people which from 1825 to now have been bestowed by over-trusting confidence on foreign loans and undertakings, and on projects which adventurers have puffed into frauds, had been laid out in English land, as much of them would have been, under other conditions than those which now regulate the regulations of landlord and tenant in the United Kingdom, we should be now free from dependence on foreign supply, English agriculture would have advanced to a stage which it may not reach for a century, and we should be witnessing a different state of things from what we now see—a bankrupt farming interest, and a restless and dissatisfied peasantry.

It cannot be the interest of the English people that the farmer should be reduced to the condition of the Irish cottier, to offer a rent which he cannot possibly pay, and to hold his land under such a tenure as effectually disables and discourages him from improvement. The remedy for his present condition—which it is an absurdity to speak of as the result of two or three years' bad harvests, and of the competition of a foreign producer who is not weighted by the heavy conditions which depress the English agriculturist—ought to be lifted above the range of party questions, or if it is still to continue a party question, is far more urgent than the extension of the franchise and the redistribution of seats, however intrinsically important this reform may be. If the present Government cannot or will not offer anything beyond the miserable and delusive sham which appears in the Statute Book as the Agricultural Holdings Act, their rivals ought to do so. If the Whig aristocracy will not accede to the adoption of a necessary and imperative reform, the Liberal members for the boroughs must make common cause with the farmers in the counties, and insist that the general good of the nation must not be any longer sacrificed to irrational caprice, and to a pedantic assertion that the rights of property are being invaded, when the rights of property are really being secured. As there is no property in vice, so there should be none in rapine.

The concession of such a tenant right as is indicated in these pages is illustrated in detail by the excellent exposition of the tenant's case by Mr. Bear and others, and could have only one inconvenience, the emancipation of the tenant farmer from the caprices of the landowner, the game preserver, and the land agent. But to every one else it would do incalculable and permanent good. It would secure, by strengthening

the home trade, the manufacturer from many of the risks which now affect his market, risks which have given rise to the paradox that his losses are due to cosmic causes. It would make the farmer, who manages his land with common enterprise, industry, and courage, opulent, and quite capable of grappling with foreign competition. It would give a stimulus to local trade, and revive many a decaying town. It would eventually, and probably in a very short time, raise the landlord's rent, for people are willing enough to pay for that security which is the fundamental condition of prosperity. It would raise the labourers' wages, and arrest the needless outflow of emigration, for farmers would gladly pay for what secures their profits, and labourers would have a greater interest in the increased wages which they might obtain from the competition of employers, than they can have in the enforced improvement of their condition by the machinery of a trade union and a strike. For it is the invariable effect of an economical reform that it benefits all who come within the range of the operation which the reform affects, and there is no reform the benefits of which are more universal than that which emancipates the oldest, the most deeply-rooted, the most profitable, and the most necessary of the industries which civilization has adopted and improved, and which a barbarous law has crippled and retarded.

JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS.

ORIGEN AND THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY.

I.

- A Letter of Resolution concerning Origen and the chief of his Opinions* . . . 1661. [By G. Rust, afterwards Bishop of Dromore.]
HURT, P.D., (Bishop of Avranches + 1721): *Origeniana*, 1668
SCHNITZER, K. F.: *Origenes ueber die Grundlehren der Glaubenswissenschaft*, 1835.
THOMASUS, G.: *Origenes*, 1837
REDEFERNING, E. R.: *Origenes*, 1841.
HUBER, J.: *Philosophie d. Kirchenväter*, 1859.

THE progress of Christianity can best be represented as a series of victories. But when we speak of victories we imply resistance, suffering, loss: the triumph of a great cause, but the triumph through effort and sacrifice. Such, in fact, has been the history of the Faith: a sad and yet a glorious succession of battles, often hardly fought, and sometimes indecisive, between the new life and the old life. We know that the struggle can never be ended in this visible order; but we know also that more of the total powers of humanity, and more of the fulness of the individual man are brought from age to age within the domain of the truth. Each age has to sustain its own part in the conflict, and the retrospect of earlier successes gives to those who have to face new antagonists and to occupy new positions, patience and the certainty of hope.

In this respect the history of the first three centuries—the first complete period, and that a period of spontaneous evolution in the Christian body—is an epitome or a figure of the whole work of the Faith. It is the history of a three-fold contest between Christianity and the Powers of the Old World, closed by a three-fold victory. The Church and the Empire started from the same point and advanced side by side. They met in the market and the house; they met in the discussions of the Schools; they met in the institutions of political government; and in each place the Church was triumphant. In this way Christianity asserted, once for all, its sovereign power among men by the victory of common life, by the victory of thought, by the victory of civil organization. These first victories contain the promise of all that later ages have to reap.

The object of this and a following paper is to indicate some features in the second of these victories, the victory of thought. And, before going

further, we would ask the reader to observe that this victory of thought is the second, and not the first, in order of accomplishment. The succession involves a principle. The Christian victory of common life was wrought out in silence and patience and nameless agonies. It was the victory of the soldiers and not of the captains of Christ's army. But in due time another conflict had to be sustained, not by the masses, but by great men, the consequence and the completion of that which had gone before.

It is with the society as with the individual. The discipline of action precedes the effort of reason. The work of the many prepares the medium for the subtler operations of the few. So it came to pass that the period during which this second conflict of the Faith was waged was, roughly speaking, from the middle of the second to the middle of the third century.

This period, from the accession of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161) to the accession of Valerian (A.D. 253) was for the Gentile world a period of unrest and exhaustion, of ferment and of indecision. The time of great hopes and creative minds was gone. The most conspicuous men were, with few exceptions, busied with the past. There is not among them a single writer who can be called a poet. They were lawyers, or antiquarians, or commentators, or grammarians, or rhetoricians. One indeed, the greatest of all, Galen, would be ranked, perhaps, in modern times, as a "positivist." Latin literature had almost ceased to exist: even the meditations of an Emperor were in Greek. The fact is full of meaning. Greek was the language not of a people, but of the world. Local beliefs had lost their power. Even old Rome ceased to exercise an unquestioned moral supremacy. Men strove to be cosmopolitan. They strove vaguely after a unity in which the scattered elements of ancient experience should be harmonized. The effect can be seen both in the policy of statesmen and in the speculations of philosophers, in Marcus Aurelius, or Alexander Severus, or Decius, no less than in Plotinus or Porphyry. As a necessary consequence, the teaching of the Bible accessible in Greek began to attract serious attention among the heathen. The assailants of Christianity, even if they affected contempt, showed that they were deeply moved by its doctrines. The memorable saying of Numenius, "What is Plato but Moses speaking in the language of Athens?" shows at once the feeling after spiritual sympathy which began to be entertained, and the want of spiritual insight in the representatives of Gentile thought. Though there is no evidence that Numenius studied or taught at Alexandria, his words express the form of feeling which prevailed there. Nowhere else were the characteristic tendencies of the age more marked than in that marvellous city. Alexandria had been from its foundation a meeting-place of the East and West—of old and new—the home of learning, of criticism, of syncretism. It presented a unique example in the Old World of that mixture of races which forms one

of the most important features of modern society. Indians, Jews, Greeks, Romans, met there on common ground. Their characteristic ideas were discussed, exchanged, combined. The extremes of luxury and asceticism existed side by side. Over all the excitement and turmoil of the recent city rested the solemn shadow of Egypt. The thoughtful Alexandrine inherited in the history of countless ages, sympathy with a vast life. For him, as for the priest who is said to have rebuked the pride of Solon, the annals of other nations were but episodes in a greater drama in which he played his part with a full consciousness of its grandeur. The pyramids and the tombs repeated to him the reproof of isolated assumption often quoted from Plato by Christian apologists :* " You Greeks are always children ; you have no doctrine hoary with age." While it was so with the thoughtful Alexandrines, others found in restless scepticism or fitful superstition or fanatical passion, frequent occasions for violence. All alike are eager for movement, sympathising with change, easily impressed and bold in giving utterance to their feelings, confident in their resources and trusting to the future.

We have a picture of the people from an imperial pen. The Emperor Hadrian, who himself entered the lists with the professors at the Museum,† has left in a private letter a vivid account of the impression which they produced upon him as he saw them from the outside. " There is" [at Alexandria], he writes,‡ " no ruler of the synagogue among the Jews, no Samaritan, no Christian, who is not also an astrologer, a soothsayer, a trainer. . . . The inhabitants are most seditious, inconstant, insolent : the city is wealthy and productive, seeing that no one lives there in idleness. Some make glass, others make paper. . . . The lame have their occupation ; the blind follow a craft ; even the crippled lead a busy life. Money is their god. Christians, Jews, and Gentiles combine unanimously in the worship of this deity. . . ."

One element in this confusion, indicated by Hadrian, is too remarkable to be passed over without remark. The practice of magic, which gained an evil prominence in the later Alexandrine schools, was already coming into vogue. Celsus compared the miracles of the Lord with " the feats of those who have been taught by Egyptians."§ Such a passion, even in its grosser forms, is never without some moral, we may perhaps say, some spiritual, importance. Its spread at this crisis can hardly be misinterpreted. There was a longing among men for some sensible revelation of the unseen ; and a conviction that such a revelation was possible. Even Origen appears to admit the statement that demons were vanquished by the use of certain names which lost their virtue if translated,|| and he mentions one interesting symptom of the general excitement which belongs to the better side of the feeling.

* Comp. Potter, *CLEM. ALEX. Strom.* i. 15, p. 356.

† Vopiscus, *Saturn.* c. 8.

§ Orig., c. *Cels.* i. 68.

† Spartianus, *Hadrian.* p. 10.

|| *Ibid.*, v. 45.

"Many," he says, "embraced Christianity, as it were, against their will. Some spirit turned their mind (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν) suddenly from hating the Word to being ready to die for it, and shewed them visions either waking or sleeping."* One who is reckoned among the martyrs whom Origen himself trained furnishes an example.† Basilides, a young soldier, shielded a Christian maiden from insult on her way to death. She promised to recompense him. A few days after he confessed himself a Christian. He said that Potamizena, such was the maiden's name, had appeared to him three days after her martyrdom, and placed a crown upon his head, and assured him that he, in answer to her prayers, would shortly share her victory. So then it was that argumentative scepticism and stern dogmatism, spiritualism, as it would be called at the present day, and materialistic pantheism, each in its measure a symptom of instability and spiritual unrest, existed side by side at Alexandria in the second century, just as may be the case in one of our cities now, where the many streams of life converge. But in all this variety there was a point of agreement, as there is, I believe, among ourselves. Speculation was being turned more and more in a theological direction. Philosophers were learning to concentrate their thoughts on questions which lie at the basis of religion. In very different schools they were listening for the voice, as Plato said, "of some divine Word."

It is easy to see what was the natural office of Christianity in such a society. Alexandria offered an epitome of that Old World which the Faith had to quicken in all its parts. The work had been already recognised. Early in the second century manifold attempts were made there to shape a Christian solution of the enigmas of life which thought and experience had brought into a definite form. The result was seen in the various systems of gnosticism, which present in a strange and repellent dialect many anticipations of the Transcendentalism of the last generation. Such speculations were premature and ended in failure; but they rendered an important service to Christian philosophy. They fixed attention upon those final problems of life, of which a religion which claims to be universal must take account. How did rational creatures come into being? How, that is, can we reconcile the co-existence of the Absolute and the finite? And again: How did rational creatures fall? how, that is, can we conceive of the origin of evil? Or, indeed, are not both these questions in the end one? and is not limitation itself evil? To some perhaps such questions may appear to be wholly foreign to true human work, but they were the questions which were uppermost in men's minds at the time of which we speak; and for the sake of clearness it will be well to distinguish at once the three different types of answers which are rendered to them, two partial and tentative, answering respectively to the East and West, the Gnostic and Neo-Platonic: the third provisionally complete for man, the

* c. *Cels.* i. 46.† Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 5.

Christian. The differences will be most clearly seen if we refer the other answers to the Christian as a standard of comparison. As against the Gnostic, then, the Christian maintained that the universe was created, not by any subordinate or rival power, but by an act of love of the One Infinite God, and that evil is not inherent in matter but due to the will of free creatures. As against the Neo-Platonist, he maintained the separate, personal existence of God as one to be approached and worshipped, Who thinks and loves; the reality of a redemption consequent on the Incarnation; the historical progress of the sum of life to an appointed end. As against both, he maintained that God is immanent in the world, and separate though not alien from it: that the world was originally and essentially good: that it has been and is disturbed by unseen forces: that man is the crown and end of creation.

And yet further: Gnostic and Platonist despaired of the world and of the mass of men. Both placed safety in flight: they knew of no salvation for the multitude. The Christian, on the other hand, spoke, argued, lived, with the spirit of a conqueror who possessed the power of transfiguring to nobler service what he was charged to subdue. Others sought for an abstraction which was beyond and above all comprehension and all worship, an abstraction which ever escaped from them: he had been found by One who came down to earth and became flesh.* Others laboriously framed systems designed to meet the wants and the intelligence of the few: he appealed to all in virtue of a common divine faculty and a common God-given freedom, of a universal message and a universal fact. Others looked forward for peace, to the advent of what they called "The Great Ignorance," when each creature should obtain perfect repose by knowing nothing better than itself: he had already begun to know the calmness of joy in absolute surrender to One infinitely great.

The development and co-ordination of these conceptions, of these realities was, or rather is, necessarily gradual. But it is of importance to notice that from the moment when philosophers expressed their difficulties, Christian teachers undertook to meet them on their own lines. Christian teachers did not lay aside the philosopher's mantle in virtue of their office, but rather assumed it. At Alexandria, a Christian "School"—the well-known Catechetical School—arose by the side of the Museum. In its constitution no less than in its work this School bore a striking if partial resemblance to the "schools of the prophets" under the old Dispensation. It was not ecclesiastical in its organisation. Its teachers were not necessarily, or always in fact, priests. Its aim was not to perpetuate a system, but to gain fresh conquests. From obscure beginnings the work went on. Great thought, great principles found utterance; and then a master was raised up not unworthy to combine and quicken them.

* Comp. Kingsley, *The Schools of Alexandria*, p. 100.

The first famous names which occur in connexion with the School, those of Pantænus and Clement, might well detain us.* Both men were led to the Faith through the study of Philosophy. Both continued the study as Christians. They had learnt the needs of men by their own experience, and by that they interpreted what they had found. The scanty notices of Pantænus which have been preserved suggest the idea of a man of originality and vigour, who combined action with thought.

Clement again is perhaps in intuitive power the greatest in the line of Catechists. It would be easy to collect from his writings a series of pregnant passages containing, with some significant exceptions, an outline of the system of Origen; but he had himself no sense of a system. The last book in his Trilogy is fitly called "Miscellanies." He appears also to have wanted practical energy, and even if this assertion seems to be a paradox, I believe that this defect accounts for his intellectual failure. His successor, Origen, supplied that which was wanting. He did not stop at writing Miscellanies. He was filled with the conception of a vast moral unity; as a necessity, therefore, he felt that the truths by which this unity was established must form a unity also. It is then to him rather than to his predecessors, or perhaps it may be more true to say to his predecessors in him, that we must look if we wish to gain a right notion of typical Christian thought at Alexandria, a right notion of the beginnings of Christian philosophy.

Origen was of Christian parentage. The son of a martyr, he earned himself the martyr's crown, through the continuous labours of seventy years. In his case no sharp struggle, no violent change, no slow process wrought the conviction of faith. He did not, like Justin Martyr, or his immediate predecessors, Pantænus and Clement, find in Christianity after painful wanderings that rest which he had sought vainly in the schools of Greek wisdom. He did not, like Tertullian, follow the bent of an uncontrollable and impetuous nature, and close in open schism a life of courageous toil. He did not, like Augustine, come to the truth through heresy, and bear even to the last the marks of the chains by which he had been weighed down. His whole life, from first to last, was fashioned on the same type. It was according to his own grand ideal "one unbroken prayer" (*μία προσευχή συνεχόμενη*), one ceaseless effort after closer fellowship with the Unseen and the Eternal. No distractions diverted him from the pursuit of divine wisdom. No persecution checked for more than the briefest space the energy of his efforts. He endured "a double martyrdom," perils and sufferings from the heathen, reproaches and wrongs from Christians; and the retrospect of what he had borne only stirred within him a humbler sense of his shortcomings.

In Origen we have the first glimpse of a Christian boy. He was conspicuous, "even from his cradle:" "a great man from his child-

* Comp. Alexander ap. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14.

hood,"* is the judgment of his bitterest enemy. From the first the range of his training was complete. His father Leonidas, after providing carefully for his general education, himself instructed him in Holy Scripture. The boy's nature answered to the demands which were made upon him. His eagerness to penetrate to the deeper meaning of the written Word gave early promise of his characteristic power; and it is said that Leonidas often uncovered his breast—his breast, and not his brow—*pectus facit theologum*—as he lay asleep and kissed it, as though it were already a dwelling-place of the Holy Spirit.

When Origen had reached his seventeenth year the persecution under Severus broke out. Leonidas was thrown into prison. Origen was only hindered by the loving device of his mother from sharing his fate. As it was, he wrote to strengthen his father with the simple words: "Take heed! let no thought for us alter your purpose." Leonidas was martyred; his property was confiscated; and the young student at once entered on the career of independent labour which closed only with his life.

At first Origen supported himself by teaching grammar, the customary subjects of a literary education. But immediately a richer field was opened to him. The Catechetical School in which he had worked under Pantænus and Clement was left without a head, owing to the fierceness of the persecution. For a time Origen gave instruction in Christianity privately to those heathen who wished to learn. His success was such that before he was eighteen he was appointed to fill the vacant post of honour and danger. Martyrs—Eusebius enumerates seven—passed from his class to death. His own escape seemed to be the work of Providence. Marked and pursued, he still evaded his enemies. His influence grew with his self-devotion, and further experience of his new work stirred him to larger sacrifices. He had collected in earlier times a library of classical authors. This he now sold for an annuity of four obols—sixpence—a day, that he might need no assistance from the scholars, who were grieved that they might not help him.† So he lived for more than five-and-twenty years, labouring almost day and night, and offering such an example of absolute self-denial as won many to the faith of which he showed the power in his own person.

While Origen was thus engaged, his principles were put to a severe test. Ammonius Saccas, the founder of Neo-Platonism, began to lecture at Alexandria. His success showed that he had some neglected forms of truth to make known; and Origen became one of his hearers. The situation was remarkable, and full of interest. The master of Christianity was a learner in the school of Greeks. There can be no doubt that Origen was deeply influenced by the new philosophy, which seemed to him to unveil fresh depths in the Bible; and it is not unlikely that this connexion, which lasted for a considerable time, gave occasion to those suspicions and jealousies on the part of some members of the Church

* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 2; Hieron. *Ep.* 84, 58 (*ad Pammach. et Ocean.*). † Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 3.

at Alexandria, which at no long interval bore bitter fruit. Origen, however, was clear and steadfast as to his purpose, and he found at least some sympathy. For when in later years he was assailed for giving his attention to the opinions of heretics and gentiles, he defended himself not only by the example of Pantænus, but also by that of Heraclas, his fellow-student in the school of Ammonius, who "while now," he writes, "a presbyter at Alexandria, still wears the dress of a philosopher, and studies with all diligence the writings of the Greeks."*

An anecdote which is told of the time of his early work may seem in this respect as a symbol of his life.† A heathen mob seized him one day and placed him on the steps of the Temple of Serapis, forcing him to offer palm-branches in honour of the god to those who came to worship. He took the palms, and cried out, "Come, take the palm, not the palm of the idol, but the palm of Christ."

The way of Greek wisdom was not the only unusual direction in which Origen sought help for that study of Scripture to which he had consecrated his life. He turned to the Jews also, and learnt Hebrew, a task which overcame the spirit of Erasmus, as he tells us,‡ even in the excitement of the Renaissance. About the same time, when he was now fully equipped for work, he found assistance and impulse from the friendship of Ambrose, a wealthy Alexandrine whom he had won from heresy to the Truth. Origen draws a lively picture of the activity and importunity of his friend. Meals, rest, exercise, sleep, all had to be sacrificed to zeal, which may be measured by the fact that he furnished Origen with seven clerks to write at his dictation.§

This period of happy and incessant labour was at last rudely interrupted. After working publicly at Alexandria for twenty-eight years, with short intervals of absence on foreign missions, Origen was driven from the city to which he was bound by every sacred tie, and never visited it again. There is no need to attempt to unravel the circumstances which led to the catastrophe. It is enough to notice that no word of anger escaped from the great master when he showed afterwards how keenly he felt the blow. Thenceforth the scene, but not the character, of his work was changed; and he was enabled to carry on at Cæsarea for twenty years longer, with undiminished influence, all the tasks which he had begun. Ambrose was still with him, and his reputation even attracted Porphyry for a brief visit.

At length the end came. In the persecution of Decius he was imprisoned, tortured, threatened with the stake. From the midst of his sufferings he wrote words of encouragement to his fellow-confessors. His persecutors denied him the visible glory of the martyr's death, but already exhausted by age and toil he sank, three years afterwards, under the effects of what he had suffered (A.D. 253).

* *Epist. ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 19.*

† *Epiph. Hær. C4, 1, p. 524.*

‡ *Epist. 95.*

§ *Euseb. H. E. vi. 23.*

He was buried at Tyre;* and his tomb was honoured as long as the city survived. When a cathedral named after the Holy Sepulchre was built there, his body is said to have occupied the place of greatest honour, being enclosed in the wall behind the High Altar.† The same church received in a later age (A.D. 1190) the remains of Barbarossa; but the name of the great theologian prevailed over the name of the great warrior. Burchard, who visited Tyre in the last quarter of the thirteenth century (c. 1283), saw the inscription in Origen's memory in a building which was amazing for its splendour.‡ Before the close of the century the city was wasted by the Saracens; but if we may trust the words of a traveller at the beginning of the sixteenth century (c. 1520), the inscription was still preserved on "a marble column, sumptuously adorned with gold and jewels."§ Not long after, at the end of the sixteenth century, the place where Origen lay was only known by tradition. The tradition, however, still lingers about the ruins of the city; for it is said that the natives, to the present time, point out the spot where "Oriunus" lies under a vault, the relic of an ancient church now covered by their huts.||

Origen's writings are commensurate in range and number with the intense activity of his life. They were, it is said, measured by thousands, and yet, as he argued, they were all one, one in purpose and in spirit; and it is almost amusing to observe the way in which he writes to Ambrose, who urged him to fresh labours, pleading that he has already broken, in the letter, the command of Solomon to "avoid making many books."¶ But, he goes on to argue, multitude really lies in contradiction and inconsistency. A few books which are charged with errors are many. Many books which are alike inspired by the truth are one. "If, then," he concludes, "I set forth anything as the truth which is not the truth, then I shall transgress. Now, while I strive by all means to counteract false teaching, I obey the spirit of the precept which seems at first to condemn me."

This claim which Origen makes to an essential unity—a unity of purpose and spirit—in all his works is fully justified by their character. Commentaries, homilies, essays, tracts, letters, are alike animated by the same free and lofty strivings towards a due sense of the Divine

* William of Tyre (c. 1180), *Hist.*, xiii. 1: hæc (Tyros) et Originis corpus occultat, sicut oculata fide etiam hodie licet inspicere.

† Cotovicus (1598), *Itin. Hier.* p. 121: pone altare maximum magni Originis corpus conditum ferunt.

‡ Burchardus, *Descript. Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 25 (ed. Laurent): Originis ibidem in ecclesia Sancti Sepulcri requiescit in muro conclusus. Cujus titulum ibidem nidi (the edition of 1587 adds *et legi*). Sunt ibi columpnæ marmoreæ et aliorum lapidum tam magnæ, quod stupor est uidere.

§ Bart. de Saligniac, *Itin. Hier.* ix. 10: In templo Sancti Sepulcri Originis doctoris, ossa magno in honore servantur, quorum titulus est in columna marmorea magno sumptu gemmarum et auri. It is not unlikely, I fear, that this statement is a false rendering of Burchard's notice. Burchard's book was very widely known in the sixteenth century. The statements of Adrichonius (*Theatr. T. S. Tr. aser*, 84), which are repeated by Huet and others, have no independent value whatever.

|| Prutz, *Aus Phönicien*, 219, 306, quoted by Piper, *Ztschr. für Keltisch.* 1876, p. 208.

¶ *In Joh. v. Prof.*

Majesty, and the same profound devotion to the teaching of Scripture. It is no less remarkable that in all these different departments of literature his influence was decisive and permanent. In this respect his reputation, however great, falls below the truth. Those parts of his teaching which failed to find general acceptance were brought into prominence by the animosity of Jerome, who himself often silently appropriated the other parts as belonging to the common heritage of the Church. Origen, in a word, first laid down the lines of a systematic study of the Bible. Both in criticism and in interpretation his labours marked an epoch. There were homilies before his, but he fixed the type of a popular exposition. His Hexapha was the greatest textual enterprise of ancient times. His treatise on First Principles was the earliest attempt at a systematic view of the Christian faith.

But we must not linger over his writings. Writings are but one element of the teacher. A method is often more characteristic and more influential than doctrine. It was so with Origen; and, in his case, we fortunately possess a vivid and detailed description of the plan of study which he pursued and enforced. Gregory, surnamed Thaumaturgus, the wonder-worker, from his marvellous labours in Pontus, after working under him for five years at Cæsarea, at a later time delivered a farewell address in his presence (c. 239 A.D.)* In this the scholar records with touching devotion the course along which he had been guided by the man to whom he felt that he owed his spiritual life. He had come to Syria to study Roman law in the school of Berytus, but on his way there he met with Origen, and at once felt that he had found in him the wisdom for which he was seeking. The day of that meeting was to him, in his own words, the dawn of a new being; his soul clave to the master whom he recognised, and he surrendered himself gladly to his guidance. As Origen spoke he kindled within the young advocate's breast a love for the Holy Word, the most lovely of all objects, and for himself, the Word's herald. "That love," Gregory adds, "induced me to give up country and friends, the aims which I had proposed to myself, the study of law of which I was proud. I had but one passion—philosophy—and the godlike man who directed me in the pursuit of it."†

Origen's first care, so his scholar Gregory tells us, was to make the character of a pupil his special study. In this he followed the example of Clement.‡ He ascertained with delicate and patient attention the capacities, the faults, the tendencies, of him whom he had to teach. Rank growths of opinion were cleared away; weaknesses were laid open; every effort was used to develop endurance, firmness, patience, thoroughness. "In true Socratic fashion he sometimes overthrew us by argument," Gregory writes; "if he saw us restive and starting out of the course. . . . The process was at first disagreeable to us, and

* In the following paragraphs I have endeavoured to give shortly the substance of Gregory's description in his *Oratio panegyrica*.

† *Paneg.* c. 5.

‡ *Comp. Strom.* i. 1, 8, p. 320.

painful; but so he purified us . . . and . . . prepared us for the reception of the words of truth . . .," "by probing us and questioning us, and offering problems for our solution."* In this way Origen taught his scholars to regard language as designed not to furnish materials for display, but to express truth with the most exact accuracy and logic; as powerful, not to secure a plausible success, but to test beliefs with the strictest rigour.

This was the first stage of intellectual discipline, the accurate preparation of the instruments of thought. In the next place, Origen led his pupils to apply them, first, to the "lofty and divine, and most lovely" study of external Nature. Here he stood where we stand still, for he made geometry the sure and immovable foundation of his teaching, and from this rose step by step to the heights of heaven and the most sublime mysteries of the universe. Gregory's language implies that Origen was himself a student of physics; as, in some degree, the true theologian must be. Such investigations served to show man in his just relation to the world.† A rational feeling for the vast grandeur of the external order, "the sacred economy of the universe," as Gregory calls it, was substituted for the ignorant and senseless wonder with which it is commonly regarded. The lessons of others, he writes, or his own observation, enabled him to explain the connexion, the differences, the changes of the objects of sense.

But physics were naturally treated by Origen as a preparation and not as an end. Moral science came next; and here he laid the greatest stress upon the method of experiment. His aim was not merely to analyse and to define and to classify feelings and motives, though he did this, but to form a character. For him, ethics were a life, and not only a theory. The four cardinal virtues of Plato—practical wisdom, self-control, righteousness, courage—seemed to him to require for their maturing careful and diligent introspection and culture. And here he gave a commentary upon his teaching. His discipline lay even more in action than in precept. His own conduct was, in his scholars' minds, a more influential persuasion than his arguments.‡

So it was that Origen was the first teacher who really led Gregory to the pursuit of Greek philosophy, by bringing speculation into a vital union with practice.§ Gregory saw in him the inspiring example of one at once wise and holy. The noble phrase of older masters gained a distinct meaning for the Christian disciple. In failure and weakness he was enabled to perceive that the end of all was "to become like to God with a pure mind, and to draw near to Him and to abide in Him."

Guarded and guided by this conviction, Origen encouraged his scholars in theology to look for help in all the works of human genius. They were to examine the writings of philosophers and poets of every nation—the dogmatic atheists alone excepted—with faithful candour and

* *Paneg.* c. 7. † *Id.* c. 8. ‡ *Id.* § *Id.* cc. 11, 12.

wise catholicity. For them there was to be no sect, no party. And in their arduous work they had ever at hand in their master a friend who knew the difficulties of the ground to be traversed. If they were bewildered in the tangled mazes of conflicting opinions, he was ready to lead them with a firm hand. If they were in danger of being swallowed up in the quicksands of shifting error, he was near to lift them up to the sure resting-place which he had himself found.*

Even yet the end was not reached. The hierarchy of sciences was not completed till Theology, with her own proper gifts, crowned the succession which we have followed hitherto, logic, physics, ethics. New data corresponded with the highest philosophy; and Origen found in the Holy Scriptures and the teaching of the Spirit the final and absolute spring of Divine Truth. It was in this region that Gregory felt his master's power to be supreme. Origen's sovereign command of the mysteries of "the oracles of God," gave him perfect boldness in dealing with all other writings. "Therefore," Gregory adds, "there was no subject forbidden to us; nothing hidden or inaccessible. We were allowed to become acquainted with every doctrine, barbarian or Greek, on things spiritual or civil, divine and human, traversing with all freedom, and investigating the whole circuit of knowledge, and satisfying ourselves with the full enjoyment of all the pleasures of the soul. . . ."[†]

Such, in meagre outline, was, as Gregory tells us, the method of Origen. He describes what he knew, and what his hearers knew. I know no parallel to the picture in ancient times. And when every allowance has been made for the partial enthusiasm of a pupil, the view which it offers of a system of Christian training actually realized exhibits a type which we cannot hope to surpass. May we not say that the ideal of Christian education and the ideal of Christian philosophy were fashioned together? And can we wonder that, under that comprehensive and loving discipline, Gregory, already trained in heathen schools, first learnt, step by step, according to his own testimony, what the pursuit of philosophy truly was, and came to know the solemn duty of forming opinions which were to be, not the amusement of a moment, but the solid foundations of lifelong work? Have we yet, perhaps we ask, mastered the lessons?

The method of Origen, such as Gregory has described it, in all its breadth and freedom was forced upon him by what he held to be the deepest law of human nature. It may be true (and he admitted it) that we are, in our present state, but poorly furnished for the pursuit of knowledge; but he was never weary of proclaiming that we are at least born to engage in the endless search. If we see some admirable work of man's art, he says,[‡] we are at once eager to investigate the nature, the manner, the end of its production; and the contemplation of the works of God stirs us with an incomparably greater longing to learn the principles, the method, the purpose of creation. "This

* *Id.* c. 14. † *Id.* c. 15. ‡ *De Princ.* ii. 4, p. 105.

desire, this passion, has without doubt," he continues, "been implanted in us by God. And as the eye seeks the light, as our body craves food, so our mind is impressed with the characteristic and natural desire of knowing the truth of God and the causes of what we observe." Such a desire, since it is a divine endowment, carries with it the promise of future satisfaction. In our present life we may not be able to do more by the utmost toil than obtain some small fragments from the infinite treasures of divine knowledge, still the concentration of our souls upon the lovely vision of Truth, the occupation of our various faculties in lofty inquiries, the very ambition with which we rise above our actual powers, is in itself fruitful in blessing, and fits us better for the reception of wisdom hereafter at some later stage of existence. Now we draw at the best a faint outline, a preparatory sketch of the features of Truth; the true and living colours will be added *then*. Perhaps, he concludes most characteristically, that is the meaning of the words "to every one that hath shall be given;" by which we are assured that he who has gained in this life some faint outline of truth and knowledge, will have it completed in the age to come with the beauty of the perfect image.

Such words, thrilling alike by their humility and by their confidence, noble in the confession of the actual weakness of man, and invigorating by the assertion of his magnificent destiny, can never grow old. They live by the inspiration of spiritual genius, and through them Origen comes into vital contact with ourselves. He was himself greater than his actions, than his writings, than his method. The philosopher was greater than his system. He possessed the highest endowment of a teacher. He was able to give to the innumerable crowd of doctors, confessors, martyrs, who gathered round him, not merely a tabulated series of formulas, but a living energy of faith. He stirred, quickened, kindled, as Gregory says, those who approached him. He communicated not his words, but himself; not opinions so much as a fire of love. Even Erasmus found in this the secret of his charm. "He loved," he says,* "that of which he spoke, and we speak with delight of the things which we love." In the face of this purifying passion, Origen's errors, however we may judge of them, are details which cannot finally affect our judgment of the man.

During his lifetime there was undoubtedly a strong party opposed to him. His enemies represented a principle—hierarchical supremacy—and not only a personal antipathy. Their bitterness was a proof of his influence. But even after his condemnation at Alexandria his spiritual supremacy was undisturbed. Dionysius carried his spirit to the patriarchal throne. Pamphilus, the martyr, solaced his imprisonment by writing his defence. Even Jerome, before personal feelings had warped his judgment, styled him "confessed by the Master of the Churches after the Apostles." "I could wish," he says, "to have his knowledge

* *Prof. in Orig. Opp.*

of the Scriptures, even if I had to bear the ill-will which attaches to his name."

So long as he was remembered as a living power he was honoured by the admiration of the leaders of Christian thought. But as time went on, the fashion of the Church changed. The freedom of speculation was confined, perhaps necessarily confined, within narrower limits. The men who professed to follow Origen misinterpreted and misrepresented him. For others he was the personification of opinions which had been pronounced heretical by those who had authority. Here and there, however, a bold voice was still raised in his defence. "I do not choose," said a bishop, when appealed to to join in the condemnation of his writings,* "to do outrage to a man who has long since fallen to sleep in honour; nor am I bold enough to undertake a calumnious task in condemning what those before us did not reject. . . ." The historian (a layman) who has preserved the anecdote, pauses for a moment to point its moral. "Men," he writes, "of slender ability, who are unable to come to the light by their own fame, wished to gain distinction by blaming their betters. . . . Such men's accusations contribute, I maintain, to establish his reputation. . . . And they who revile Origen forget that they calumniate Athanasius who praised him. . . ."[†]

But no individual devotion could turn the tide of opinion which had set in against Origen before the close of the fifth century. It corresponded with an intellectual revolution. For three centuries or more Platonic idealism had been supreme. Aristotelian realism was now on the point of displacing it. The signs of the change can be noticed in theology and in politics. In one sense it was necessary as a condition for the development of mediævalism. The institutions of the past, which carried with them the noblest memories and symbolized the old order, were now emptied of their true life, and therefore not unmeet to fall by the hands of an alien Emperor. It was the singular and significant fortune of Justinian to strike a threefold blow at the past—to close the Schools of Athens, to abolish the Consulship at Rome, to procure a formal condemnation of Origen. By a happy coincidence he warred in each case with the dead, and he was not unworthy to wage such a conflict which could bring no fruit and no glory. It would be idle to suppose that such a man could either sympathise with or understand the difficulties or the thoughts of Origen. For good and for evil he was wholly cast in the mould of formulas. He knew nothing higher than an edict. With less knowledge than Henry VIII., he aspired to be a defender of the Faith, and ended by compromising his reputation for orthodoxy. The spectacle is for a moment one of unspeakable sadness, Origen condemned on the impeachment of Justinian. But the life of the martyr triumphed over the anathemas of the persecutor. Justinian could flatter himself that he killed again that which had no

A.D. 553.

* Theotimus, "the bishop of Scythia." *Socr. H. E.* vi. 12.

[†] *Id.*, vi. 13.

life because it was false ; but Origen—the preacher of humility and patience and reverence and hope and absolute devotion to the Divine Word—slept on calmly in the tomb ; and when “Greece rose from the dead,” as it has been finely expressed, “with the New Testament in her hand,” he rose too to disclose once again fresh springs of Truth. “I have read,” writes Erasmus to our own Colet in 1504, “a great part of the works of Origen ; and under his teaching I think that I have made good progress ; for he opens, so to speak, the fountains of Theology, and indicates the methods of the science.”

Even while Origen was still held to be under the ban of the Church, he exercised a strange fascination by the memories of his name. His salvation was a question of the Schools, and was said to have been the subject of revelations. An abbot, so the story ran, saw him in eternal torment with the chief hæresiarchs, Arius and Nestorius. On the other hand, it was alleged that it had been made known to St. Mechtildis* that “the fate of Samson, Solomon, and Origen was kept hidden in the divine counsels, in order that the strongest, the wisest, and the most learned might be filled with salutary fear.” Picus of Mirandula maintained in the face of violent opposition, that it was “more reasonable to believe in his salvation than not.” A learned Jesuit has composed an imaginary account of his trial before the Court of Heaven, with witnesses, advocates, and accusers, in which he finally gives him the benefit of the doubt. “There is a perplexed controversy,” writes a German chronicler of the fifteenth century, “in which sundry people engage about Samson, Solomon, Trajan, and Origen, whether they were saved or not. That I leave to the Lord.”

Such notices serve far more than a momentary surprise. They show that Origen, though practically unknown, still kept his hold on the interests of men ; that he was still an object of personal love ; that there is in the fact of a life of humble self-sacrifice something too majestic, too divine, to be overthrown by the measured sentence of an ecclesiastical synod.

BROOKE F. WESTCOTT.

* See Bayle, *Dict. Origène*, Note D.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN FRANCE.

PARIS, April 16th, 1879.

SUMMARY.—*Politics*: Difficulties of the present time—Resignation of the Marshal—M. Jules Grévy—M. Gambetta, President of the Chamber—M. Waddington's Cabinet—The Amnesty—The proposed Impeachment of the Ministry of the 16th May—The fall of M. de Marcère—The Return of the Chambers to Paris—Administrative Changes—The Conflict with the Clerical Party—Père Hyacinthe. *Literature*: M. Renan's Reception at the Academy—"French Politics in 1868," by M. Rothan—"The French Army in 1879," by M. Trochu—"Le Banquet," by Michelet—Society for the Study of Questions relating to the Higher Education—Historical Works by MM. Duruy, Chéruel, Chantelauze, Michel, and Perrens—The Brothers de Goncourt, and their Works on the 18th Century—M. Soury. *Novelists*: D'Osson, Depit, Theuriot, and Richepin. *Poets*: Banville, Autran, Paté, Amanieu; "La Pitié Suprême" of Victor Hugo. *The Theatre*: "Roy Blas," Ladislav Bolekl; "L'Assommoir." *Music*: Berlioz and his Correspondence; Dubois, Lefèvre, Godard; the Concerts at the Hippodrome. *Exhibitions of Pictures*. *Obituary*: Daumier, Couture, Préault, Duc, De Saey, St. René Taillandier, Villemessant.

THE first three months of the year 1879 have been fruitful in events and results for France. It is difficult even to foresee what will be the ultimate consequences. Pessimists and optimists can freely indulge in the pleasures of prediction. We more modestly, not attempting to lift the veil and look ahead, shall confine ourselves to considering what has been accomplished, and pointing out the immediate subjects of dread or hope conceivable to those who wish prosperity and peace to France.

The movement impelling France for some years past in the direction of a Republic has been more rapid and deep-seated than the most far-sighted had supposed. The senatorial elections of January 5th, which, according to the most favourable computations, were only to give the Republican party in the Senate a majority of twenty-five voices, resulted in a majority of fifty and more. Moreover, they were welcomed with real enthusiasm. It seemed as though henceforth every cause of strife between the public powers was removed, and as though the Republican Government would be able to continue its progressive and pacific course without let or hindrance. This charming dream was evidently one of those *pia vota* we form in the morning, which are dissipated by the full light of day. In his speech at the banquet at the Louvre Hotel, M. Gambetta took a clearer view of the situation, when he said, "The time of danger is over, the time of difficulties is about to begin." There was no further reason to fear any violent action against the form of government on the part either of the executive or of the reactionary parties; but it was still very difficult to get the four steeds yoked to the car of the State to pull well together; the Chamber of Deputies ardent, inexperienced, panting for action, for

reform, and, above all, for the removal of the functionaries who had opposed the Republican candidates after the 16th May; the Senate calm, satisfied with the present condition of things, anxious to enjoy it, to wipe out the recollection of bygone struggles and proceed with wise deliberation; the Ministry composed of incongruous elements, some like M. de Freycinet and M. de Marcère in sympathy with the majority in the Chamber, others like M. Dufaure out of sympathy with the majority in the Senate; lastly, the Marshal-President, who found himself at the head of a Government none of whose convictions or aspirations he could share, and who only carried out the acts he had to subscribe to with the strongest repugnance and a sort of feeling of humiliation.

After ten days given up to the joys of victory, the difficulties of the situation began to be apparent, when, on the 16th January, M. Dufaure and M. de Marcère came to read the collective declaration of the Ministry to the Chambers. The substance of that declaration was such as to satisfy the Republican majority, but its tone was so constrained, cold, and surly, as to occasion visible depression in the Chamber of Deputies. It was wrongly interpreted, as signifying the Ministry's resolve not to yield to the most lawful requirements, and as inaugurating a policy of Conservative resistance, instead of one of Democratic progress. For a moment it might have seemed as if, yielding to this fit of unjust ill-humour, the Chamber were about to overthrow the Ministry, but it soon became conscious of the immense mistake it would be, as regards the country which had just been appointing Republican senators, to turn out the Ministry to whom these elections were due. It was evidently M. Dufaure's person that reassured the electoral body, and rallied it to the Republic. The new senators were mostly partisans of the Ministry, to overthrow it would be to engage in hostility with the senatorial majority, which had just been hailed with acclamation. The interpellation of January 20th ended in the victory of the Ministry, which obtained a majority of 100 voices.

In spite of this victory, M. Dufaure had too just an appreciation of the situation and of the parliamentary requirements not to wish to resign the office in which he had rendered signal service, but in which henceforth he could only be a bar to further progress. At the same time he felt that the very person of the President of the Republic made the regular course of affairs impossible. With fine tact he saw that the changes that were to be made in the administrative body would compel Marshal MacMahon to resign, and that the Marshal's retirement would furnish him with the natural opportunity of resigning his post as head of the Cabinet. This was just what occurred. The Marshal refused to sign the recall of the four heads of the corps d'armée. In a letter full of dignity, and which appeared quite natural on the part of a soldier, more concerned for the interests of the army than for those of politics, he tendered his resignation. The two Chambers met

in Congress, and in a single sitting, without the smallest disturbance or noise, M. J. Grévy was elected and proclaimed President of the French Republic for seven years.

This peaceable revolution suggests divers reflections. The first impression was one of almost universal astonishment and admiration at the ease with which the mechanism of so new a Constitution worked, and the calm dignity of the Republican party, so long accused, not unjustly, of a liking for noisy and tumultuous manifestations. Thereupon the people congratulated themselves on not having to wait for the expiration of 1880, the fear being, should Marshal MacMahon reach the term of his Presidency, that the last months of his government would be marked by all manner of intrigues, intrigues of the reactionists to overturn the Republic and of the Republicans in connection with the nomination of the new President. Many dreaded more especially the candidature of M. Gambetta, which had already been announced. M. Grévy's nomination put off that possibility till 1886. Finally, the election of a Republican President seemed likely to insure the long-wished-for harmony between the public powers. But at the same time there were those who, less disposed to confidence, asked themselves whether the retirement of the President before the expiration of his term of office was not a bad omen for the future, and whether the facility with which the transfer of power had been effected was not in itself a danger. Would not the impatient Republicans in the Chamber be inclined to take advantage of the first opportunity to turn out M. Grévy as the Marshal had been turned out, and had not events proved that the Constitution of 1873 had aimed at impossibilities in pretending to convert a Republican President, chosen for his personal merits, his intelligence, and his character, into a Constitutional sovereign? Finally, on what basis was a Ministry to be formed, seeing that the majority in the Chamber of Deputies belonged to the pure Left, whereas that in the Senate belonged rather to the Left Centre, and that both these bodies, as the outcome of the election were entitled to a share of influence in the choice of Ministers?

For the moment, at any rate, the character and actions of M. Grévy have, fortunately, removed these difficulties and apprehensions. His simple, firm character, and his unmistakably Republican convictions were calculated to reassure the most exacting members of the Left in the Chamber; whilst his reserve, his concern for legality, and likewise a certain natural indolence, rendered all fear of his exceeding his constitutional rôle unnecessary. It is very fortunate that M. Grévy, at heart a lawyer, should take this scrupulous view of his duties, for if we were in a period of Constitutional formation instead of Constitutional application, there would be good reason to fear his influence and views. M. Grévy is a man of rectilinear mind, who, in politics, takes less count of the requirements and possibilities of practice than of principles and theories. At the Constituent Assembly and the Legislative Assem-

bly in 1848 he had almost always voted with the Advanced Left, and never showed any foresight excepting on the day when he proposed, as it happens in vain, that the President should be appointed by the Chamber. In 1873 he neither concealed his repugnance to the system of two Chambers, nor refrained from criticising a Constitution which, in his eyes, had the defect, in reality the merit, of being full of compromises, of counterweights, of mutual guarantees, and of making facts and not *à priori* ideas its starting-point. M. Grévy's ideal government remains that of the constitution of 1793; a single Assembly, whereof the Ministers are merely the delegates, always liable to recall, and a President of the Republic, who is merely the President of the Council of Ministers. Happily, the Constitution is made, M. Grévy has nothing to do but apply it, and this he will do faithfully and scrupulously. He will not be a President addicted to fine phrases and brilliant representations, but an honest one—true to his duties and to his country. His bourgeois mode of life and simple manners have not only been made game of, but calumniated; but since his election the ridicule and the calumnies have ceased in presence of the public life of a good man who has nothing to conceal.

At the same time that M. Grévy was elected President of the Republic, M. Gambetta was appointed President of the Chamber of Deputies. M. Gambetta's refusal to accept the leadership of the Ministry, and his desire to succeed M. Grévy as President of the Chamber, were made the subject of comments anything but good-natured. Some regarded it merely as a mode of putting forward his candidature for the Presidency of the Republic; others, as a means of escaping the necessity of giving an opinion or voting on all weighty and compromising questions. To me, M. Gambetta's behaviour appeared dictated by a very just appreciation of the situation. M. Gambetta could not accept the leadership of a Ministry, first of all because his name would have been a terror to a portion, not only of the country, but even of Europe; because his personality would have taken the lead before the President of the Republic; and, finally, because in a transition period like the present he could neither have been true to himself nor free to carry out his ideas, and would have worn himself out without benefit to his country. Nor could he simply remain in the Chamber as President of the Budget Committee and leader of the majority; he had long been accused of having too much influence, of having everything in his hands, of hindering the action of the Government and the Ministry. Whereas, as President of the Chamber, he no longer exercises the same influence on everyday political life, he retains merely a directing and moderating power over legislative affairs. At the same time it is true that, next to M. Grévy, he occupies the highest post in the Republic, and some may think that he has taken possession of it a little too ostentatiously, by hastening to occupy the hotel formerly inhabited by M. de Morny, and fitting it

up in too luxurious a manner; also it is true that for fear of compromising himself in the future, as he would do, he avoids taking an active part in Parliamentary contests. But a man of M. Gambetta's value cannot help being the necessary candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, and it is well he should husband his popularity and influence, which may any day become indispensable to the country. He has therefore performed the part of a good citizen as well as of an able politician, wise in his ambition, by desiring the Presidency of the Chamber. He has justified this choice by the manner in which he has fulfilled his new duties. His severity, by many considered excessive, has established perfect order in a Parliament accustomed to uproar and scandalous interruptions; the work of the *bureaux* has become more active and more regular, and more than once, without its being outwardly apparent, he has exercised a moderating and conciliatory influence on the decisions of the majority.

The wisdom of M. Grévy and M. Gambetta has shown itself in the formation of the Ministry, for every one knows that the President of the Republic consulted the President of the Chamber on the subject. M. Dufaure persisting in his intention of retiring, M. Grévy nevertheless wished, as far as possible, to keep the members of the old Ministry, so as to give the country a stronger feeling of stability and quiet, and likewise to have a Ministry corresponding with the majority both in the Senate and the Chamber. MM. Waddington, Léon Say, de Freycinet, de Marcère, Gresley, retained their portfolios; M. J. Ferry, as Minister of Public Instruction, Jauréguiberry of Marine, Le Royer of Justice, Lepère of Agriculture, were the only new members of the Cabinet. The legitimate desire to give Europe a pledge of the peaceful intentions of the French Government was the cause of M. Waddington's being made President of the Council. The choice perhaps was not quite a happy one. His clear and sound intelligence, his uprightness of character, no doubt render M. Waddington worthy of the highest post, and as Minister of Foreign Affairs he displays superior capacity, but to manage a Ministry, the administrative departments, and a Parliamentary majority all at once, requires outward qualities in which he is wanting—readiness of speech, promptness of decision and action, something winning and sympathetic that attracts approbation, or a natural authority that commands it. Until now M. Waddington has filled the post to which he has been called very properly; but the influence of his personality has not made itself felt either in the Chamber or in the Government. He fills his place in the Ministry worthily, but he does not preside over it.

The situation, it must also be owned, is not easy, and the difficulties I have often pointed out are sensibly apparent now. By virtue of his ideas, character, and antecedents, M. Waddington belongs above all to the Left Centre. He directs a Ministry consisting for the most part of elements of the pure Left, and must look to the Left for his chief support in the Chamber. He is thus obliged to adopt a political

course that would not exactly be his were he a perfectly free agent. His task would be relatively easy had he to deal with a Chamber accustomed to the Parliamentary régime, and instinctively comprehending the need of discipline. But the present majority is founded on the union of the Lefts; on the union, that is, of all who are attached to the Republican form, and who fought against the Ministers of May 24, 1873, and May 16, 1877. This shows the heterogeneous elements whereof that majority is composed; excellent as an opposition majority, but in no sense a Governmental, still less a Ministerial one. Nor can it become such but on the condition of clearly understanding the truth of the situation—the impossibility of having a Ministry differing from the actual one, and of resigning themselves to a series of compromises, members of the Left Centre accepting measures they would perhaps not have proposed, and members of the Extreme Left postponing to some future time projects of reform which are still premature. But to get some members of the Left, who imagine that because the Republic is victorious, nothing prevents the immediate carrying out of every reform and every measure included in their electoral circulars, to understand this is very difficult. Were this disposition of mind confined to the Extreme Left it would be of no great consequence. One would do without them; that is all. But a considerable proportion of a far more important group, the Republican Union, consists of mediocre and positive-minded men, who know nothing of politics, and tremble at the notion of appearing too weak, too moderate, not pure enough, not firm enough in principle, and who give a grudging support to the Ministry without caring to consider whether they could form one more likely to live. And, in point of fact, since its formation the Ministry has been engaged not in fighting its adversaries of the Right, who are too weak for attack, but in persuading its own partisans not to desert. There will never be a real Government majority, nor a real Republican Parliamentary Government, until such time as the elections shall have been made on a Ministerial question, and we have a solid and coherent Ministerial majority, a condition we are far from having reached yet. The Right is not a Government party; it is a body absolutely hostile to the Republic, and ready to join the Extreme Left in order to turn out the Ministers and create disturbance, but itself incapable of founding anything. As to the Left, it is divided into four parties, no longer corresponding to anything real—Left Centre, Left, Republican Union, Extreme Left. This subdivision makes all negotiations between the Ministry and the Republican majority very troublesome. It is to be hoped that the advanced section of the Republican Union will soon join the Extreme Left, and the reasonable section the Left. The Parliamentary situation will then be more clearly defined. The elections of April 6th show how far we still are from any political stability. Instead of dividing themselves into partisans and opponents of the Ministry, all the candidates take their stand on the ground of general principles; they

announce themselves ready to vote either with the Republican Union, with the Left, or with the Right. Finally, some, whilst saying they are satisfied with the Ministry, demand reforms never included in its programme.

It is no easy task to lead such undisciplined soldiers. Hitherto, however, not without some difficulties, the Ministry has succeeded. It has triumphed on the two most serious questions, that of the amnesty and of the impeachment of the Ministers of May 16; but in both cases, up to the last moment, the issue of the debate was doubtful. In proposing to pardon all the condemned Communists with the exception of the principal leaders and those who had committed crimes violating the common law—assassination, theft, arson—the Government was going as far as circumstances permitted in the paths of clemency. To want, as the Extreme Left did, and a hundred-and-five members of the Republican majority demanded by their votes, that the amnesty should be extended to all without exception, was gratuitously to expose the Republic to serious dangers, to authorise the reactionists to accuse the Republicans of connivance with the Communist insurgents, or at any rate of kindness towards them; to render it possible for apologies for the Commune to appear in the public press; to run the risk of opening Parliament to former members of the Commune, where their apologies for an insurrection everlastingly hateful would provoke perpetual disturbance. If the Communist party were entirely distinct from the Republican, if the Republican majority and the Republican press had always expressed decided reprobation for the Commune, the amnesty might have been still more general; but considering the indulgence, and even the secret regard shown for the Commune by certain advanced Republicans, and the pretention of the Communists to have been only the most decided representatives of the Republic, to have even saved it by their rising, it was necessary for the Republican Government to separate from them entirely, and show that, whilst reopening the country's gates to the great mass of culprits, the insurrection remained in their eyes an abominable crime. The Republic has so often been identified with the revolution that it is necessary for the Republican party actively to repudiate all joint responsibility with the revolutionists. The safety of the Republic is at stake, and to compromise it for the sake of a few sincere fanatics to whom the amnesty does not extend would be strange indeed.

The question of the impeachment of the Ministers of May 16th was more serious than that of the amnesty. In reality, no one, not even amongst the Extreme Left, was very strongly in favour of plenary amnesty. People knew that it would frighten the country and cause a reaction. It was demanded more for the sake of being true to old electoral promises; but it was not made a point of. The impeachment of the Ministers, on the contrary, answered to the all but unanimous wish of the Republican party, especially of the Republican electors of those Departments

which had been the victims of unendurable persecution in 1877. But, at the same time, it was a fortunate inspiration that made the Ministry oppose the impeachment. However guilty the Ministers of May 16th and Nov. 14th had been, however base it was of MM. de Broglie and de Fourtou to turn justice into a political tool, to buy consciences and strain every law, it would have been a crying injustice to strike those political delinquents at the very moment when those who had risen in arms against every one of the country's laws were being pardoned. Moreover, though M. Brisson's able report laid bare the criminal intentions of the Ministers of 1877, and their inclination for a *coup d'état*, there was no positive and palpable fact, no step in that direction which could be brought forward as a motive for condemnation; and the culprits always had the resource of saying that the object of their military preparations was, not a *coup d'état*, but the repression of a possible rising. Finally, this question of the preparations for a *coup d'état* could not be thoroughly sifted without carrying the inquiry into the ranks of the army, which would have presented serious inconvenience from the point of view of discipline. The Ministry was thus, fortunately, moved to request in the name of the public tranquillity that the prosecution should be abandoned, and to pronounce the culprits sufficiently punished by the insignificance they have relapsed into, and the contempt wherewith they have covered themselves. It was not without difficulty that the majority in the Chamber was brought to adopt this view. It only yielded in face of the certainty that the Ministry would resign if placed in a minority. The self-restraint it exercised on that occasion, though somewhat tardily, proves it to be capable of reflection and political wisdom. But the number of Deputies not afraid to vote against the Ministry, at the risk of provoking a crisis, shows we are still liable to surprise.

The other difficulties encountered by the Ministers were far less serious. The fall of M. de Marcère, which to a few superficial observers looked menacing, did but strengthen them. M. de Marcère was not very sympathetic to his colleagues; with their assent, so to speak, the Chamber turned him out; and his fall is to be ascribed, not to the ridiculous affair of the inquiry on the Préfecture de Police, but to personal questions needless to dwell upon. The war waged on M. Léon Say, relative to the conversion of the 5 per cent. Stock, which, during four days, seemed decided upon, and was then pronounced inopportune by the Government, calmed down after an energetic declaration from the Minister of Finance. Moreover, his personal respectability, placed him, in the eyes of all who knew him, above suspicion.

With regard to the question of the return of the Chambers to Paris, the Ministry and the Chamber of Deputies were agreed, and the opposition proceeded from the Senate. From a political point of view the advantages of the Chambers meeting outside Paris are great. The present existence of the Republic is due to the sojourn of the Chambers at

Versailles. If all the crises we have gone through had occurred in Paris, it is very certain they would have first provoked popular manifestations, and then risings, in which the Republic would have perished ten times over. In proof of which, we have but to read the history of the Republic of 1848, with its periodical insurrections and manifestations, over again. A learned Magazine, the *Revue Critique*, has published a very curious letter from Thomas Paine to Danton, in which he demonstrates to him that the Republic will never survive in France if the Assembly continue to sit in Paris; and wherein he explains to him how the Americans were led to make Washington, and not one of the large towns already existing, their seat of Government. But strong as these arguments may be from a political point of view, the sitting of Parliament at Versailles is very inconvenient, all the Ministries and central Administrations being in Paris, with no possibility of removal. On the other hand, the chances of a crisis are, for the present, thought to be very much smaller than they were; and such arrangements might easily be made at Versailles to admit of a return, should the necessity arise. But what still keeps the Senate there is likewise a practical question—that of a suitable building to meet in. The Palace of the Luxembourg is occupied by the Municipal Council; moreover the Senate wishes to be near the Chamber of Deputies, that their equal importance may be clearly recognised. As soon as it is no longer a question of principle but only one of practice that has to be considered it is probable that after the Parliamentary recess the two Chambers will not be long before they come to an agreement.

Far more serious than small matters of detail like these was the question of the changes to be introduced into the administrative, judicial, and military staffs. M. Dufaure had been specially attacked for his dislike to changes of the kind, and the sort of superstitious respect he had for things as they were. A fraction of the Republican party, on the other hand, persistently demanded that all the officials suspected of attachment to the fallen régimes should be recalled, and their places filled by men devoted to the new institutions. Had their demands been attended to, the State would have been deprived of a number of useful servants, whose places would have been supplied by new men, ignorant of the duties entrusted to them, and incapable of adequately fulfilling them. The Republic would no longer have been the government of the country by the country, but the tyranny of a party; it would have been badly served and compromised by its bad servants; finally, in a country where the Administration plays such an important part as in France, the most complete disorder would have been the consequence of such a change of staff. The new Ministry thoroughly understood the requirements of the case; it resolutely sacrificed the functionaries whose hostility to the Republic might prove an obstacle or a danger to the new institutions; it replaced them by the most able men, and not by the most ardent Republicans; it retained all

the faithful and competent functionaries, whatever their personal opinions. Almost all the appointments the Ministry has made are excellent; no one could find serious fault with them. The energy and prudence with which the Waddington Cabinet has acted, under the circumstances, have greatly contributed to strengthen its position in Parliament.

No less advantageous to it was the activity it displayed in the preparation of all the laws relating to business; the quiet and hard-working tone of the debates in the Chambers; and, finally, the laws presented by M. Jules Ferry, which gratify to the principal passion of deputies and electors—the anti-clerical passion. By one of these laws the Superior Council of Public Instruction, which for the last five years had been an instrument of unenlightened reaction, is reorganized and formed solely of competent men connected with education. This other law, far more important, restores to the State the exclusive right of conferring University degrees, which give access to the liberal professions, the bar, the medical profession, &c.; and it deprives members of unauthorised religious bodies of the right of teaching. This last measure, which inaugurates a species of *Culturkampf* in France, is the subject of violent protestation on the part of the bishops and the believing Catholics, and is censured by many Liberals, who wish even the Jesuits to have liberty; but it meets one of the vital demands of the moment. It is certain that the Republic can only live by annulling the clerical influence; and, on the other hand, the conflict with the Church may be the cause of its downfall. We shall return to this important question when the Ferry laws come to be discussed in Parliament. It is a hard moment for the French clergy and clericals. After being for thirty years under the special protection of the dominant party, and free to persecute those who dared to attack them, it seems strange to them to have to submit once more to the authority of the common law. It seems especially hard to them no longer to exercise the tyrannical sway they have so long exercised over public teaching, and to see the State Professors free to express their opinions unreservedly on religious questions. Thus, a member of the University, signing himself Pierre Victor, has just published rather a daring book, though interesting on account of its sincerity, on “*L’Évangile et l’Histoire*” (Charpentier); whilst M. E. Burnouf, the former director of the *Ecole d’Athènes*, has made “*Le Catholicisme Contemporain*” (Charpentier) the subject of a very comprehensive and severe study. The Protestants are seeking to take advantage of this movement in favour of their own Church, and, thanks to the freedom to be granted to religious meetings, they may possibly attract a considerable number of the faithful, for even in the ranks of the free-thinkers they meet with support. Men like M. Renouvier, convinced that Catholicism is exposing France to serious dangers, and yet that the French people absolutely requires a form of worship and a Church, are lending their aid in endeavouring to separate the rural

populations from the Romish Church. Two journals have just been started to further this object: the *Signal*, edited by a talented young lawyer, M. Reveillaud; and the *Réformateur Anti-Clérical et Républicain*, edited by M. Léon Pilatt. These two decidedly Republican papers hope to make Protestantism benefit by the political current now prevailing in France. Père Hyacinthe, now M. Loyson, also hopes that present circumstances may prove favourable to his scheme of a Catholic reformation. He holds a service in a building formerly a theatre, and now turned into a church; and to which, by his great oratorical talent, he attracts numerous hearers. He is even said already to have some genuine followers, but I consider it very doubtful whether he will arrive at any definite result. Sincere Catholics, even the least fanatical, are unjustly severe on this loyal and courageous man who dared to leave his convent to marry, braving the worst insults and the most outrageous slanders; and who, without hesitation, sacrificed the high position conferred upon him at Geneva, because the State did not respect the liberty of his opponents. It is difficult to understand the real doctrines of a man patronised by the Primus of Scotland and still pretending to be a Catholic; who attacks both Pope and Protestants, and unfortunately has neither power nor originality of thought enough to feed his eloquence. His merit is the having raised the protest of conscience against the superstitions that dishonour Catholicism; but he has neither the intellectual power nor the force of activity that constitute a reformer.

Those who feel themselves most directly attacked by this raising of bucklers against Catholicism are the Jesuits, who, expelled in the eighteenth century, have little by little in the course of the last forty years reinsinuated themselves into France, number hundreds, direct important educational establishments, and, through their pupils and those women whose spiritual directors they are, exercise undeniable influence. The legitimate monarchy was not very favourable to them, and the Government of Charles X. had prohibited them from teaching. It was Louis Philippe's Government and the Empire that allowed them to regain an influence it is very difficult to divest them of without infringing rights in some sense prescriptive. A book of Jean Wallon's, "*Jésus et les Jésuites*" (Charpentier), recapitulates in a lively and piquant form, combined with a good deal of erudition and some eccentricity, the vicissitudes of the celebrated order, and its action up to the time of the Vatican Councils, and reproduces the famous letters of P. Theiner to his German friends, wherein he relates the cruel manner in which he was paid for his devotion to the Papacy and Pius IX. Even in the French Academy the clericals are losing the supremacy they have so long exercised. The time is not far distant when MM. Renan and Taine could not even dream of presenting themselves, in spite of being universally recognised as the two first writers France now possesses, in the end they were admitted almost without opposition, and at

M. Renan's reception, on the 3rd April last, the Academy heard language it was little accustomed to. In his speech, as in the books that erewhile most scandalized some of his colleagues, M. Renan expressed himself strongly convinced of the permanency of the religious sentiment in humanity, spoke very respectfully of religion, but with profound scepticism of all religious and philosophical dogmas, dared to express his doubts as to the existence of the soul and of God, and placed the scholar who devotes his life to the pursuit of scientific truth, and the saint who dies a martyr to his faith, on the same level. M. Mezières, who replied to M. Renan in the name of the Academy, did not think himself obliged to protest against his doctrines: whilst criticising with reason certain of his conclusions, and an excess of scepticism which threatens to deprive science itself of all credit, he spoke of the new academician's works on religious history with the respect and admiration they deserve. His point of view, if not identical with M. Renan's, came at least very near it. It was the first time religious questions had been alluded to at the Academy not in terms borrowed from the Catechism of the sacristies, or by having recourse to the vague and unmeaning formulas of worldly religiousness, but in the manly language of modern criticism. This séance, at which homage was done to one of the greatest scholars of our day, Claude Bernard, will mark a date in the history of the Academy.

The ardour of the conflict in which the Republic and Clericalism are engaged has momentarily checked the controversies between Republicans and Bonapartists. Moreover, the representatives of the latter, both in the Chamber and the Press, are such wretched and ridiculous specimens that no serious notice is taken of them. It merely provokes a laugh when M. Paul de Cassagnac proclaims the Empire to be the present representative of traditional monarchy. It is certain that Bonapartism will not again become a danger to France, till the Republicans govern the country ill, or alarm it by violent and illegal manifestations, as did the Bordeaux electors who voted for Blanqui, though he was in prison and ineligible.

Whilst the Republicans are beginning to desist in their strife with the Empire, its old servants are reverting to the history of the past to clear themselves from personal responsibility in the events which entailed the ruin of the country. M. Rothan, formerly consul at Hamburg, has resumed his history of "*La Politique française en 1866.*" Without contributing many new facts, he has thrown light upon the indecision akin to folly, of the Imperial diplomacy in the war of 1866. He shows more particularly that the Government had been perfectly well-informed by its agents in Germany as to the real state of things, and that it acted in entire contradiction to their indications and advice, actuated by confused and childish conceptions and chimerical dreams. M. Rothan would have found his judgments confirmed in the book by M. Servais, the Luxem-

bourg Minister of State, on "Luxembourg et le Traité de Londres de 1867" (Plon), in which the author shows that France might in 1866, without striking a blow, have obtained a rectification of the frontiers from Prussia, but that the Emperor, by his exaggerated as well as shifting ambition, rendered all his diplomatists' efforts useless. In his careful and learned, but rather tiresome work, on "L'État et l'Église au Concile du Vatican" (Garnier, 2 vols.), M. Emile Ollivier has likewise done the Empire an ill-turn by confirming what Prince Napoleon's indiscretion had already disclosed—namely, that France lost the chance of an alliance with Austria and Italy through wishing, in July, 1870, to remain in Rome, which she was obliged to quit a few weeks later—without compensation. The knowledge, now unquestionably ascertained, of the part Clericalism played in the defeats of 1870, is surely not calculated to restore to it the country's sympathies. However, all these posthumous recriminations, interesting as they are from a historical point of view, are of small practical use. Whatever the causes of the defeats, the whole of France is morally responsible for them. The important thing now is to prevent the recurrence of similar catastrophes by giving the nation better institutions, more solid instruction, a more elevated and more moral character. To this patriotic work General Trochu, a man whose practical energy was not equal to the circumstances, but whose intellectual capacity and upright nature it is calumny to question, devotes all his thoughts. In the voluntary retreat to which he has nobly condemned himself, he has never ceased to think of the French army, which ought at the present day to be both an instrument of defence to the country and a means of national education. In his book on "L'Armée française en 1879" (Hetzl), he pronounces his opinion on the innovations introduced into our military system, and expounds what he considers should be the predominant idea in the reorganization of the army. He is above all convinced of the necessity of having *military institutions* which maintain a military spirit in the nation and a national spirit in the army. He rightly distinguishes the warlike spirit, eager for war, glorious actions, rapid and brilliant promotion, from the military spirit which is founded on discipline, unwearied toil, absolute devotion to country and flag. He deplores the fatal habits introduced into the French army by the Algerian campaigns, and demonstrates that an army can be better trained in a time of peace by a strictly regulated camp or barrack life, than in irregular warfare where a lucky stroke passes for a masterpiece of strategy. What General Trochu wishes for France is a system analogous to the German, but more rigorous and more complete, in which the one year's voluntary service should be abolished, and the service reduced to three years, in which great sacrifices should be made to train and keep good sub-officers, to insure the intellectual and moral development of the officers and strengthen the links that connect the different members of the army. M. Trochu's book is not only the

work of a most able military theorist, but likewise that of a refined writer, an acute thinker, and intercourse with whom is alike charming and beneficial.

Another work which, though written some time ago, appeals to present interests, and may furnish useful ideas to those on whom the task of organising the French Democracy devolves, is the first volume of the posthumous works of Michelet, just published, "*Le Banquet*" (C. Lévy). In 1854, worn out by the enormous exertions he had undergone in composing his *History of the Revolution*, cut to the heart by the events of 1851-1852, which had enslaved and degraded France, his dearest friends exiled to the four winds, Michelet had fallen dangerously ill. Rest and southern air were prescribed for him. He spent the winter at Nervi, near Genoa, on the Ligurian coast. There, in straitened circumstances, unable to work, subsisting entirely on milk, he studied the country and the people about him, and was struck and moved by their misery. From this misery to that of Italy, thence to all the misery of the world, his thoughts travelled fast. He next set himself to think how one could satisfy the desires and needs, not only material, but intellectual and moral, of the suffering masses, to whom Socialism offers nothing but deceptive chimeras. Out of this twofold pre-occupation grew the book which Madame Michelet has now published. In the first part, "*Le Pays de la Faim*," we have the touching picture of the Nervi life; in the second, "*Le Banquet*," Michelet enumerates all that a people requires. He dwells above all on two points: popular books, which may be read again and again and always with advantage, and fêtes that should form, as in Athens, part of the very nation's life, one of its noblest manifestations. Michelet's wishes do not take the form of practical propositions, realisable at once, they are fine dreams rather, *pia vota*; but those who wish to create a social state in which the people may enjoy the instruction, well-being, and elevated pleasures to which every living creature is entitled, must share in the feeling that inspired them.

As regards popular instruction, no fault can be found with the third Republic. Primary schools multiply on all sides; the Chambers have just voted the foundation of Normal schools in all the Departments for the training of male and female teachers; higher primary schools, corresponding in some sense to the German *Real Schulen*, are to be established in all the chief towns of the *arrondissements*, and perhaps of the cantons; finally, girls' schools are to be started, the State at last recognising the duty of interesting itself in the education of women, as much as in that of men. Nor is the higher instruction overlooked by the present Government; but until now the progress in that direction has chiefly consisted in the creation of new professorships, of no great use when the pupils themselves are wanting, and the whole organisation is defective. The important Society, founded two years ago

by M. Boutmy, for the Study of Questions of the Higher Education will certainly contribute to hasten the reform of our Faculties. It has just brought out a volume of studies of the highest interest, on the organization of higher education in different countries of Europe. Those on the Bonn University and on the study of law in the Austrian universities, are more specially interesting. The report of M. Lavissee, general secretary to the Society, with which the volume concludes, whilst making some apparent concessions to the prejudices current in France, points boldly to a reform of the examinations, and to the requiring all who aim at becoming teachers to go through a complete course of study in the Faculties of Letters or Sciences, as the means of restoring the French Faculties to life. This Society, which confines itself to studying the questions under consideration, and does not pretend to apply the reform, strongly supports the liberal views of the Government, and yet in nowise interferes with its independence.

The progressive ideas represented by the above Society find an echo now in almost the whole of the French Universities, where the more serious studies daily attract new labourers. The veterans set the example. M. Duruy, who has so nobly succeeded in finding compensation for the loss of power and honours in retirement and study, and who deserved to be enrolled among their members, as he has been, by two sections of the Institute, has just published a sixth volume of his fine "*Histoire des Romains*" (Hachette). The reign of Septimus Severus and the picture of the decline of the Empire are the two most remarkable chapters in the volume, which brings us to the reign of Diocletian. M. Chéruef, a contemporary of M. Duruy's, and, like him, a pupil and secretary of Michelet's, crowns his long studies on the eighteenth century by the publication of a "*Histoire de France, pendant la Minorité de Louis XIV.*" (Hachette), the two first volumes of which have just appeared. It is surprising to see how many new things remain still to be said about a period which, one might have thought, was thoroughly well known. The archives of Foreign Affairs, the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors, have furnished M. Chéruef with an ample harvest. Thanks to his book, and the "*Correspondance de Mazarin*," which he is publishing in the "*Collection des Documents inédits*," Mazarin will now, for the first time, become really known. What M. Chéruef is doing for Mazarin, M. Chantelauze is doing for Cardinal de Retz, Mazarin's great enemy. We have already referred to the two volumes relating to the Choiseau affair; he has just devoted a third, no less piquant, to Cardinal Retz's missions to Rome, to the question of the infallibility, and his intrigues in the conclaves (Didier). M. Michel furnishes a very attractive portrait of one of the most eminent and sympathetic men of Louis XIV.'s reign, "*Vauban*" (Plon). The hitherto unpublished letters contained in this volume make one long for the publication of the entire correspondence, military and private.

The French have often been charged with taking too little interest in foreign history. M. Perrens helps to exculpate them by the publication of his remarkable "*Histoire de Florence*" (Hachette). The first three volumes are the most important work yet produced on the first centuries of the celebrated Tuscan city. The fourth volume, lately published, deals with the splendid period of the Republic, the fourteenth century—the age of Villani, of Dante, of Boccaccio. The tyranny of Gauthier de Brienne, Duke of Athens, forms one of the most dramatic episodes of this period. M. Perrens has treated it with great fulness and a lively dramatic touch.

In referring to the French historical movement, I have already pointed to the important turn the studies on the eighteenth century have taken of late. The moment was well chosen by M. Edmond de Goncourt for remodelling and re-editing the work he originally published, in conjunction with his brother, under the title, "*Les Maîtresses de Louis XV.*" Stripped of a great deal of pretentious and useless ornament, enriched with a mass of new documents, and in part entirely re-written, the work now forms three distinct books: "*La Duchesse de Châteauroux et ses Sœurs*," "*Madame de Pompadour*," "*La Dubarry*" (Charpentier). Joined to other works by the same authors, "*La Femme au XVIII^{me} Siècle*," "*Marie Antoinette*," and "*Portraits Intimes du XVIII^{me} Siècle*," these volumes constitute, so to speak, the moral and social history of the whole of the eighteenth century. Though their fondness for anecdotal detail has here and there made them accept doubtful testimony, the brothers de Goncourt have, generally speaking, shown a great deal of critical discernment and excellent historical judgment. They were the first to reject the fictitious letters of Marie Antoinette circulated by M. Feuillet de Conches. And they have entered so thoroughly into the mind of the eighteenth century; have revived it with their magic spirit and picturesque style, more varied than a painter's brush! They know the ins and outs of the age; have sounded its characters to their very depths. They have so cleverly combined the gravity of the events and the frivolity of the actors. They will serve as guides to all who wish to handle this period, and M. Masson has paid them just tribute in publishing the "*Mémoires de Bernis*." They were the first to strip Choiseul of the reputation of being an honest man, which he had usurped, and draw a faithful portrait of Madame Dubarry, in which Louis XV.'s last favourite appears much less contemptible than she had been hitherto considered. MM. de Goncourt can teach us more about the eighteenth century than many more serious historians, and the method, psychological it might be termed, which they have introduced into modern history, is sure to win many disciples. Of these M. J. Soury, author of the "*Portraits du XVIII^{me} Siècle*" (Charpentier) is one, who though wanting the light touch and spicy originality of the de Goncourts, is more orderly in his manner and more skilled in the art of composition. He lacks their quaintness and obscurity, and

if his style be not very personal, it is formed on excellent models, and the woof is close and brilliant. His portraits of Fréron and of Restif de la Bretonne are admirable pieces of literary criticism. Why did he think it necessary to preface them by a rather pedantic philosophical introduction, informing us that he submits literary criticism to scientific laws; that he classes it as a new science—*l'ethologie*? To answer to the particular taste of the times no doubt, which runs the risk of becoming a mania. Everything is to be referred to a scientific source. Fortunately, M. Soury did not write his preface till his book was finished, and the book is nowise pedantic. It is as pleasant as it is solid, and in many places profound, without ever becoming heavy or tiresome. It is a pleasure to travel through the eighteenth century with guides like M. Soury or M. Ed. de Goncourt, and then contemplate it in the full tide of life in M. Quantin's charming editions of its lighter story-tellers, Voisenon, Boufflers, Crébillon, and that inimitable novel "Manon Lescant," whose, one might almost say, naïve immorality is redeemed by the touching expiation. These graceful, frivolous works, the true likeness of a vanished society, are doubly enjoyable in these exquisite volumes, on which modern typography has lavished all its arts.

Nothing can be more touching than the pious zeal of M. Ed. de Goncourt in continuing and perfecting the work begun with his brother; never was closer collaboration or more complete fusion of two talents seen in literary history. The survivor has drawn the new novel, "Les Frères Zemganno" (Charpentier), he has just published, from his very heart. Under the mask of realism and in his picture of the life of two clowns, one crippled by an accident, to whom the brother devotes his life, he has analysed the feelings that bound him to his brother Jules. This it is that constitutes the Goncourts' superiority over the novelists who, like them, call themselves realists and take them as guides. They do not mutilate Nature, nor look out for the base and the commonplace, but if here and there they have been led away by the desire to astonish the multitude or imitate the bad taste of the times, they soon recover themselves by virtue of the artistic and poetical feeling inextinguishable in them, and as real and natural as vice and folly. In the present dearth of works of imagination, this novel is most welcome. The "Comtesse Metella," by M. d'Osson (Lévy), is a pleasing but improbable tale that betrays the pen of a beginner and a woman; "Le Fils de Coralie," by M. Albert Delpit (Ollendorf), contains scenes of real dramatic power and good descriptions, but the characters are drawn rather with the breadth of touch adapted to the stage than with the delicacy and precision befitting the novel. Even the action is divided as in a play, and marked by corresponding a abruptness, by *sous-entendus* and a rapid and summary turn. Finally, the chief personage, Mme. Dubois, or Coralie, formerly one of the demi-monde, but now, out of love for her son, the most proper of provincial ladies, is so improbable a character as to destroy all interest and illusion. After citing a new

volume by M. A. Theuriet, containing two charmingly fresh and graceful stories, impregnated with forest scents and the calm of provincial life, "*Maison des Deux Barbeaux*" and the "*Sang des Finoel*" (Ollendorf), and "*Madame André*" (Dreyfus), a novel by M. Richepin, containing admirably written pages, careful analyses, and accents of burning passion but revolting and disgusting in its immorality, we have mentioned all worthy of note.

Poetry has fared no better than fiction. The publication of Théodor de Banville's complete works (Charpentier) enables us to appreciate the prodigious skill of a rhymester who toys with the difficulties of French versification like a juggler with his balls and rings. In the midst of these feats of a witty and ingenious writer, we meet, it is true, with some notes of real poetry. We find more in the works of J. Antran, of which a complete edition has likewise just been published (C. Lévy), though here, too, amidst the hum of dull bourgeois inspiration such notes are rare. Attention deserves to be drawn to a volume of "*Poésies*," by M. Lucien Paté (Charpentier), whose grace and purity of style occasionally recalls André Chénier, and who, in speaking of Corneille, has nearly caught the true Cornelian ring. "*Les Grandes Luttes*," by M. Marc Amanieu (Fischbacher), is a very ambitious work in which the young poet has endeavoured to handle the highest historical and philosophical themes. His poem "*Robur*" is a long dialogue on the existence of God. Unfortunately, M. Amanieu lacks individuality as a writer; he imitates V. Hugo not unskillfully, but the imitation of V. Hugo is the most dangerous of all. Exaggerations that can be put up with in the master, because accompanied by sublime beauties and strokes of genius, are ridiculous and tiresome in his disciples. Nor does the master himself always escape being tiresome. His late poem, "*La Pitié Suprême*" (Lévy), bears painful testimony to the decline of his powers. The idea is fine of the poet bestowing his pity not only on the unhappy but also on the wicked. He who has always cursed the tyrants in the name of the oppressed, now implores pardon for them, as the victims of their own omnipotence that corrupts them, and of flatterers who pervert them. In some passages, such as the one about Louis XV. when a child, the lion's claw is still discernible; but as a whole the poem is far-fetched and dull, in a word—tedious.

Fortunately, the old poet is reaping new triumphs from his earlier works, whose beauties the defects of the later bring out all the more strongly. "*Ruy Blas*," revived at the Théâtre Français, and interpreted by Sarah Bernhart, Coquelin, Mounet Sully, Fevre, has had a greater success even than at the Odéon in 1872. The beauty of the form has made V. Hugo's pieces take their place as classical works; they may be full of improbabilities, may be lyrical rather than dramatic in character, but people no longer feel obliged to discuss them, they are content to admire them. This revival of "*Ruy Blas*" will be the only great theatrical success of the season. Victor Cherbuliez's twofold en-

deavour to adapt his novels to the stage has not been fortunate. The odd, exotic, complex, and mysterious personages that interest us in his books, produce a doubtful and rather painful impression on the stage. Cherbuliez's very far-fetched and laborious cleverness is not suited to the theatrical drama, and he makes all his characters speak in the same refined and often pretentious manner. Nevertheless, Ladislas Bolski has been more successful than Samuel Brohl; but owing not so much to the superior qualities of the novel as to the character of the Comtesse Bolska which did not exist in the novel. So true is it that nothing is more difficult than to make a play out of a novel. The whole composition, the manner of introducing the characters and making them act, is different; so also the reader's point of view from that of the spectator. This was manifest when M. Zola's "*L'Assommoir*" was put upon the stage. The piece had been much talked of beforehand, exorbitant prices were given for seats, and when it came to the performance, the play turned out to be nothing but a coarse drama of the boulevard, like any other, in which the virtuous workman and the fine talker and the bad, drunken, lazy workman are set side by side, and the traditional traitor is the cause of all the misfortunes in the story. The effrontery and boldness of the novel, the *naturalism* that was so much talked about, the coarseness of language, the atrocious and powerful representation of the most abject vice, laid bare without any pretence of concealment, are absent from the piece. The audience would not have endured them. They would not have sat through a piece in which there was not a single character they could sympathise with, and whose sole interest lay in the psychological analysis, in a moral dissection carried out with cold immodesty.

The musical season has been much more brilliant than the theatrical. The popular concerts at the Châtelet and the Cirque d'Hiver have continued to be a series of triumphs for Berlioz; the "*Damnation de Faust*" and "*Romeo and Juliet*" have even figured on the Conservatoire's programmes, and the whole of the programme of one of the great festivals at the Hippodrome was furnished by Berlioz. The publication of the "*Correspondance de Berlioz*" (Lévy) has given fresh stimulus to the public curiosity concerning everything relating to this great and unfortunate musician. His letters show him to have been, as he has described himself in his memoirs, a man of extreme sensibility, which, in the fervour of youth, amounted almost to madness, and after a series of modifications and undeserved failures, soured his character and rendered it unsympathetic. Berlioz had more sensibility, than sentiment, more nerve than heart; his rage at not being performed at the Opera made him approve of the hissing of Tannhäuser. Though he admired Wagner, he was glaringly unjust towards his colleagues; but with these defects what devotion he showed to art, what worship for everything that is beautiful! How touching his refusing the ease and rest offered him abroad, because it was in France and for France he wished to fight and triumph! With what dignity he rejected the compromises he

considered unworthy of his genius! What a noble example his laborious career is to the young men who now tread in his steps! How much easier their lot! They have no difficulty in finding musical societies to bring out their works; the Government and the City of Paris offer prizes for competition. Three new dramatic symphonies were played in Paris this winter, formed on the model of similar works by Berlioz, and in which his influence no less than that of the other chief of modern music, Wagner, was visible. M. Dubois' "Paradis Perdu" is a conscientious well-written work, but so full of reminiscences as to resemble a piece of mosaic; M. Lefèvre's "Judith" is far cleverer in the workmanship, and reveals an artistic nature of great delicacy and elevation. The work that shows the greatest promise is M. Godard's "Tasse;" it is more youthful and imperfect than the other two, but full of inspiration. The harmony of the voices and the orchestra is not always perfect; some parts are tedious and weak, but a masterly inspiration breathes through every page of this symphony, and has at once raised a young and modest musician only known to amateurs by a few exquisite romances and some original pieces of chamber music, to the rank of one of the celebrities of the day. The Concerts de l'Hippodrome, attended by a concourse of 12,000 people, and held in an immense hall—very well adapted for instrumental music but unfavourable for the voice—gave our living composers an opportunity of getting their works performed under their own direction. Saint Saens, Fauré, Léo Delibes, played their best compositions there; Massenet had more success with selections from the "Roi de Lahore" than he had at the Opera; and V. Joncières, the most determined of our young Wagnerians, succeeded in winning applause for what passed unnoticed at the Opera and made up for the failure of "La Reine Berthe."

The musical season is over for the present, and painting and sculpture are about to have their turn. We had a foretaste in February of the yearly salon, in the exhibitions of our two leading artistic clubs, the Cercle Artistique et Littéraire of the Rue Saint Arnaud, and the Union Artistique on the Place Vendôme. The former made rather a poor show. Among the well-known painters Carolus Duran exhibited some bad portraits; F. Baudry, who has been so chary of his pictures since his labours at the Opera, contributed a fellah woman, questionable as to the drawing, and unworthy of his great talent; Henner sent a pretentious and unfaithful likeness of the pianist Ketten, but made up for this poor specimen of his work by a delicious female head in a red hood. Bastien Lepage exhibited some portraits of arid precision as regards the drawing, but admirable in relief. Pasini sent a mosque interior of wonderful colour and depth; Bernier a landscape, as usual excellent. Among the contributions of the younger painters there was nothing worthy of note but a charming sea-piece of Lansyer's, and a *temps de brouillard à Bergk* by Lepic, a large canvas, striking in its truthful brutality. The exhibition in the Place Vendôme was much more brilliant, and comprised a masterpiece of Bonnat's, the portrait of M. Lesseps; a little gem by Carolus Duran,

the portrait of M. Jadin; and other interesting works by Meissonnier, Harlamoff, Jacquet, Lefèvre. Amongst the work of the younger generation should be noted two Oriental scenes by M. B. Constant, showing his progress; a sea-piece of M. Courant's, original and vigorous in colour, which is one of his best works; two pretty *genre* pictures by M. Gros, of solid workmanship; two historical scenes by M. Le Blant, the subjects taken from the war of La Vendée, excellent as regards composition and colouring. M. Vayson, who has never met with due appreciation, exhibits an enchanting "Marchand de Fleurs." On the other hand, M. Duez does not improve; M. Roll, who reaped undeserved success in 1877 from his large picture of "L'Inondation," exhibits at both clubs pictures of repulsive brutality and ugliness; M. Berne Bellecour, grievous to say, sinks lower and lower. Among the sculpture, the busts of M. Saint Marceaux may be noted, as superior works of a delicacy, tenderness, and force of expression worthy of the greatest masters.

The world of art has incurred several noteworthy losses in the last few months, though the artists whose deaths we allude to had long ceased to occupy any place amongst contemporaries. Daumier was blind, Couture and Préault were living on a reputation that dated thirty years back. Daumier was fitted for something better than a caricaturist. He preferred the fashionable fame an inferior style, in which he displayed qualities that bordered on genius, gave him. There was something of Hogarth, Michael Angelo, and Shakspeare in his conceptions, distinguished as they were by a gloomy and impressive fancy. His drawing of the massacre of the Rue Transnonaine, another entitled "L'Empire c'est la Paix," which represents an immense plain filled with dead bodies, are pages of epic history. Daumier certainly helped to bring on the revolution of 1848 by so making game of Louis Philippe and his ministers as to render them odious. His caricatures of judges and lawyers are a series of profound and trenchant satires on the world of the law courts. Couture owed his renown to a single work, "L'Orgie Romaine," a large clever composition, in which too little notice was taken of the weak drawing and poor colouring. After that his power, like Barbier's after producing "Les Iambes," seems to have forsaken him. A picture much talked about but never exhibited, "L'Enrôlement en '92," was a copy of a print by Raffet. Préault, who owed his reputation, less perhaps to his sculptures than to his caustic biting wit,—his "*mots à la Préault*" against the Institute, or the Government of Louis Philippe, which circulated in all the studios and beerhouses where artists and writers met,—was nevertheless gifted with great qualities, a vigour of chisel, a power of conception which, with less vanity and more industry, might have produced better things. His "Marceau," his "Christ mort," his "Soldats gaulois du pont d'Iéna," his figure of Eternal Silence in the cemetery of Montmartre, remain to prove that Préault had in him the qualities of an artist of the highest order which were never completely developed. In M. Duc, architecture has likewise lost an artist of great merit, to

whom Paris owes one of her finest modern monuments, the new Palais de Justice. The French Academy, from whose ranks M. Thiers, M. de Loménie, and M. Dupanloup disappeared in such rapid succession, has just lost two other members, M. de Sacy, a clever writer, a pure man of letters, a ghost of the seventeenth century; and M. St. René Taillandier, a political writer of merit, who had devoted the greater part of his career to making France better acquainted with the Slavonic countries and with Germany. Finally, Parisian journalism has lost one of its veterans, M. de Villemessant, who, though nothing more than a writer, was an able man of business. He succeeded from 1854 to 1879 in making the *Figaro*—a journal of scandalous anecdotes and doubtful jests—one of the powers of the press, the monitor of devoutness and gallantry, and the chief organ of the Conservative party, flattering neither to the Conservatives nor to the devout.

G. MONOD.

POLITICAL LIFE IN GERMANY.

BONN, April 17th, 1879.

Germany and the Treaty of Prague—The Brunswick Succession—The Meeting of the Reichstag—Vote on the Banishment of the Socialist Members—Prince Bismark's New Commercial Policy—Parliamentary Government impossible in Germany—Bismark the Centre of the Political System—Position of Alsace-Lorraine—The Conflict between the Ultramontanes and the State.

IN the January Number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW we gave an epitome of German life up to December, 1878 ; this we would now supplement by an account of the events of political, economical, and social interest that have transpired in the four months since then.

The foreign policy of the German Empire has undergone no change ; one important fact, however, requires mention. A convention between Prussia and Austria, signed on the 11th October, 1878, and made public in January, 1879, annuls one clause of the Peace of Prague of August 13th, 1866, between these two Powers. Article V. of that Peace ran thus :—" His Majesty the Emperor of Austria makes over to his Majesty the King of Prussia all the rights acquired by him in the Peace of Vienna, 1864, over the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, with the stipulation, *that if the inhabitants of the northern provinces of Schleswig, of their own accord, express a wish to be united to Denmark, they should be surrendered to Denmark.*"

This clause certainly gave to the Emperor of Austria alone the right to demand the vote ; but he had clearly no interest in it, as it is now a well-known fact that the clause was inserted, not by the desire of Austria, but through the influence of Napoleon III. From a political point of view it would be a matter of indifference to Austria whether some 100,000 Danes more or less belonged to Prussia or not. But to Prussia it was far otherwise. On every opportunity, whether fitting or not, the single Danish delegate in the German Reichstag would bring up the clause of Article V. In the Danish Parliament attention was also periodically drawn to it. The inhabitants of these provinces were thus kept in a state of perpetual uncertainty whether they were to remain Germans or to become Danes. Prussia had repeatedly endeavoured to carry out Article V., if Denmark was prepared to give the

required guarantees for the maintenance of the German nationality in those districts. These efforts proving fruitless, Prussia next turned to Austria, and made an agreement with her which will have the good result of freeing the inhabitants of the provinces from uncertainty, and of setting aside the clause which might have led to yet further difficulties. The convention itself is an indisputable proof of the friendship of Austria. This the German people have felt, and the sympathy manifested in the great calamity that has overwhelmed Szegedin, contributions sent in from every part of Germany, concerts held for the benefit of the sufferers, &c., prove that the nation fully reciprocates the kindly feeling.

Another question of home policy has advanced a stage. Duke William of Brunswick, born April 25th, 1806, is unmarried, and, according to existing German law, his heir would be Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, son of King George V. of Hanover, who died on the 12th of June, 1878. But King George did not recognise the changes effected in 1866, and his son has maintained his claims to Hanover, in a document addressed to the King of Prussia. This state of affairs has caused the States of Brunswick to pass a law, which the Duke has sanctioned and made public, by which provision is made for the Regency in case, on the demise of the Duke, his successor should not be allowed to assume the government. It is superfluous to ask whether the Duke of Cumberland will finally abandon his claims to Hanover, acquiesce in the changes which have been made, and so secure to himself the succession to the Duchy of Brunswick. If he does not do this he will never be Duke of Brunswick, and in all probability the country will fall to Prussia, which, in the event of the dying out of the male Guelph line of the House of Brunswick, has the next right of inheritance.

On the 12th of February the German Reichstag entered on a new Session. The observations made by us in the articles in the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* for December, 1878, and January, 1879, indicated that this Session would be one of exceptional importance. From the very outset the disorganisation of parties, described by us, made itself keenly felt; while the choice of the second president, after the one first chosen had declined, required the vote to be three times taken. An apparently trifling cause led at once to unexpected unanimity, the result of which aroused the fear of a speedy dissolution.

In accordance with the law against Social Democrats (see *CONTEMPORARY*, January, pp. 390, 391), the Ministry had declared Berlin and some adjoining districts to be in a partial state of siege, and had banished a number of Socialists, and among them two members of the Reichstag from Berlin and its neighbourhood. On the opening of the Reichstag these two at once presented themselves. The Attorney-General appealed through the Government to the Reichstag to permit the legal prosecution of these two members because they had come to Berlin in defiance of the prohibition, and thereby made themselves liable to the penalties of the law against Socialists. It is inconceivable how

the Government could take such a step, because no member of the Reichstag had ever thought, in passing that law, of giving the police the power, by an order of banishment, to exclude members from the Reichstag, thus possibly enabling them, by virtue of a law the execution of which rests in the hands of those who decide the cause, to violate a fundamental principle of the Constitution. The House almost with one voice negatived the motion, and the majority immediately passed a resolution to the effect that the interpretation of the law given by the Government was erroneous.

Still more decided was the opposition to the Government and to the Chancellor with regard to the steps taken by Prince Bismark relative to the subject of taxation.

In the January number of the *CONTEMPORARY*, p. 388-99, we have described the situation. At the close of December, 1878, Prince Bismark addressed a memorial to the Bundesrath, in which he set forth his views on the regulation of the commercial and financial affairs of the Empire. The principal points referred to were the following:—The protection of national labour and of national products in every department; consequently import duties for all goods except those which must necessarily be exempted in the interests of home industry; tariffs fixed not by conventions but by law, in particular a duty upon the importation of corn, cattle, and wood, for the protection of agricultural interests, a duty upon iron, &c. This document, which proposed a complete revolution in the economic system hitherto pursued, caused the greatest excitement in many parts of Germany. Addresses, expressing approval of the scheme, flowed in from towns, companies, unions, which saw in the proposed changes the revival of their iron and coal industries. A number of agricultural unions chimed in, because the small farmer believed he would be benefited by the duties on foreign corn and cattle. But there was no lack at the same time of counter-demonstrations. Outcries and warning voices arose, not only from the seaport towns of Bremen, Hamburg, Lubeck, Dantzig, and others, whose trade and prosperity must suffer through the diminution of the imports, but also from various other towns, provinces, and unions. Meanwhile, the situation became gradually more clear. The commercial and shipping treaty with Italy extended to the end of 1879. With Austria-Hungary a commercial treaty was concluded, which was to hold good from 16th December, 1878, to the 31st of December, 1879, and this was ratified by the Reichstag on the 25th of February; this does not interfere with autonomous legislation.

The Commission which was appointed to inquire into the cultivation, manufacture, and trade in tobacco, and the other for inquiry into the iron and steel industry, as well as that for textile fabrics, have completed their work, and laid the result of their inquiries in the form of propositions before the Bundesrath. A Special Commission was appointed for the preparation of a new customs tariff, under the presidency of Baron

Varnbüter, and the new tariff has been made. The Bundesrath have lost no time, and the proposed laws relating to the customs tariff, with the tariff itself, and the duty on tobacco, are already laid before the Deputies, who, on the 4th of April, began their recess, which lasts to the end of the month. A few words will suffice to show the nature of the changes proposed. These do not, indeed, amount to the imposition of a duty on everything, but they form an immense contrast to the previous state of things. We will illustrate this by a few examples :—

ARTICLE.	DUTY ON EVERY 100 KILOGRAMS.	
	<i>Proposed New Tariff.</i>	<i>Old Tariff.</i>
Cotton-yarn and goods	from 12 to 250 m.	from 12 to 86 m.
Raw iron	1 m.	free till 1873; only 50 pf.
Iron goods	from 1 m. 50 pf. to 60 m.	free till 1873; from 1 to 5 m.
Grain, wheat, oats, } peas, beans, &c. . . }	1 m.	free.
Rye, barley, maize, } buckwheat }	50 pf.	free
Malt	1 m. 20 pf.	free.
Glass and glass wares .	3 to 30 m.	4 to 24 m.; partly free.
Hops	20 m.	10 m.
Coffee	42 m.	30 m.
Tea	100 m.	48 m.
Petroleum	6 m.	free.

On tobacco the rise is still greater. It is proposed to raise the duty on tobacco leaves, &c., to 120 m. on every 100 kilogr. (the old tariff being 24 m.); and on manufactured tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes to make it 270 m. (previously 120 m.), and on other kinds 200 m. (previously 42 to 120 m.). The duty for that grown in the country is also doubled.

We will not indulge in conjectures, when six or eight weeks will bring before us the final decision. Let us make two remarks only. It appears to us that as Prince Bismark will bring the whole weight of his influence to bear to secure the adoption, without any important modifications, of the proposed changes, there can be no doubt of the issue. This we may the more safely assume, because already there are notable instances of men having changed their views in a very short space of time, and this in the case of men whose familiarity with the subject would have seemed to render such a change inconceivable. Thus it is said that Baron Schorlemer Alst, one of the leaders of the Ultramontanes, approves of the tariff, though he himself at a meeting of the members of the Reichstag in October, 1878, for the discussion of questions of political economy, gave his opinion most decidedly and emphatically against duties on corn, and said he would never agree to them. A similar rumour is current of Dr. Hammacher, who on the same occasion expressed himself in favour of commercial treaties with convention tariffs, and repudiated the principle of protective duties.

Our second remark is based on recently-acquired experience, that the refusal to do a thing at the right time has afterwards to be paid for doubly. If the Reichstag and the Government had agreed in 1877 to

the continuance of the then moderate duty on iron and steel goods, the whole of the subsequent agitation would have been avoided, and Germany would have been spared corn and cattle duties and the experiment of changing her whole commercial system. Germany must import about 10 per cent. of the grain that is needed. It is hardly possible to say at present, therefore, whether the duty will bring an actual rise in prices or not; this the future must decide. One thing, however, is already clear. The depressed condition of trade is caused for the most part by the over-production of the years 1871-4, by the taxation of a number of fabrics, especially in the iron trade, and partly also by the deterioration in some branches of trade, in consequence of which German goods have been shut out of the market. If the new tariff be accepted, an improvement will take place in some branches, especially in the manufacture of raw iron; other persons whose business it is to obtain raw material cheap for exportation will find themselves in bad case, unless the system be adopted of giving compensation for the import duty by drawback on exports even if the raw material has not been brought from abroad. Whether tobacco will be able to stand the proposed duty without considerably lessening the consumption, it is impossible to say. In addition to the imports we have mentioned, there have also been propositions for raising the duty on beer, &c. We defer the discussion of all these points to a future article, in which we shall have also to speak of other new laws.

We have had fresh proof during the current session of the Reichstag that motions of the highest importance, the non-acceptance of which would seem to threaten the dissolution of the House, may just be dropped without any apparent effect at all. It is not easy for an Englishman to realise how it is possible, for instance, for a Bill which the Ministry supports with all its strength, to be rejected by an immense majority without any further consequences. But any one who bears in mind the condition of things in Germany, and especially the state of parties there as explained by us in the December number of the *CONTEMPORARY* (p. 163—169), will be able to understand how this is possible, and it will become still more clear from a consideration of the two following points.

First, That in the German Empire no such thing as a parliamentary Ministry exists, or could exist.

Second, That Prince Bismarck is the centre of the whole system. Let him complain as often as he will, that as President of the Prussian Ministry he has no voice, that each Minister of a department acts independently, it is nevertheless certain that, apart from purely technical questions, about which he does not trouble himself, everything depends upon him. This is shown by the present state of affairs. Two years ago the whole Prussian Ministry was for free trade; now it is for protection, since that is the side on which Prince Bismarck has declared himself. And it is the same in everything. If the Reichstag has come

to some decision with which Bismark is on the whole satisfied, or which he allows to pass because, as a very practical politician, he sees that nothing would be gained by a dissolution, or that by giving way he can carry out other plans to which he attaches more importance, then the defeat of the Government has no further consequence; it does not even disturb the good understanding between the parties—nay, sometimes, as we have seen in the last five years, it even confirms it. We have just passed through an experience of this kind. At the assembling of the Reichstag a law was proposed relating to the penal jurisdiction of the Reichstag. The object of this law was to put a check on the excesses of free speech. On the one hand sharper disciplinary measures within the Reichstag itself were proposed, from the prohibition of the publication of the debates to the withdrawal of the mandate; and, on the other hand, punishment by a court of justice. Experience has certainly shown that the order of business hitherto observed affords no sufficient check upon digressions of speech which there is a twofold reason for repressing: first, they are apt to become dangerous, because the shorthand reports are officially printed, and there is no legal penalty for such publications; and, secondly, absent parties are subject to libellous attacks, from which they ought to be shielded. It has repeatedly happened in the Reichstag, and still more often in the Prussian Landtag, that members have assailed outside persons in the most casual and reckless manner. It has become a regular practice of the Ultramontane party to drag into the debate Government officials obnoxious to themselves, and to indulge in any kind of scandal in relation to them. The opportunity is taken when the salary of the Minister concerned is brought forward in the debate on the budget, to make these recriminations, and the result is not only to prolong the debates on the budget to a very unnecessary length, but to make them among the most objectionable. The principle of the proposed alterations is, therefore, unquestionably sound; and there is little doubt that, if the Reichstag sets the good example, the Prussian Landtag will follow. But it would be dangerous to allow words spoken in Parliament to come under the cognisance of a court of justice, and every Parliament will rightly repudiate such an idea, so long as the maintenance of discipline by the House itself has not been proved to be utterly impracticable. The Reichstag declined to adopt the Bill after the first reading, but authorised the Commission for the ordering of business to make suitable propositions on the subject. To this the Government agreed, and thus the danger of a conflict was avoided. The sharper exercise of discipline by the President during this session may be regarded as one result already secured by the Bill.

The position of the province of Alsace-Lorraine, ceded to Germany by France in the Peace of May 10, 1871, presents some points of interest. This province has not been incorporated with any single German State, but is Imperial land, the Emperor exercising over it, in the name of the German Empire, the rights of a sovereign. The administration, which

is conducted according to certain French laws allowed to remain in force, with the addition of some new laws, is under the responsible central direction of the Imperial Chancellor, who has in Berlin a special bureau for Alsace-Lorraine, with an Under-Secretary of State as his colleague at its head; under this is an Ober-Präsident in Strasburg, who has the immediate control of affairs. For the representation of the province there is a provincial committee chosen from the representatives of the three Circles. By a law of May 2nd, 1877, this committee acquired the right to pass provincial laws for Alsace-Lorraine, including the yearly budget for the province, so that the Reichstag from that time has not interfered at all with the legislation of the province. There are now in Alsace-Lorraine, apart from the Germans who have settled there since 1871, and from the officials, two political parties, which may be described as follows: The first, which is known as the party of protest, consists of those persons who are radically averse to the annexation, who will hear nothing of reconciliation with Germany, and whose great hope is that the province may be restored to France either by the free act of Germany, or as the result of a successful war made by France. They persistently negative and oppose every proposition that comes from the side of Germany, and seem bent on making the administration of the province so irksome and annoying to the Germans, that they may be glad to give it up. That such conduct is politically foolish, because useless and opposed to the true interests of the province, it needs no argument to show. So long as the province belongs to Germany it is its true policy to do all in its power to secure the sympathy of the Empire, and to turn this to account. Mere opposition can have no result. The other party, who call themselves "Autonomists," have perceived this, and they direct all their endeavours to get the whole administration of the province carried on on the spot, in Strasburg, not in Berlin. M. Schneegans, the member who represents this party, presented a memorial which led Prince Bismark to give an unreserved expression of his views. Without conceding all that was asked, he admitted the justice of the representation of the unsatisfactoriness of the existing state of affairs, and laid down, partly with the express consent of the Emperor, and partly from his own point of view, certain plans which he intended to introduce to the Bundesrath for the reform of the administration. The main point was this, that a Stadtholder, who must not be a prince (it had been proposed by the Autonomist party that the then Crown Prince of the Empire and of Prussia should be made Regent), should hold the supreme authority in Strasburg (with the exception of certain sovereign rights reserved to the Emperor), and that he should be assisted by one Minister. The Provincial Committee might be increased by the addition of other members; but he would not consent to a purely local administration so long as the dallying with France continued, and while the clerical and protesting element was in the majority. It may be expected, therefore, that changes in this direction

will be made. The present unsatisfactory position of Alsace Lorraine in the Bundesrath can hardly be maintained. The Imperial Chancellor is right when he says that if the German States and the Reichstag would agree to such an alteration of the Constitution, it would in fact amount to an increase of the Prussian votes in the Bundesrath; because it is not to be supposed that the Emperor would influence the representatives of Alsace and Lorraine, otherwise than as King of Prussia he influenced the Prussian representatives. Moreover, it must be allowed to be an anomalous thing that, while the smallest German principality has at least one vote in the Bundesrath, Alsace-Lorraine, the population of which would give it the sixth place among German provinces, has no voice at all. The difficulty lies in its character as an Imperial province, subject to the Emperor. It would certainly have been best if in 1871 the new province had been at once attached to Prussia; but probably the way was not clear. At any rate this is not possible now; and the only course that remains is to go forward in the path indicated. It rests with the inhabitants of the province to prove to Germany by the elections to the Reichstag that they may be trusted with a completely independent administration, and with an extended representation, without fear that, through the excesses of the clerical and anti-German party, the new privileges may have to be withdrawn almost as soon as given. No reasonable politician will ever entertain the idea that Germany will of her own accord surrender Alsace-Lorraine, but we think that France is prudent enough not to enter on a war which might be at least as likely to issue in further losses to her as in the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine.

We cannot speak of Germany without being reminded of the controversy of the Ultramontanes with the State. In this "Culturkampf" there is very little new to record. The Roman Curia has several times exercised itself in writing long letters to Berlin, which, to use Prince Bismark's expression, contained nothing "tangible," and which were answered with the same adroitness in saying nothing. Leo XIII. *would* but cannot; by his declaration that the States of the Church are a necessity, he has recently shown that he has entered on the same course as his predecessors. A letter written by him to the deposed Bishop of Cologne, which was published at the end of December last, was certainly much milder than previous papal briefs. The Prussian Minister, Dr. Falk, recognised in the Landtag the peace-loving disposition of the new Pope, but nothing further came of it. The most recent attempts also made by the Ultramontanes, who in the last session of the Prussian Landtag, again petitioned for the withdrawal of the "Maigesetze," and denounced the school laws and the proceedings of the Minister, were without result. Dr. Falk, the Minister of Worship, with his clear, pointed, and conclusive speech, made such short work of them that nothing has since been heard of his resignation; and fresh proof has been given of the determination of the Government not to relax the law, and to require as a condition

of any *modus vivendi*, a recognition of the law. The consent of the Centre to the proposed duties will effect no change. Bismark knows too well that the Ultramontane Deputies will be obliged to accept these, because their constituents will demand it; but it is their great endeavour to stand forth as the true representatives of popular interests. In order to show this, they have brought forward a motion for a further reduction of rents, and for fresh limitations of the practice of usury—a scheme which the Conservative side has adopted with some modifications. Meanwhile in other directions the party is making a fiasco. The Bishop of Ratisbon has at length felt himself constrained to declare the appearances of the Mother of God in Metterbuch to be a hoax, although the Princess Taxis, sister of the Empress of Austria, had already had a chapel built upon the favoured spot.

Quite recently an action was brought before the Court in Saarbrücken (Province of the Rhine) against the parents of the children who professed to have seen the Mother of God in Marpingen, and against a number of other persons—pastors, doctors, peasants, &c.—who had fostered the delusion. The proceedings have disclosed a state of things which would have seemed incredible. The Court, in its sentence of the 8th of April, acquitted the accused, because they did not seem to have had any design of making gain by their proceedings; but it has ruled that intentional deception and fraud will be treated as a moral misdemeanour. Whether the appeal made by the Attorney-general will lead to a condemnation is a matter of indifference. The action has opened the eyes of every man capable of thinking and not altogether infatuated, to the precipice to which fanaticism and religious extravagance must necessarily lead; yet, in spite of this, the Bishop of Ermland (East Prussia) is allowing the same deception to go on in Dietrichswald. Any one who is fully acquainted with the present situation must come to the conviction that the Ultramontane party has reached its zenith, and has already begun its downward course. The people are becoming at length weary of perpetual agitations; the Peter's pence flow in more scantily in spite of the recent demands of the Bishops; the law is being enforced.

We may also regard it as a sign that the conflict is flagging, that the nuns in Ahrweiler (Province of the Rhine) have obtained permission from the Minister to carry on their girls' school from the end of May, under the direction of one lay governess and eight former nuns. These also will have to lay aside the dress of their order, for, from this time, only nursing sisterhoods are to be allowed in Prussia.

FRIEDRICH VON SCHULTE.

CONTEMPORARY BOOKS.

I.—CHURCH HISTORY, &c.

(Under the Direction of the Rev. Professor CHEETHAM.)

THE first work on our list is *Peregrinus Proteus: An Investigation into certain Relations subsisting between De Morte Peregrini, the Two Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians, the Epistle to Diognetus, the Bibliotheca of Photius, and other Writings.* By J. M. Cotterill. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1879.) In the number of the *Church Quarterly* for April 1877, there appeared a remarkable article on the *Epistle to Diognetus* and the *Oration to the Gentiles*, attributed to Justin, the object of which appeared to be to throw doubt upon their genuineness, not only as works of Justin but as works of primitive Christian antiquity, and to hint that if not actually forged by Henry Stephens, the printer, he was at least conscious of some fraudulent dealing in connection with them.* Little was said about the second of the two writings mentioned, and the main brunt of the attack fell upon the *Epistle to Diognetus*, the first four chapters of which were examined minutely line by line, and a mass of parallels produced, making out that the so-called Epistle was really a cento made up from writings of various dates from Philo down to Photius.

A continuation of this article was to have followed, but the author, Mr. Cotterill of Portobello, found his theory grow under his hands, and instead of confining himself to the pages of a magazine, he has now published a considerable volume, extending the charge of forgery to a whole group of writings, only the principal of which are named on the title-page. We have, in fact, before us what is probably the boldest and most sweeping charge of the falsification of ancient documents put forward since the time of the Jesuit Hardouin.

The reader's first question, no doubt, will be, Is all this to be taken seriously? It might very well be supposed to be an elaborate hoax. This, however, it pretty certainly is not. The author writes quite as if he was in earnest, and (unless he has caught something of the spirit which he attributes to H. Stephens), it would be strange if so much labour and learning were expended merely in an attempt to mystify the public. At the same time it does not follow that all the author's earnestness should communicate itself to his readers. They are not bound to take his paradoxes seriously because he intends them so.

As long as scepticism was confined to the *Epistle to Diognetus*, it had not a little to say for itself. The writing was one which appears to have been unknown to Eusebius, Jerome, and Photius. It was contained in a single MS., and that MS. now lost. The circumstances under which it was first published were not very clear. In character it is vague and general, with no definite marks of date. Though animated by a certain eloquence, there is nothing to show conclusively that this eloquence springs directly from the subject. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that it might be only a rhetorical exercise, and it is not on the face of it incredible that it might have been composed as late as the revival of learning.

It is a different matter when we come to such a work as the *First Epistle of*

* Mr. Cotterill now seems to think that he has traced the actual forgery up to Nicephorus Callistus, the Byzantine historian.

Clement to the Corinthians. This is frequently mentioned and quoted from the second century onwards. Its contents, though not remarkably definite and pointed, harmonize with the date at which it is supposed to have been written. But, what is of the most importance, it is found in three distinct MSS., one bearing all the marks by which documents of the kind are usually assigned to a date as early as the fifth century, another dated A.D. 1056, and the third, a Syriac version, dated A.D. 1170.

It is certainly a bold idea to set down a writing like this as a forgery of the time of the Renaissance. But whatever may be their justice, our author has, at any rate, the courage of his opinions. He has an answer ready for most of the objections that can be urged against him. The epistle is repeatedly quoted, and the quotations correspond to the text of the MSS. But a forger would naturally take care to introduce them. The MSS. "have every appearance of belonging to the dates to which they are respectively assigned." But "this follows necessarily if such was the forger's intention, and if he had the skill to carry out that intention." We might, perhaps, go on to point out that each of the three MSS. contains other writings besides the Epistles of Clement, and that the text of these (e.g., the Codex Alexandrinus of the New Testament, or the version bound up with the Syriac) is so characteristic and peculiar as to be quite beyond the invention of the most skilful forger at a time when the character of different texts had been so imperfectly analysed. To this the answer would probably be that the argument is not just, or that the Biblical portions of the text were copied from a genuinely ancient MS., but that this does not prove that the rest is genuine.

It is said that nothing was ever written that was not capable of being answered, and no doubt it is possible to go on giving answers such as these. But the question is, Which are the greater improbabilities? Those which attach to the supposition that the epistle or epistles are genuine, or those which attach to the assumption that they are forged? We answer, most emphatically, the latter. It is not only that the Biblical portions of the MSS. are peculiar, but the phenomena of the text presented by A. C. S. of the Epistles of Clement themselves are such as to be far beyond the reach of fabrication by any forger, ancient or modern. When we are told that these Epistles are forgeries the ground is nearly cut away from under the objector's feet. The theory is refuted before it is raised. The improbabilities adduced by Mr. Cotterill are as nothing compared to those in which his own theory is entangled.

We believe it would be possible to show this in detail. A certain number of curious facts have been adduced, not one of which, so far as we can see, is without parallel or reasonable explanation. Many of the instances given are simply null and void—mere commonplaces that might be found in all times and in all writers. Others are probably due to direct, though unacknowledged, quotations, which were very frequent in antiquity, as would be abundantly shown by the relations of Tertullian or Epiphanius to Irenæus. The occasional failure to verify quotations (the instances of which are, however, somewhat doubtful) is a phenomenon met with not by any means infrequently, both in the Old and New Testament, and elsewhere. We do not mean to assert that all Mr. Cotterill's instances will necessarily come under one or other of these heads, nor can we profess to have given them a very close study. Life is short and art is long, and plain people have not time to spare to go upon every wild-goose chase upon which it may be sought to lead them. We can only regret that a writer of so much talent and so much learning should misspend both so egregiously. His book is useful as a warning not to lay too much stress upon verbal coincidences. In this respect it is monumental, but on most others it is a failure.

From a literary point of view the book is also much less of a success than it might have been. The author has abundance of literary skill, and his original article in the *Church Quarterly* was well put together, clear, and easily intelligible. We cannot say as much for the present volume. The mystery is kept up far too long; indeed to the end it is not fully revealed. The reader seems to be intentionally kept in the dark. He does not know where he is being led or what it is sought to prove. And though this might not have been such bad policy if the detailed reasoning had been worked out clearly and thoroughly, this is by no means the case. The points do not stand out in any relief. Back references and references to passages that are not given are constantly occurring. Subjects run confusedly into one another; matter is thrown into appendices which ought to have been an integral part of the work. In fact, the book has very much the appearance of a "fortuitous concurrence of atoms." Ideas seem to be put down in the order in which they arose in

the author's mind. He seems to forget that their connection and coherence is likely to be much less clear to the reader than they are to himself. There is none of that deliberate recasting and orderly development which a subject of so much intricacy needed. The book would have to be rewritten in order to be really effective. We should not, however, advise the author to rewrite it. It is to be hoped that he may be able to apply his real learning and ability in a more profitable direction.

There is something pathetic in the publication of *The Lord's Supper: Uninspired Teaching* (London: Seeley, Jackson, & Halliday). The writer, the Rev. Charles Hebert, D.D., tells us in his dedication to the University of Cambridge, that it is "after forty-five years' service as a minister of Christ in the Church of England" that "he humbly presents this work to the consideration of her dignitaries and her members in general." The object of the work seems mainly to be to confirm the opinion of Chillingworth, that there are "popes against popes, councils against councils, fathers against fathers," so that except on the rock of Scripture he can find no rest for the sole of his foot. Dr. Hebert, in two thick volumes, has collected and translated an immense number of passages bearing more or less on the doctrine and ritual of the Eucharist, taken from a great variety of writers, ranging from Clement of Rome to Canon Liddon. It is needless to say that 1460 octavo pages, though they form two very thick volumes, are not nearly sufficient to include all the passages relating to the Eucharist which occur in considerable writers during eighteen centuries. And the passages extracted are not, so far as we can discover, chosen on any definite principle. There are, for instance, several extracts from Cyprian, but we do not find the well-known passage in Firmilian's letter to Cyprian describing the manner in which an ecstatic woman attempted to consecrate the Eucharist. And several other passages might be mentioned, generally given in treatises on the Eucharist, which do not appear in Dr. Hebert's book. On the other hand, several passages appear which do not seem to have any bearing on the Eucharist whatever. For instance, he gives the story of the statue erected at Paneas (printed Peneas) in honour of the Lord, by the woman who was healed of an issue of blood, and appears to know nothing of the highly probable explanation, that the statue represented an emperor—perhaps Hadrian—with the province personified as a woman kneeling at his feet, and the inscription "To the Saviour," or the like—common enough on imperial statues.

We would fain speak well of a work which has evidently been one of love, but truth compels us to say that Dr. Hebert is by no means a competent translator and annotator of the passages which he cites. Opening at random, we stumble on the following (i. 78):—"Why do we dedicate the fourth and sixth after the Saturday to standings, and the preparation day to fastings?" This professes to be a translation from Tertullian. What the passage really means is, "Why do we dedicate the fourth and sixth days of the week [Wednesday and Friday] to stations [special devotional observances], and Friday [the preparation for the Sabbath, *i.e.*, Saturday] to fastings?" The passage is a perfectly plain one. On the opposite page, in an extract from the "De Coronâ" (which is rendered "On the Crown," instead of "On the Soldier's Wreath"), we find the sentence, "We make offerings for the dead, for the birthdays, on the anniversaries;" an English reader would hardly conjecture that this refers to the oblations for the dead on the day of their death; the "birthday" of a saint was the day on which he left this life and was born into a better world. In the same extract "Pascha" is interpreted "Good Friday," instead of "Easter-Day." The earlier part of the same extract is, to say the least, very awkwardly rendered. He speaks (i. 416) of "the chest of box-wood, of ivory;" it should be "the pyx or casket of ivory;" *πίξιν* had lost its etymological signification. "Orationes" are not "orations" (i. 470), but prayers or collects. Dr. Hebert also fails in another quality very necessary for such a work as that which he has undertaken—criticism. For instance, he does not seem at all aware that the treatise on the "Handing down of the Liturgy," ascribed to Proclus, Archbishop of Constantinople in the fifth century, is now generally believed to be the work of a much later writer. In the translation of the extract from this treatise are several faults. The writer is not speaking of an "exposition," but of a "setting forth" or "edition" of the Liturgy. The Apostles should not be described as "secretly informing," but as "prompting" or "dictating to" Clement—referring of course to the Clementine liturgy of the "Apostolical Constitutions." Chrysostom is not described as "cutting out" but as "cutting down" most parts of Basil's liturgy. The little dissertation on liturgies (i. 352) is very confused; the writer seems to have set sail on the wide sea of liturgies

and liturgical writings without chart or compass. On the whole, though we greatly respect the spirit which led Dr. Hebert to devote his later years to a difficult work, we are at a loss to conceive what class of readers can be benefited by it.

Under the title of *Four Lectures on Some Epochs of Early Church History* (London: Longmans, 1879), Dean Merivale gives us admirable studies of the four great Latin Fathers—Ambrose, Augustine, Leo, and Gregory. The subject is so treated as to give, in a very vivid and forcible way, the leading points of Church History from the middle of the fourth to the end of the sixth century. It is not uninteresting to note with what scant respect the veteran historian treats some of the superstitions which weaker minds find venerable and imposing.

In Hagenbach's *History of the Reformation, chiefly in Germany and Switzerland*, Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh, have made a valuable addition to their Foreign Theological Library. It is translated from the fourth German edition, which has been carefully revised by the author. Dr. Hagenbach's point of view is that of a liberal-minded Lutheran, and his narrative is clear and interesting. He occupies a middle point between those who write for professional students—a numerous class in Germany—and those who simply adapt well-known materials for popular use. The work is not so well suited for popularity as D'Aubigné's well-known History, but it is shorter, as well as more careful and accurate. On the Zwinglian or German-Swiss Reformation in particular it gives information which is probably not accessible to English readers in any other form.

The volume called *South Africa and its Mission Fields*, by the Rev. J. E. Carlyle, late of Natal (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1879), owes its origin to a meeting in Edinburgh of friends of South African Missions, who deputed to Mr. Carlyle the task of collecting the statistics of the various missionary enterprises in South Africa. This he has done with great completeness, and having added information respecting the country itself and the races among whom the various missions have laboured, the whole is published under the title quoted above.

It is a noticeable mark of the Catholic spirit created by actual contact with heathenism that Mr. Carlyle describes with the most perfect brotherliness no fewer than thirteen different missions, undertaken by the various English, American, and European Protestant Communions. All are treated as fellow-workers in the great field, with the most entire absence of that jealousy or heartburning which divides the various sections of the Church of Christ at home. The only qualification of this practical union is a temperate criticism of the action of some missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who have not been content to go out to unoccupied regions, but in their injudicious zeal have invaded missions already formed and working successfully. Pity that they should not have more of the apostolic spirit which refuses to build on other men's foundations, and rejoices in Christ being preached though not by themselves.

The volume opens with a sketch of the various mission fields, which gives a large amount of information respecting them. A glance at the various native races follows, in which the Zulus, now only too familiar to us, figure prominently. Mr. Carlyle has no very high opinion of Cetewayo, and seems to think it right to interfere, of course forcibly, to put down the tyranny he exercises, but in this he will hardly carry his readers with him. Peace has its victories not less renowned than war, and it will remain a question if it would not have secured without bloodshed more in the end than can be hoped for from rifles and gunpowder.

The work accomplished by each mission supplies a number of interesting chapters, from which we learn that the total number of native adherents of the South African Missions collectively are about 180,000, of whom about 35,000 are communicants.

All who are interested in missionary work will find in Mr. Carlyle's book a well arranged manual of the missions in the great field of which he treats. The information is brought down to the last few months, and the various topics on which so much has been said of late in connection with missions among particular races are discussed with moderation and good feeling. Some of the glimpses given of Natal history, in particular, are very interesting at this time.

II.—ESSAYS, NOVELS, POETRY, &c.

(Under the Direction of MATTHEW BROWNE.)

A WELCOME sequel to the recently published "Life and Letters of James Hinton," edited by Ellice Hopkins, will be found in *Chapters on the Art of Thinking and other Essays*, by the late James Hinton. With an Introduction by Shadworth Hodgson. Edited by C. H. Hinton (C. Kegan Paul & Co.) Some of the papers have already been in print, and great interest attaches to some letters, which originally appeared in the *Christian Spectator* (about eighteen years ago)—an admirable pioneer periodical which was before its time; too good for the only public likely to find it out; and, during the short space for which it was known to the present writer, heroically, generously, and discriminatingly edited. In a preface written with much grace, modesty, and sound judgment, Mr. C. H. Hinton supplies what is really one of the most interesting chapters in the volume. Shyly professing to have said nothing, he has told us much of his distinguished father. He calls attention to the fact that no extracts have been given from a series of volumes which contains Mr. James Hinton's work from 1857 to 1865, and again from 1869 to 1870.

"These volumes," he continues, "would form the most available source to whoever wished to make a study of the course and bearings of my father's inquiries, but are hardly adapted for general perusal, as they are more a record of his thoughts in the process and order of development than an exposition of the results at which he arrived. In order to make their contents accessible, it is necessary to bring together into one part what are often separated by many pages, and to collate them with later and unprinted manuscripts. A book thus formed, will, I hope, some time be produced."

The book to be "thus formed" is the book that is wanted; but the task of forming it will need a good deal of "dry light," perhaps quite as much of that as of intellectual sympathy.

Among the titles of the papers contained in this miscellaneous composed volume are such as these: "The Analogy between Mental and Organic Life;" "Professor Tyndall and the Religious Emotions;" "Free Will;" "Genius." The scientific papers are in our opinion the most satisfactory, and of these we give the list:—"On the Proximate Cause of Functional Action;" "On Physical Morphology, or the Law of Organic Form;" "Mr. Herbert Spencer's Principles of Biology;" "On the Relations between Chemical Decomposition and Nutrition." It is from no scientific prejudice that we say we think Mr. Hinton is seen at his best in these papers.

There was a passage in the "Life and Letters" in which the accomplished editor quoted Mr. Hinton as one day saying to her that she was welcome to take and use any of his ideas. In the present volume we find Mr. Hinton acknowledging with the utmost scrupulosity his obligation to Sir William Gull for a single observation on a leaf. Perhaps this may serve as a correction of any doubtful construction which may have been read into the former passage by loosely jointed minds. The world is none too scrupulous in such matters,—far otherwise,—and only too ready to jump at any, the remotest hint of a sanction for unjustifiable use of the labours of others. What Mr. Hinton said to Miss Ellice Hopkins about using his ideas was noble and good. Dr. Arnott refused to patent the water-bed, and that was noble and good. But he would not have liked to see somebody else taking credit by name for the invention. Wordsworth contributed a line or two (shocking bad lines) to Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner," but it was no secret; and the tendency to literary larceny is so rife at present that there is reason to be thankful for any rebuke of it, however casual.

In spite of the apparently endless involutions and doublings of Mr. Hinton's mind, a time must at last have come when the ultimate tendency of his speculations—at all events in the region of ethics—must have declared itself irrevocably to others, if not to himself. Had not the hour struck or begun to strike when the end came? Had he not begun to suspect it himself? Had the discovery, if such discovery there was, brought him (for the time) unmixed pleasure, or doubtful pain? Were not some of the peculiarities of his writing, his "fluxional method of thinking" as he called it, and his readiness to wind old thought upon new reels, attributable in the later years of his life to a little secret uneasiness? Not distrust of the truth as he saw it, but unwillingness (the word sounds harsh, but is not meant so) to commit himself to all he foresaw it led to? The question is not as to his "theology" proper, if he avowed

any, but as to his ethical programme. Among certain sections of the classes among whom his early lot was cast, one might occasionally hear, upon the premature withdrawal of a good man from this world, the comment that it was "a mercy," for it spared him pain which he could not have escaped if he had lived. We think there is an overwhelming case for the theory that Hinton had come to a parting of the ways—knew it—and then sank under burdens which *otherwise* he might have borne. It seems to us that a more pathetic story was hardly ever told. The outside world knows little of the interior tragedy of the restless lives of those who are pre-eminently investigators and enthusiasts for truth. Of course it would be unwise, even if it were very practicable, to show here the ways in which Mr. Hinton, at about the time of his death, may have begun to feel that he must either make a "return" upon himself, or go out into the wilderness once more. Besides, the secret is in our opinion an open one to eyes that are open.

"A short and popular account of all the principal socialistic schemes, from the Reformation to the present day [in fact], a short history of Socialism, regarded as a consecutive movement . . . adapting itself to prevailing social conditions, and passing successively through the imaginative, the critical, and scientific stages of an evolutionary process." This is a summary of the author's own account of a book entitled, *Utopias; or, Schemes of Social Improvement*, from Sir Thomas More to Karl Marx, by the Rev. M. Kaufmann, M.A., Author of "Socialism: Its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered" (C. Kegan Paul & Co.), and the volume is undoubtedly a useful one. More's "Utopia," Bacon's "New Atlantis," Campanella's "City of the Sun," Fourier, Cabot, Owen, Proudhon, Lassalle, and Karl Marx—these titles and names will convey some notion of the contents of the volume, though not at all a complete one. Of course there is a limit to what can be got into 270 pages, and it is impossible to please everybody, but some of us would have been glad to spare a few of the author's general observations, and to receive in their place information a little fuller and more picturesque.

Mr. Kaufmann's general conclusion is, that "the proper attitude towards Socialism is to regard it as a movement of mankind towards progress, which requires to be checked, and to be conducted into safe channels." This is a very safe and amiable conclusion, but the writer of this paragraph holds that it is utterly futile. Any "scientific" attempt at the reconstruction of society upon socialistic principles must, by inevitable logic, end in man himself as the only providence of man—and so in atheism; and, in spite of all this cant (for cant it is) about loving one another, it cannot, by any possibility, leave a corner for love. It must end in a piggyery of plenty and pleasantness, in which the State or the community is all. No "scientific" socialistic scheme has succeeded in evading the population problem—nay, rather, every socialistic thinker, not to say every scientific socialist—sees, at a glance, that there, and there only, is the *crux*, and so he flies at the throat of the problem to begin with. Mr. Kaufmann utters one sentence about Fourier's views of the "gradual improvement in the position of women," and then rides off euphemistically with, "But we cannot here enter upon this question." Of course, he is fully entitled to limit his own scope in the present work; but those who see no middle faith between Individualism and Socialism, and who look with hatred and disgust upon every form of the latter, cannot be expected to relish his way of handling the subject.

It is too obvious to require arguing that Individualism and Theism on the one hand, and Socialism and Atheism on the other, stand or fall together. We do not find them always united in fact, but in logic they are inseparable. Proudhon maintained, and unanswerably, that "the hypothesis of a God" was essential to him as an "economist;" that the "God-idea" was "pre-eminently social," and then went on to explain that his "God-idea" was "a necessary dialectical tool." Very necessary indeed, we might reply, with irony. To every form of Socialism or Communism it might be said, "Whosoever shall fall upon this stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder."

From Messrs. Trübner & Co. came to us, not long ago, *Mental Travels in Imagined Lands*, by Henry Wright. The purely critical portion of this little book contains some hits, but when we arrive at last at the utopia of Nomunniburgh, we have to fall back pretty often upon our sense of humour, if we are to read on. There are theatres in the city, but in the plays represented, "half-shades of good and bad are not allowed to bewilder the minds of the audience;" the Government stamps out such "half-shades." Men and women fall in love, just as they do here and

now, and yet "family ties are not considered more close or binding than the ties of citizenship, and the proverb 'blood is thicker than water' does not apply there." How this result is to be reached if men and women are to love each other, is not explained. Still more oddly and inconsistently, if any breach of the received social order in a certain particular occurs at Nomunniburgh, the woman is simply told to go and sin no more, while "all punishment, both social and legal, is visited on the stronger." There is something approaching broad burlesque in this crude reminiscence of old-world chivalry flung pell mell into the social conditions of Nomunniburgh. In fact, to read through these "Mental Travels" with a wakeful eye, is to glance in small compass at most of the inevitable inconsistencies of all such schemes—schemes in which the motive power is dispensed with—the walls of resistance, which send the ball back, thrown down—and then everything goes on as before, the old data of social dynamics being smuggled in, one by one, under cover of phrases which mean nothing. Upon the life of the city of Nomunniburgh as it stands drawn here we do not pretend to look with much favour, but if the author will come forward with a treatise, informing those who live in a Nomunniburgh of another kind, how they can nevertheless acquire "all things richly to enjoy," we shall gladly attend to him.

Opening *Studies in the Literature of Northern Europe*, by Edmund W. Gosse, Author of "On Viol and Flute," and "King Erik," with a frontispiece designed and etched by L. Alma Tadema, A.R.A. (C. Kegan Paul & Co.), and turning to the preface (we always read prefaces, and with religious care) we came, the very first thing, upon this sentence:—"There would be little instruction to be found in the study of foreign poetry, if it did not throw side-lights upon our own poetic history." Does this sentence express what the accomplished author intended to say? Laying whatever stress may be necessary upon the word history, and upon the word instruction (as distinguished from stimulation or elevation for example), we fail to make anything of it; because, for one thing, we cannot conceive any foreign poetry however alien which should not throw some "side-light upon our own poetic history"—side-light being a very large word. Suppose we were to come upon a poetic literature new to us in some obscure Polynesian island, there might be no personal links between the "foreign" poets and ours; but yet if the poetry had a history, as it must have, how could we escape catching "side-lights upon our own poetic history?" But, in the second place, supposing we could, why would there be "little instruction" in the study of the foreign poetry? Begging pardon for our captiousness in putting these questions, we are entirely at one with Mr. Gosse in his view of the value of the plan of looking at these foreign poets in a European, and not a (merely) local light. It is interesting, at all events, to have the Dutch Vondel and the English Milton placed side by side, in order that we may examine their treatment of the same sort of theme: and so in other cases.

For the miscellaneous character of the contents of this volume Mr. Gosse offers an apology, or at least, gives a reason. He has taken up poetic figures and poetic works which specially interested himself, and relies, not without good grounds, upon their interesting others. The book, indeed, is one to be thankful for, and, on the whole, delightful. Readers who wish to "follow connecting links" and "glance over the historical plan," Mr. Gosse refers to his sketch of the literature of Denmark, in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the forthcoming articles in the same work upon the literatures of Norway and Sweden. This is satisfactory in itself, but perhaps a severe taste would have excluded some chips in porridge which hardly even historical or biographical "links" that have to be sought can make much of:—e.g., "In the same year Hooft and his wife paid the Krombalghs a visit at their house in Corn Street, Alkmaar, and when they returned brought Tesselschade back with them to Minden, while her husband effected a change of house into a better locality in Long Street." What was the rent? how many rooms were there? and how about the little tiff that Hooft's wife had with the Krombalghs?

Passing over these weighty matters, we gladly go on to observe that to give these "Studies in Northern Literature" to the world of general readers, including those who are not without some special knowledge of their own in such topics, was a good work. Björnson, Ibsen, Paludan-Müller were familiar names; and the "Oera Linda Boak," Tesselschade, and Vondel were not altogether strange. Nor were Holberg's Comedies. The account of the Danish Theatre is very charming, and we almost forgive the gentle violence by which the sketch of the "Lofoden Islands" is wedged in among the purely literary papers. Mr. Gosse translates a large portion

of the poetry he criticises or describes, and presents us in an Appendix, reaching forty pages, with the original text of whatever he has rendered into English. Remembering the fetters of strict "imitation" (as to form) with which Mr. Gosse has bound himself, the reader who possesses the version of "Arne," published by Mr. Strahan in 1866, may profitably compare Mr. Gosse's rendering of Björnson's lyric, "I Skogen Smaagutten gik Dagen lang," with the much freer and more musical and affecting translation in the former volume. In the judgment of the present writer this lyric is one of utterly unsurpassable beauty. Compare with it, however, some of the finest lines Mr. Robert Buchanan has produced—"London Poems," 1866, p. 191, beginning—

"And too late comes the revelation"

and ending—

"A pipe whereon to play"

We can promise that no one who takes the trouble to make these references will regret the labour. It is impossible to read either the Björnson or Buchanan lines without tears, and though the thought is not the same in both, the kinship of the root idea is both subtle and strong. However pleasant this book is, we are entitled to speak with severity of the extreme poverty, not to say slovenliness, of its Contents, and the total want of an Index. A good Table of Contents would have doubled the value of the essays and sketches, and it would have been no great stretch of good nature towards the reader if the extracts in the Appendix had referred him back to the pages on which the translations occurred.

The lives of musicians are nearly always pleasant reading, in spite of the nambypamby extravagances of those who write them. It is not everybody who has the free, bold touch of Mr. Haweis, or who can strengthen by reference to general principles passages which would otherwise be weak. There was a great deal of truth in the words of one of Chopin's critics, when he called the young musician's gift "un talent de chambre de malade;" but the fascination and the power are undeniable; though the power is, to quote a great immortal, "a power girt about with weakness," and the head of the tone-poet, like that of the master in word-music, is "bound with pansies overblown." We have before us *Frederic Chopin, his Life, Letters, and Works*, by Moritz Karosowski. With a portrait of Chopin, and fac-simile of the Original Draught of his Prelude in E minor, op. 28, No. 4. Translated by Emily Hill. (William Reeves); only the "fac-simile of the prelude in E minor" is wanting in our copy. The portrait of this astonishing young Polish composer is very characteristic and full of instruction. Whether his character has more weakness or strength in it would be too nice a question for casual discussion; but he was assuredly not a manly man. There was no true force in his breaking chairs when enraged with his pupils, and there was something intensely mean in his allowing George Sand to write to his mother the letter he was bound to write himself. His character is painted with painful truthfulness in "Lucrezia Floriani," and however puzzling it may be to partizan friends of Chopin, impartial thinkers will not accept their angry reading of his relations with the great writer. When a man or woman of genius puts an actual likeness into a book, it is usually done under a sort of spell; the left hand does not know what the right hand does. Of course, however, this does not apply to mere squib-portraits like Disraeli's Croker. Wise men will conclude that George Sand did a good thing for *him*, when, at her age and with children of her own, she refused to marry him—even apart from all question of her own avowed principles of action. There is, indeed, but little use in discussing such matters; for the whole of the story is, in the nature of things, inaccessible. But a word of caution was necessary, as this memoir takes, indeed parades, a highly sentimental partizan view of the matter. George Sand was a lady "of a certain age," but still handsome, very strong, and of unusual firmness, steadiness, and simplicity of character; with another faith and code, she might have been Lady Fanshawe or Lucy Hutchinson—the Bass rock did not stand firmer. Chopin was a very delicate man—almost boy—who would (it is frankly admitted) break chairs when in a passion, and take offence at a shadow. Besides, he was a Roman Catholic, and never gave up the moral code of that faith. He was always ill, and full of superstitious fancies; while George Sand, a very healthy woman, was a resolute Bohemian. Poor Chopin loved civilized luxury, loved it even to effeminacy and morbidity; while George Sand's dying words (about her own grave) were "Laissez la verdure." Chopin would run away and hide at the sight of a dirty face; George Sand would, with her own hand, nurse the foulest wretch in a lazar-house. What does common sense say to all that?

One can see little to attract hasty readers in the volume, but there must be a considerable public of studious and thoughtful persons, to whom we are safe in commending *The Poetical Works of Robert Stephen Hawker, Vicar of Morwenstow, Cornwall*, now first collected and arranged, with a prefatory notice by J. G. Godwin, (C. Kegan Paul & Co.)

There is an "experience" known to every quick-sighted reviewer, which it is not easy to indicate in five words. A packet of books comes to him for examination, including probably some volumes of verse. Perhaps he looks first of all at these, and forms rough estimates of them all, but lays them aside for "the morning's reflection," or rather for the freshness and rested calmness of the morning's impression. About half a dozen of these volumes are verse. He feels pretty sure they are of the sort that had better be left to sink or swim by themselves; about two or three he is in doubt; about one, we will suppose, he instantly decides that the work is individual, and shows signs of high culture, though there is not much to say about it. On looking carefully, in the morning, at the five or six volumes that promised pretty well, he finds in nearly every case that his first judgment was too easy, and that they are worthless. But the decided impression about the one peculiar volume remains, and something induces him to put the book on the shelves, with a sort of feeling that he will know more about the author and his writings one of these days. That is exactly what took place with regard to a former and smaller collection of poems, by the Vicar of Morwenstow, which reached the hands of the present writer many years ago; he put the book by in a corner, and the world has lately heard more than was necessary about its author. There was in the former volume, as there is in this, a frank, quaint, mediæval something or other, which blended so curiously with the results of modern culture, and a taste evidently formed largely on Byron-Moore models, that the curiosity of the reader was piqued—one wanted to know something about the man himself, especially as an almost childish love of praise disclosed itself here and there, and some of the writing was really good. In the present enlarged collection, with a fine portrait, the same frank love of praise is exhibited. "It would cheer me," wrote Mr. Hawker, late in life, "if my poems could be made tangible, for my little ones to be able to say, 'This my father wrote. These thoughts were his. He had good images once in his mind.'" Well, Mr. Hawker *had* "good images once in his mind." Some of the ballads and the "Quest of the Sangraal" show gifts of an order not much cultivated nowadays, but genuine; and the strong human feeling of the man, with his intense simplicity of faith, would alone make the book interesting, even to those who had not glanced at the queer biographical controversies about him. As for the quaintness and the simplicity, let the following abbreviated footnote to one of the poems speak for itself:—"I recommend the slanderers of God's servants . . . to read, carefully and thoroughly, the works of Gretser, published in Latin, in seventeen folio volumes, at Ratisbon, 1734-41. R. S. H., Vicar of Morwenstow, Shrove Tuesday, 1849."

Mr. Hawker's likeness is an interesting study to the physiognomist, and above all to the cranioscopist. Such a head is rarely seen in any religious communion but the Romish or the very "high" Anglican. His grandfather was Dr. Robert Hawker the Calvinist—author of a book which was once held precious as rubies in thousands of serious households, which still sells largely in the provinces, and may still be found here and there, treasured as a classic by the side of "Hervey's Meditations," or (to take a leap from fifth-rate to first-rate books of the sort) "Baxter's Saints' Rest," or "Howe's Living Temple."

Mr. R. S. Hawker is one more illustration of that tendency of the High Calvinist type to become High Church within a generation or two, which the curious in such matters may have noticed. He died in the Romish communion. The reasons are not far to seek, but the fact is noteworthy.

With much regret that this REVIEW could not spare the space for the whole of any one of Mr. Hawker's longer poems, we quote a verse or two of a fox-hunting ballad:—

"On the ninth of November, in the year fifty-two,
Three jolly fox hunters, all sons of true blue,
They rode from Pencarrow, not fearing a wet coat,
To take their diversion with Arscott of Tetcott.

When Monday was come, right early at morn,
John Arscott arose, and he took down his horn;
He gave it a flourish so loud, in the hall,
Each heard the glad summons and came at the call.

They heard it with pleasure, but Webb was first dressed,
Resolving to give a cold pig to the rest;
Bold Bob and the Briton, they hastened down stairs—
It was generally thought they neglected their prayers.

They pricked it along to Becket and Thorn,
And there the old dogs they set out, I'll be sworn;
'Twas Ringwood and Rally, with capital scent,
Bold Princess and Madcap—good God how they went!"

One Mark John was a jester, or professional fool, and Mr. Hawker adds this very simple-hearted note concerning him:—

"The last of the Jesters. He lived with the hounds, and ran with the hounds, and rare was the run when John was not in at the death. His office it was by many a practical joke to amuse Mr. Arscott's guests; among them swallowing live mice and sparrow-mumbling had frequent place. "There they go," shouted John, when the fox was found, and the dogs went off in full cry—"there they go, like our madam at home!"

The man who wrote this hunting song believed most devoutly that no unbaptised creature could ever have the beatific vision, and wrote sacred ballads for cottagers, to remind them of their duties to their babies in this regard! Mr. Godwin's preface to his memoir represents him as a benefactor to Morwenstow, and altogether he must have been a most original fellow. If he had lived ages ago, and been a Druid converted to Christianity, he would have been very conservative of Druidic rites and customs, and would have reverted on his death-bed to the ancient pagan faith. About his superstitiousness—which appears to have been extreme—there was something decidedly heathenish.

There are some dramas among recently-published books, and a few of them are too good to be passed over, though none are of commanding merit. Mr. Merivale wrote to the *Times* a few months ago a letter about dramatic literature, in which, as we remember him, he complained of the difficulty there was in getting plays read as literature. It was not the old complaint of what happens to plays submitted to managers by outsiders, but another matter. Mr. Merivale had, one time, sent a drama to a London publisher, favourably disposed towards him, and it had been returned by the publisher with the remark that he was no judge of theatrical matters (this, we think, was the substance of the passage). But, wrote Mr. Merivale, what he wanted was to get the play read as literature—and that was the difficulty. Now it is quite true, we suspect, that both publishers and reviewers are apt to turn away from dramatic writing, and the reasons are, some of them at least, all but obvious. In reading a drama for the first time the mind has to fill up so many gaps that the perusal is a work of much labour, demanding time, quiet, and concentrated application. These are not always at one's service. If, indeed, a drama be of high and commanding quality, it is all but sure to get read—though even to this rule there are strong exceptions. However, Kingsley's "Saints' Tragedy," Taylor's "Philip Van Artevelde," and even dramatic poems of lower rank, like Helps's "Oulita the Serf," are works of a sort that at once arrest the attention. We may say that three things especially are necessary, if a play is to get read. The story must be easy to take into the mind. The historic or other background must be such that the reader can immediately set up in his brain the necessary theatre and scenery, and the dialogue must at once bite. These conditions are not easily satisfied, even by a writer who has a strong and over-mastering dramatic faculty.

Among the dramatic pieces before us, two have attracted us for more than a passing glance. The first is *Brian Boru*, a Tragedy, by J. T. K. (Longmans); the second is *Martin Luther*, a Tragedy, in five acts, by George Moore, author of "Flowers of Passion," and Bernard Lopez, collaborateur de Scribe, Mary Auguste Lefranc, Théophile Gautier, Alexander Dumas père, &c. (Remington and Co.) "Brian Boru" attracts us by the modesty and brevity of the preface; "Martin Luther," by the length and splashiness of the preface, which (we speak of the latter case) consists of a long correspondence between Mr. Bernard Lopez and Mr. George Moore. In both cases the story is told with considerable vivacity, and the "situations" are good. In both, too, there is effective writing; and in "Brian Boru" there are hints here and there of things worth doing—for example:—

"Who is this,
That foots it on the hill so royally,
As if the sight of him would bend our knees?"

Again—

“Hold!
I am no more a suppliant! At the last
I throw the rags of supplication off,
And wrap my courage round me like a queen.”

Without knowing more than that this is “a first and tentative effort,” it is impossible to say more of “Brian Boru” than that we could conceive it, after much cutting down, made into an effective acting play; but then the “local colour,” of which the author admits the absence, would have to be supplied. For writing a good closet drama the author does not appear to us to have the power.

Certainly “Martin Luther” is no closet drama, and in its present form it would not be tolerated by an English audience in a theatre, any more than a sham prayer-meeting. There is no want of “local colour” here, and the authors have gone so far as to explain how parts may be, in actors’ phrase, “doubled,” and that the publishers are authorised to treat with managers on the terms of representation!

But to return to the point started by Mr. Merivale. There is nothing in either of these dramas which would induce a busy publisher or a busy reviewer to read them carefully through, with an eye to the formulation of any elaborate judgment. In one case we have an Irish story of the eleventh century, and the author tells you to your face that his reading does not supply him with materials for “local colour;” in the other, when we note the deliberation with which the authors have set themselves to make playwrights’ capital out of the story of Luther, we turn away, hopeless. It is quite true that the dramatist must be impartial, but he must not be flashy and indifferent.

III.—HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THE EAST.

(Under the Direction of Professor E. H. PALMER.)

THE career of YakooB Beg, which stimulated Mr. Boulger (*YakooB Beg, Kashgar*, by D. C. Boulger: W. H. Allen & Co., London, 1878) to write a book on Kashgar, is rather an episode than the chief subject of his history, and may, indeed, be disposed of in few words. Born in 1820 of a respectable Tajik family in a little town of Khokand, he owed his first employment to his sister’s marriage with the Governor of Tashkent. His first considerable exploit was the gallant but unavailing defence of Ak Musjid against the Russians in 1853; and then was not more notable for his gallantry than for the ready transfer of his services from one to another of the pretenders to the throne of Khokand, until, in 1864, he was attached to Buzurg Khan, the Khoja pretender to Kashgar on the destruction of the Chinese power, who crossed the frontiers with a party numbering but sixty-eight, and whose cowardice and faithlessness to his chief servant were fitly rewarded by deposition from his scarcely won throne before the end of 1865, and a few months later by banishment.

The destruction of the Chinese power dates from 1862, and was caused by a revolt, due to obscure causes, of the Tunganis—who seem to differ only in religion from the main body of the Chinese nation—but slaughtered their Buddhist fellow-countrymen without mercy, as they could not be supposed to regard with favour a stranger, even of their own faith, who had intervened to rob them of their hard-won independence. YakooB Beg found it necessary to reduce them to order by regular operations in 1867, and, unfortunately, under the influence of sectarian jealousy, renewed the war in 1869, so exposing himself to the full force of Chinese invasion; depriving himself of the aid Tunganis might have given in his armies, and giving Russia a pretence for seizing Ili, as though saving it from his clutches for China, the ancient over-lord. After this fatal war, he remained substantially at peace, till in the autumn of 1876 the Chinese reappeared in great force north of the Tien Shan, and forced him to take the field in the spring of the next year. Out-manceuvred and out-numbered he bore himself like a gallant soldier; even the desertion of a large part of his army did not break his spirit, and he was still on the defensive at Korla when he was assassinated in May, 1877, but a few weeks after his last defeat at Toksoun.

It is hard now to understand why, for a time, YakooB Beg occupied so large a

place in the English mind. To Russia, indeed, occupied in disintegrating the Khanates of Central Asia, he was of importance, on account of the weight he might throw into the scale at the extremity of her Empire, and to this cause we may probably attribute the eagerness with which she seized the commanding position of Ili: and England, therefore, was interested in him as a possible ally in a war with Russia: but there never was ground for the fancy pictures of the Athalik Ghazi and his State, and the advantages to be drawn from intercourse with both. As his chosen title proved, he was a bigoted Mohammedan; observance of Mohammedan law and customs was enforced with narrow rigour; and though undoubtedly he was a man of exceptional ability, no point about his internal administration seems novel or deserving of special notice. Intercourse with foreign States he would tolerate, but desired it only so far as it might strengthen his military powers; and he seems to have preferred English to Russians only because they were farther away, had done less harm to Islam, and could do less harm to him.

But enough of Yakoub Beg. Of more interest and more importance to the political student is the past, present, and future of Chinese rule in Eastern Turkestan. Corresponding exactly in latitude with the Spanish peninsula, it has also a climate closely resembling that of parts of Spain, and similar varied mineral wealth; but whereas the one country is washed on all sides by seas which place it in communication with all the world, the other is hemmed in by barriers of mountain and desert, which almost hermetically seal it against the enterprising traveller. Its population is almost entirely Turanian in blood, though Mohammedan in faith, until its reconquest by the Chinese in 1753 brought back many settlers of the ancient Buddhist faith. Its history before that conquest is now matter of only antiquarian interest. The rivalries of the Karataghlu and the Aktaghlu, the black and the white mountaineers, whose influence respectively on Yarkand and the South, Kashgar and the North, are the only survivals of more ancient days, which may still affect the future.

North of the Tien Shan lies the district of Ili, Kuldja, or Jungaria, sometimes subject to the rulers of Kashgar, whose territory it commands, but held in the first half of the last century by Calmucs, who ruled Kashgar through a dependent Prince. Invited by one of two rivals for the supreme power in Ili, the Chinese made themselves masters of that territory, and then allowed their agent to foment discord in Kashgar, which facilitated the subjugation of that country also. When resistance ceased, the Chinese promptly set about developing the resources of their new territory, and raised it to a pitch of prosperity, and drew from it revenues, beyond the belief of persons now visiting Kashgar. Carefully planned irrigation works economised the scanty rainfall, and extended the cultivation, now existing only in belts, round and between the principal cities, far along the southern slopes of the Tien Shan, while the various mineral deposits were extensively worked, and a mountain road through the Muzart Pass, constructed with great labour, and kept in repair by relays of workmen, maintained the communication between the Governor-General at Ili and his lieutenant, the Amban, at Yarkand. The country was garrisoned by an enormous Chinese army, and the highest civil offices were held by men of the same race; but the administration of justice and the collection of revenue were left to native officers. So long as a man kept quiet and paid his dues, the rulers cared nothing about his religion or morality; the Amban and the Mohammedan Wang worked well together, and the foreigners might be trusted to protect the taxpayer from the tyranny of the Wang: but this state of peace was disturbed by a new element introduced by Chinese policy.

The desire of the Chinese to promote trade with the West encouraged many merchants of Khokand to settle in their cities, and, by degrees, the recognised chiefs of these communities, under the title of Aksakals, were allowed to free themselves from the control of the Wangs. One check on their power of intrigue was thus removed, and their opportunities of doing mischief were increased when about 1817 the Khan of Khokand was bribed, by a subsidy and permission to levy dues on Andijani trade in Kashgar through the Aksakals, to keep the exiled Khoja dynasty quiet; of course the Khan kept his bargain only till all things seemed in train for a successful revolt, and in 1826 the Khoja Jehangir was encouraged to make a dash for the throne. At first, the revolt was successful, but soon it was put down with the utmost severity, and with this severity passed away the concord between the ruling and the subject peoples. Unhappily, the Aksakals were allowed the same opportunities of doing mischief, if at much personal risk; and many other raids and risings followed, causing misery to the people, but leaving the Chinese masters in Kashgar, till the Tungani insurrection in 1862 cut off their communication with

China, and incited the native Kashgaris to rise in earnest: the heroic defence of Chinese garrisons was useless, and the country on both sides of the Tien Shan passed away from Chinese sway, as it seemed, for ever.

Now, as we have seen, the Chinese have returned, and by the end of 1877 were masters in Kashgar. To us who may again have to meet the Chinese on the seaboard it is important to notice that the veterans of the Tunganis war seem to be drilled on some European model, to be well armed with modern weapons, which they handle well, and to be led by men of ability, trained in modern strategy. Those who would judge of their chances of permanent prosperity in Kashgar will observe the express declaration of the *Pekin Gazette* that the people were allowed to return to their fields, and spared the expected massacres, a statement to be reconciled with Russian reports by remembering that the latter spoke of massacres in cities, and so presumably among the garrison. And the student of Asiatic politics will note that they at once claimed from Russia the retrocession of Ili, and have never ceased to press their claims.

"Thus at the present time," concludes Mr. Boulger, "there remain but three Asiatic powers, and any two may impose their will on the third. To which then of the western rivals is the influence of China likely to be given? From England she has met nothing but open hostility, and by England her vassal states of Nepal, Burmah, Siam have been encouraged in revolt. From Russia she has met none but pretended friendship, a friendship which she must see has imposed nothing but sacrifices, and is now illustrated by the resolute retention of Ili, a territory which indeed Russia has ruled well, and dares not surrender, for fear of the shock such surrender would give to her prestige. Let then, England return from her evil courses and China will be her friend for ever."

Such is Mr. Boulger's conclusion, and this conclusion we do not intend to discuss.

From internal evidence we should infer that Mr. Boulger is greatly interested in China, but is ignorant of the languages and the nations of Central Asia, save through his reading for the work we have been noticing. We may therefore point out one or two seeming errors before laying aside this interesting book. In one page he carefully instructs us that a Tajik is of the Persian race, as opposed to the Turk or the Tartar, so conclusively disproves the descent from Timur which on the page before he has inclined to assign to the Tajik Yakoob. We read of the "Ameer of Afghanistan" in 1765; the first Amir was Dost Mahomed, who did not venture to assume the royal title of Shah; on his death it was doubtful whether or not his successors would be as modest. What appendage to the title of Amir gave it the sanctity which Mr. Boulger ascribes to it we cannot tell, but are pretty confident that a rigid Soouni like the Atalik Ghazi would not have put the head of the Sultan on his coins even if Abdul Aziz had sent him the dies.

It may be safely laid down as a law that no man ever writes poetry in any language other than his own to any good purpose, save as an exercise. The perfect poet must be purely natural: for this there must be absolute accord between his habits of thought and of expression. One of the world's greatest linguists once asserted that no man could ever develop his thoughts to any great extent in more than one tongue; and it is certainly true that there is no distinguished living writer whose best works are of himself bi-lingual. The highest praise which can be awarded to poems in English by intelligent natives of foreign countries, is generally that which Dr. Johnson awarded to female preaching. Still there are degrees even in that, which is not of the sunshine, brightest; and among the most creditable of such performances may be classed the *The Vision of Sumeru, and other Poems*, by the late Shoshee Chunder Rái Bâhâdoor, of Calcutta (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.). It would indeed have been a great pleasure to pronounce the work faultless, since the perfect mastery of English by a native of India is something which excites kind and encouraging feelings. It intimates homage to the dignity and beauty of the tongue of Shakspeare, possibly, by those familiar with the divine Sanskrit; better still, it suggests the possibility of perfect intimacy and sympathy between the English and the natives in India; and the disappearance of that detestable and habitual degradation of the Indian by which so many Anglo-Indians degrade themselves. For the time is at hand when the existence in India among the English residents of a class corresponding to the Abolitionists of America, in sympathy for the dark races, will be as much a political necessity as its absence is at present a shame to our humanity.

The "Vision of Sumeru" as a poem is well outlined, happily conceived, and abounding in brilliant pictures and hues; being consistently Indian in every detail. The plot simple. Brubma, or Brahma, learning that his worship is neglected on earth, sends

Pavana, the god of wind and messenger of heaven, to ascertain the cause of this indifference. Pavana returning, reports to the gods that the corruptions which had crept into their religion and the rise of Christianity had weakened the old faith. In a rage, the entire Pantheon sallies forth in battle array to attack the intruders, but is confronted by a Seraph, who overwhelms the foe with a glance, informing the old gods that—

“Jehovah will no longer bear
Your lawless presence here;
For He's sole King, must ever reign!
Hence to the abodes of night!
Hence to the brimstone sod!
The land where darkness reigns unblest,
And weary spirits never rest;
Where sinners be, sinners away
From hallow'd ground far driven;
Immortal life to ye belong,
Go taste immortal pains,
With sighs and wails and blasphemies,
Amid the funeral screams of hell.”

Though not perfectly simplified or polished, this poem is conceived in a spirit of sympathy and kindness, and will be liked by all who are truly religious without being strictly critical. One could readily conceive that the “Vision of Sumeru,” and many other of the smaller poems, might have been far better in Hindî; so much do they seem like good work not very well translated.

We have received a valuable contribution to mythological literature in *Demonology and Devil-lore*, by Moncure Daniel Conway (Chatto & Windus: 1879). A complete history of the devil and all his angels, with that of all the lurid horrors and smoky phantoms accompanying them, would, if written with the accuracy which even the mob who read with ease now exact, be a tremendous task. It would be a history of religion, of superstition, of occult philosophy, of half the popular legends known, and would make deep inroads on poetry. As the reverend author admits, “any attempt to catalogue the evil spectres which have haunted mankind were like trying to count the shadows cast upon the earth by the rising sun.” The older demonographers, such as Bodinus, and Bakker in his *Monde Enchanté*, satisfied themselves by simply giving all they could collect, and by entertaining the reader with interminable stories. But in an age when even many soundly religious people have grave or quiet misgivings as to a personal devil, these marvellous legends are simply regarded as fairy-tales. As history and theories of evolution are becoming popular, the stories lose, however, none of their interest, only the interest is transferred to another field, that of explaining and illustrating change or progress. The thinking world is as much interested as ever in the history of the diabolical idea, its tremendous influence on mankind is still too apparent to be treated with indifference; but faith in the details is now lost in examination of a leading fact, as belief in the Elohim became absorbed in the unity of Yahveh. Such is the ground taken by Mr. Conway, an honest and sincere Rationalist, yet one who is, like most of the Boston Unitarian clergymen, too deeply penetrated by a conviction of what is good and pure in Christianity to believe that God could ever allow man, in his helplessness, to be tempted and tormented by a devil. His book is not an attempt to tell all that might be told about Demonology, and herein lies its merit and its fault. Recognising the impossibility of detailing the devil with all that is devilish, he has subordinated the innumerable illustrations to a theory of development which is well enough conceived, whatever other theorists may think of it; and it is this very fidelity to the principle or theory which induced classification or method, which leads him to indulge in many pages of disquisition, which some readers will wish had been devoted to mere facts. On the other hand, it must be admitted that this disquisition never degenerates into idle rhapsody or padding. Thousands of readers—and we may well say thousands of a book of which three thousand copies have already been sold—will prefer Mr. Conway's preaching to his facts; others who do not, will be of the class who are capable of drawing their own conclusions. In fact, there is much good writing among these disquisitions, a vast fund of humanity, undeniable earnestness, and a delicate sense of humour, all set forth in pure English. It is much to say that we have found the nine hundred pages of these two large volumes, without exception, interesting.

The early religions were generally without a devil. The Hindus, notwithstanding

their Rakhshas and fiends, maintain that their vast Pantheon contains no such creature. The gods were both good and evil. There were punishing demons, demons of storms and of death, but no such quintessence of malignity, deceit, anti-godness, cruelty and petty meanness, as is incarnate in the Christian Satan. In "*The Sketch-Book of Meister Karl*," Satan is represented as vindicating his *raison d'être* on the ground that he represents the necessary suffering and pain attendant upon the destruction of the old, leading to higher beauty in the new, or creation itself, but is promptly snubbed by the author, who informs him that he is 'nothing of the kind, but "only the *transitory ugliness* of the ruins of the tempest and the pestilence." The old religions represented the devil as he represented himself to the writer: Christianity has made him an abstract of the revolting. Mr. Conway, beginning with Dualism, proceeds to the degradation of divinities and ex-gods into devils, and then finds causes for the existence of others in hunger, heat, cold, the elements and animals, in enemies and barrenness, obstacles, illusion, darkness, disease and death. From these he proceeds to a history of the decline of demons and their generalization as shown in art and in the decay of mythologies. The next step is of course an account of the principal types of demons or devils, such as the serpent and dragon. Hence we have connections and affinities with these—such as Fate, Diabolism, or the direct connection of incarnate evil with demons, and histories of degraded powers, such as Ahriman, Elohim, Visramitra, the consuming fire, and others. The second volume is in part occupied with the numerous deductions from these types through the Middle Ages down to the present day. The great merit of the work consists, not merely in great research and a shrewd selection of striking examples and interesting illustrations, but in the clearness with which Mr. Conway develops his ideas. Its demerit is an exaggerated susceptibility to simile, and a readiness to assume derivations and connections without proving them—the great sin of all symbolists from Creuzer, Godfrey Higgins, and Faber, down to Inman. Not that we would class Mr. Conway with these blunderers; on the contrary, he has tried hard to avoid their company, but he often unconsciously falls into their fault—the fault, it is true, of a poetic mind, but one to be guarded against when one is not writing poetry. We should do injustice to this work did we not mention that Mr. Conway writes like a man without prejudice against aught save tyranny. Abstractly speaking, his freedom from bigotry is almost naively amusing. Had he been a Calvinist he would probably have prayed, as did the Scotch clergyman, for the conversion of "the puir deil." As it is, he sets forth his own very broad faith in the following words, with which he concludes his first volume:—

"It is too late for man to be interested in an 'Omnipotent' Personality, whose power is mysteriously limited at the precise point when it is needed, and whose moral government is another name for man's own control of nature. Nevertheless this Oriental pessimism is the Pauline theory of Matter, and is the speculative protoplasm out of which has been evolved in many shapes that personification which remains for our consideration—the Devil."

These be plain words, but we have thought it best to cite them, that the reader, whether heterodox or orthodox, may know exactly what he may expect in this interesting and singular work.

THE PROFESSIONAL STUDIES OF THE CLERGY.

To the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge an error of some importance in my account of the various courses of theological study now pursued in the different Divinity Schools of England.

In describing the subjects for the Theological Tripos at Cambridge, I set down only the *variable* portions, omitting the *fixed* and more important part of the course, which make it fully equal in character and value to the Theological Honour Course at Oxford. I cannot charge myself entirely with the mistake, as I applied to Cambridge for the list of subjects, and was furnished with no more than I set down. I have similarly omitted to credit King's College, London, with having lately added Logic or Moral Philosophy to its curriculum; while I learn that Logic is also the alternative of two compulsory subjects at Lampeter.

I am glad to make these corrections, and trust that if I have done unintentional injustice elsewhere, that it may be brought to my notice.

Your obedient servant, R. F. LITTLEDALE.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA :

A REVIEW OF THE LIFE AND WORKS OF GARCIN DE TASSY.*

THE Academy is accustomed on the anniversary of its foundation to recall the memory of those of its members who have died during the past year. On the present occasion a name occurs among them, for which I hope to gain the special interest of this honoured assembly. His work transcended the usual narrow circle of learned labour; he took an international position; he was the interpreter and spokesman of a great people, one of the most energetic and influential of the many learned intermediaries between East and West. His name is closely bound up with a popular movement, already in its beginnings powerful and full of promise, and will long be named and honoured even more on the banks of the Ganges than of the Seine, where he lived and died.

Joseph Heliodore Garcin de Tassy, born at Marseilles, January 25th, 1794, came to Paris as early as 1817, where he had the good fortune to be received into the school of the first Orientalist of his day, the illustrious and many-sided Sylvestre de Sacy. It was here that his determination was matured to devote himself wholly and permanently to Oriental studies. Sacy, who soon recognised the value of the young man, induced the Government to erect in 1828 a new chair for the Hindostanee languages, which had not before been taught in Paris, and to appoint Garcin professor. For fifty years he worked on unwearied, and undisturbed by all the political changes and catastrophes, by word of mouth and by writing, for the extension of a knowledge of Oriental language and literature, and for promoting the harmony of East and West. Numerous students have gone forth from his lecture-room into all parts of the world; many of them are now living and working in

* An address delivered before the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences at Munich, March 28, 1879.

England, and still more in India, where he is held in grateful honour and the journals have made his portrait familiar.

Every educated Frenchman looks with pride on the Institute of France, in its five divisions, as the intellectual ornament of his country, and a creation which finds no parallel in any other nation. He sees in it a universal corporation, embracing every department of science, every sphere of intellectual aspiration. It is through his reception into one of its branches that a scholar receives in the eyes of his countrymen his consecration and the patent of his scientific rank. In the sad times of the second Empire it was the sole remaining fortress of intellectual freedom; and although the literary opposition of the whole Constitutional school was concentrated and brought to a point there, the Government, elsewhere so harsh and imperious, shrank from making any violent assault on the learned Corporation. His reception into the Institute, of which he was a member for above forty years, forms a brilliant epoch even in Garcin's life. He was elected in 1838 into Talleyrand's place. The Academy might well be congratulated on this exchange; for, if his predecessor has signalized himself by the saying that "language was given to men to conceal their thoughts," he, on the contrary, was full of a noble, gentle, yet courageous sense of truth. I know few Frenchmen in whom national idiosyncrasy and narrowness were so thoroughly subordinated to cosmopolite feeling and an unselfish love of humanity. Nor was there in him any trace of that partly personal, partly national vanity, which we so often smile at as a French infirmity.

Garcin's writings consist either of grammatical matter or of translations from the Persian, Arabian, and Indian. His special preference was for the language and speculations of Sofism. His reputation in India rests chiefly on two out of his many works, which are also the most noteworthy and instructive for us. The one is his "*History of Hindoo and Hindostanee Literature*," published in a second and greatly enlarged edition in 1870; the other is his collection of annual Reports on Hindostanee Language and Literature. The first is a repository in three stout volumes of a literature to a great extent still very young, but very copious in the domain of poetry and of religious matters, related to the Persian and, like it, permeated with the ideas of Sofism, as it is peculiar to Islam, but yet finds its basis in Brahminism. This literature cannot indeed be compared for importance and value to the old Indian, the Sanscrit works; but it is the intellectual mirror of so many millions in a middle stage of culture, and it is only to be wished that it might receive more attention than hitherto in Germany, for our associate Trumpp, if I am not mistaken, is the only person who has seriously taken it in hand.

Garcin's second work comprises those Introductory Discourses and Reports on Indian Language, Literature, and Life, with which he used every year to open his course. They began in 1850, and were at first

short addresses, but grew into reviews of the whole intellectual life and development of the Indian Empire. His lucid and interesting Reports, based on Indian authorities, which he constantly quotes, deal with the question of language, so important for India, the state of the serial press, the movements in the religious sphere, mission work, the labours of literary societies, and the efforts of the Government for school and popular education. There was nothing of the kind in India, and so much the more eagerly were his reports read, quoted, and translated there, so that the Paris professor became an authority for the Hindoos, and his statements were appealed to and discussed in the native journals.

It is not easy for a Frenchman to do full justice to the position and administration of England in India. He cannot forget that France and England once contended for the possession of that fair and wealthy land, that there was a moment when it seemed doubtful whether France would not win the vast inheritance. It was not an Englishman, but a Frenchman, Dupleix, who first undertook to make conquests in India with an army composed of natives. Yet the aspect of the present condition of the world brings home to Frenchmen the question so unwelcome to their patriotism, why it is that in whatever region French and English aims and arms have come into conflict their own nation has had to succumb, while the British remained masters of the field, alike on the Ganges, in Canada, in the West Indies, and in Egypt.

Meanwhile, the clearness and freedom of Garcin's cosmopolite breadth of view and his love of truth would not allow him to mistake the greatness of this British creation, or to underrate its value. His reports and reviews, indeed, have done more than any English work known to me to rouse the admiration of the reader for this political edifice. The Empire of British India is so extraordinary a phenomenon, and it is so unique and unparalleled in the history of the world, that it fills the beholder with perpetual astonishment, and constrains him to reflect on the ways and means by which this marvellous edifice was constructed and so firmly consolidated.

Nature has defined the greatness, the unity, and the limits of this giant Empire by the Himalaya range on the north, the sea on the east, south, and west. It embraces a fifth part of the entire human race; its mistress is throned on an island thousands of miles away, and this nation of 240,000 000 is ruled by a handful of some 30,000 strangers, whose native land was still marsh and forest, and their forefathers clothed in the skins of wild animals, when India already possessed an uncommonly rich and highly elaborated language, great epic poems, philosophical systems, and a social order based on religion. And their foreign rulers are divided from their subjects by everything which elsewhere associates and binds men together, by race, colour, religion, language, manners, and customs; they do not come with the intention of settling and taking root in the country, but rather with the

view of leaving it again after their work is done, and have therefore neither the desire nor the expectation of ever becoming fused in one social community with the natives.

We look in vain for any similar phenomenon either in the past or in the present. The Roman Empire in its best days did not include half the existing population of India; it was for long periods a mere barren military domination; the majority of its emperors lie under the ban of history, and it passed through growing impoverishment and depopulation to its inglorious fall, while—apart from extraordinary calamities—the population of British India increases—if the statements published by Anglo-Indian authorities may be relied upon—by twenty-four millions every year.* The Califate was, indeed, from the eighth to the eleventh century, a world-wide empire, extending from the Indus to the Pyrenees, but it rested on the oppressive and soul-killing power of a fanatically intolerant religion, forced on the natives at the sword's point; its history is chiefly made up of an endless series of religious wars and palace revolutions, while the gifts it bestowed on its subjects were despotism, the domestic economy of the harem, the degradation of the female sex, and in the higher classes the destruction of family life. In the present Indian Empire, on the contrary, there has never been a quarrel among the rulers, a disputed succession is impossible, and no one has ever been persecuted or even placed at a disadvantage on account of his faith. Still sharper is the contrast between the former dominion of Spain in South and Central America, and that of British India. The Spanish was a colonial empire; the natives were distributed as slaves by the colonists through their system of *Encomiendas*,† crushed under the burden of compulsory service, completely exterminated on the islands, and destroyed by millions in Peru and Mexico. In India, on the contrary, the English have not sought to become colonists and land-owners. The tropical climate itself makes that impossible; no English family stays there to the third generation, and parents are obliged to send their children to a cooler climate to be brought up. Fortunately, alike for England and for India, there are no Creoles, nor Mulattoes, Mongrels, Tertiaries, and Quaternaries, or by whatever other name the bastard races and half-breeds may be called. In a word, to compare the Spanish and English rule over subject nations would be—to use the Persian simile—like comparing the kingdom of Ahriman to that of Ormuzd.

It was a peaceable Company of English merchants in search of money who first set foot in India at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had no thought of acquiring land, but only wanted to carry on money transactions. They built factories, but gradually found that in an unsettled country their factories must be fortified. From strong fortresses they grew into flourishing and populous cities; and the in-

* [There must obviously, as the author himself suspected, be some mistake here.]

† [See Helps's "Spanish Conquest in America," vol. i. p. 197.]

habitants were obliged in self-defence to begin to arm themselves and the natives in their pay. Before long they were drawn into the quarrels and contests of the native princes; they were sought and made use of, and then again dreaded and attacked. Almost against their will they developed into a ruling power in the country. It was not till after ninety years, in 1689, that it occurred to them as advisable for the Company to acquire land and subjects. But thenceforth this was regarded as the chief object, to which commercial business was subordinate. The transformation of a mercantile Company, in spite of itself, into a mighty conquering power, was due to a brave adventurer, who soon proved to be a great general and statesman—Clive. But he enlarged the Anglo-Indian dominion much more through treaties and cessions of territory than by mere conquest. The empire of the Great Mogul had, after a brief period of splendour, been brought to an end through the wickedness of its own princes and the power of the Mahrattas, which in turn soon succumbed to its own internal discords. The European rival powers of Portugal, Holland, and France could no longer hold their ground in India; they were obliged to retire, or to suffer the loss of all but mere fractions of what they held before. Meanwhile the English power was steadily advancing, for it was impossible to stand still: each fresh conquest by the law of self-preservation led to another. This Company was an unwieldy, helpless machine, which the Hindoos could only regard as an old woman, an Indian Begum; but it was managed by a succession of excellent generals, who hold a place in history as unique as that of the Empire they built up. From time to time orders were sent out to them from London to desist, but the internal distraction and despotic barbarism of the separate States left them no choice; the British dominion increased in geometrical progression. The Company is now dissolved, and India is part and parcel of the possessions of the British Crown; for the last twenty years an Empire, in population and area the second in the world, yielding only to China; in power and readiness for action the first in Asia.

The year 1857, with its military mutiny and the sudden revolt of the Sepoys, put the strength of the Empire to a severe test; its continued existence was called in question, and very many, both in Asia and in Europe, thought its destruction inevitable. It passed through the ordeal splendidly and triumphantly. The masses took no part in the revolt, the higher classes and vassal princes remained loyal to the Government, the faults and mistakes which had paved the way for the insurrection and rendered it possible were recognised, and a beneficent spirit of investigation and self-knowledge was roused in both the military and civil administration. It could not be denied that in the founding and enlargement of this Empire there was a large admixture of violence and wrong. In Macaulay's words: "During the great conquest English power first appeared in India without English morality; some time had

elapsed after they became our subjects before we began to remember our duties as rulers."*

The year 1859, the first after the suppression of the mutiny, was a critical turning-point for the Indian Administration. Garcin bears witness, in all his reports, that in no State has such an abundance of reforms and new creations in every branch of the administration been introduced during the last twenty years. The Government has now at length succeeded, after the efforts of many years, in putting down the secret society of religious murderers spread over India, the Thugs, who in the service of their goddess, Doorga, strangled and plundered travellers. The laborious process of hunting them out occupied thirty years, and it is only lately that some of these miscreants were brought before the Prince of Wales, one of whom boasted of having committed sixty-seven murders with his own hand. The god Juggernaut is now also no longer suffered by the Government to crush the devotees who fling themselves under his giant chariot-wheels. It is not long since a host of human sacrifices were offered by certain non-Brahmin tribes;† the villages where this took place used to purchase for the purpose men, women, and children, the so-called Meriahs. British officers have had the difficult task of effecting the deliverance of these Meriahs and the suppression of the sacrifices, partly by force, and—after putting down an outbreak occasioned by their interference—partly by gentle means. A single officer, Major Campbell, in the course of eighteen years, rescued 1500 men doomed to this sacrificial death. It required the most persistent watchfulness and energy of the British officials to put down the widely-spread practice of murdering young girls and burning widows. This prohibition of the practice of Suttee, and the law allowing widows to marry again, were denounced as an attack on the Brahminist religious system, and reckoned among the pretexts for the Sepoy mutiny. For the value of human life is to a Hindoo infinitely below that of a cow; he had rather kill ten men than injure one cow, and in a famine had sooner eat human flesh than beef.

That so many regulations of the English Government displease the Indian and offend his diseased religious sense cannot of course be helped. Among these must be reckoned vaccination, judicial oaths, the law preserving to the convert to another creed his right of inheritance which he formerly forfeited, besides being turned out of his caste. When the Government undertook a survey of the land, the people saw in it a device for laying the whole country under an evil enchantment. The requirement of an examination in England for the higher posts in the Civil Service amounts almost to an exclusion of Brahminists, who regard a voyage, and residence in a land destitute of gods and sanctuaries, as sinful.

* [No reference is given by the author, and I have failed to verify the quotation, but it represents the drift of several passages in Macaulay's speech of 1833 on the Government of India.—Tr.]

† [The Khonds. Cf. Marshman's "History of India," vol. iii. pp. 108, *seq.*]

Till sixty years ago their Anglo-Indian rulers were still afraid of doing more for the people than providing for their quiet and security. Of popular education in State institutions, supported by the State, there was no idea. It is chiefly since the suppression of the mutiny that those who sway the destinies of England have realized more clearly than before her providential mission, not simply, like the Romans of old, *regere imperio populos*, but to educate them, and elevate them both morally and intellectually to a higher and worthier level in the scale of humanity. India has not, according to the common but mistaken notion, a directly financial interest for England; it gives nothing of its revenues to the mother country; only the—no doubt considerable—sum of £15,000,000 flows annually into England for pensions to retired civil and military officials and for the interest on Indian railways. Rather the Empire of the Peninsula will become a grave embarrassment for England; for the long wars, the Sepoy mutiny, the periodical famine, and now the urgently required public buildings, commercial arrangements, and new institutions, have saddled India with a deficit lasting for sixteen years and an alarming burden of debt, which in 1875 amounted to £130,000,000.* But the Government did not on that account shrink from expending in 1876 the sum of £10,000,000 on education and public buildings. It leaves to the native vassal princes the free use of their own revenues, while it guarantees to them the enjoyment of the common peace and security. The army, consisting of soldiers voluntarily enlisted and officers paid three times more highly than at home, constitutes intelligibly enough the chief burden on the treasury; it is a completely new formation, sure of constant supply from the warlike native races, and it raises the British Empire for the present and the future to the first military power—in fact, to an overwhelming and dominant power—in the whole of South and Central Asia. The cost of the army and fleet swallows up £19,000,000 of the £45,000,000 of the Indian budget. What Professor Fawcett some weeks ago characterized as an equally shameful and disastrous event for England—that the Indian Government should have to appeal for financial help to England—has now occurred. To impose new taxes on India would involve inexpressible difficulties; the great mass of the population, whether Hindoo or Mussulman, is poor. Happily, agriculture in India is capable of indefinite development, or in need of it; all that is wanted is to attract capital to be applied for the better realization of profits from the land already under cultivation, and the clearance of the soil where it is not yet cultivated.

It cannot certainly be maintained that the English are loved in India. They are too uncongenial a phenomenon to the people; the points of contact are too few; and the Brahminist Hindoos of the higher castes, even if from a recognition of their superiority they look on them as

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, June, 1878, p. 441.

an incarnation of the Godhead, still cannot but hate from their hearts these foreign lords, whose very presence is a degradation to them, and a monstrous perversion and violation of the divine order. What that Roman said of women, "We cannot well live with them or without them," is pretty much the feeling a Hindoo would express about the English, if he were to speak his mind. It is true that they see the Government treat their religion, even in its lowest forms of idolatry, with all respect and forbearance, and carefully take account of their customary caste privileges. But at the same time many reforms which to us appear most beneficial and imperative—such as, *e.g.*, the prohibition of suttee and infanticide—have excited great discontent. All Mahometans, as having before formed the dominant Church, feel their position lowered, and share the sentiment of every genuine Mussulman, that the supremacy usurped by unbelievers belongs of right to themselves alone. Yet more deeply is the hate of foreign domination ingrained in the heart of the Brahmin; he, the twice-born, to whose prayers and incantations the gods themselves give ear, feels how grievously his authority has sunk and is constantly sinking under English rule, and must see in every measure for promoting the education and elevation of the people a new menace of destruction for himself and his caste. The pressure of taxation, especially of the salt-tax, produces a similar effect on the mass of the people. Yet they feel and know that under the British sceptre peace, security for person and property, and equality before the law have taken the place of the former anarchy and lawless oppression, and that if England were to withdraw her hand from India to-day, to-morrow she would be again plunged into the old wilderness of barbarism, and the North-western tribes would again be let loose on the defenceless South, the Deccan, robbing and murdering.

It may well be said that the problems presented to the Indian Government, as well by the actual state of things as by their own good will and purpose, demand the utmost exertion of human thought and intelligence; they are more abundant, more complicated, and more far-reaching than those of any other State; and the only prospect of a successful solution lies in the uninterrupted continuance, as heretofore, of a succession of the most eminent men at the head of the administration and policy of India. These 240,000,000 require above all things a strong unassailable authority, which may command their fear and respect, if not their love, while it secures to them peace and justice; there is still unlimited room for the construction of roads, railways, canals, telegraphs, and irrigation works; and then a taste for industry and trade, above all for an improved method of agriculture, has to be instilled into the people, and their capacities for it trained. So again a complete network of higher and lower schools ought to be stretched over the Empire, the manners of the people softened, and at least the rankest growths of a moral corruption, almost inconceivable to us, extirpated. To this must be added the necessity for watching

over the vassal princes, and checking their despotism when it becomes too oppressive to their subjects, as well as restraining them from going to war with one another, as they each insist on maintaining an army. The Government has also to keep an eye on those numberless plotters of mischief who might bring back at any moment the old state of things when men lived on robbery and pillage. But at every step they take, the rulers of India stumble on hindrances, partly arising from the moral qualities of the lower official class, who are all natives; partly from the blind fancies and prejudices of the multitude; above all, from their religion. Intercourse between Europeans and natives is not possible, because the Hindoo regards every European as unclean, and would be defiled by his touch. No Christian may enter the house of a Hindoo, and so it comes to pass that even those at the head of the Government remain long in ignorance of the most notorious occurrences in the life of the people. Moreover, the higher English officials, who seldom acquire a competent knowledge of the native languages, and have much too large a district placed under their charge, are practically in the hands of their subordinates, who belong mostly to the Brahmin caste, and who thus form a powerful oligarchy in the interior of the country, and are neither restrained by administrative rights, which as yet have no existence, nor by a strong system of government. Another great difficulty lies in the relations of the Central Government to the native Dynasties and subject States. The English statesman who is called to govern India must at once divest himself of his homebred ingrained ideas about a Constitutional government and strict observance of law. If we except China, nothing but an absolute autocratic form of government has ever been able to thrive or hold its own in Asia. Every dynasty fell to pieces directly it had no man of strong governing capacity to place at the helm. Energy, popularity, capacity for rule have always there decided the possession of the throne, not regard for a legitimate right of hereditary succession. The frequent mistakes of the English in managing the vassal States have sprung from their misapprehension of this fact.

Meanwhile it is marvellous how much has been accomplished, in spite of all these hindrances; and Garcin, who has noted it year by year, does not stint his praise. As the Government organized public instruction on the English model, granted freedom of the press, and made appointments in the Civil Service dependent on learning English and undergoing an examination, India woke out of her slumber of a thousand years. Garcin quotes the saying of a native author, that henceforth India no longer deserves to be called, as before, the land of darkness, but the land of light. That light, indeed, is at first a borrowed one. But the facts speak plainly, and the approach of a great and universal change cannot be mistaken, even though as yet for the most part we see only the beginnings of it. The Government follow the system which has succeeded so well in England, of supporting schools founded by

private resources with State aid, so that a great number of new schools are started every year.

The question, which is one of life and death for India, has been variously treated: What can be done by the Government to relieve the dark and unspeakably hard lot of the female sex in India, to raise woman from a state of degradation hardly conceivable to the Western mind? In ancient times a better and worthier position was allotted to women, from which they have been gradually lowered. The only available influence would be by means of education; but that postulates a desire on the part of the fathers themselves for the schooling of their daughters, and such a desire is wholly unknown to the Indian. For the present, we can but cherish the hope that some day the men trained in Government schools will ask, or at least be willing to accept with gratitude from the Government, the boon of education for their daughters. In the meanwhile, however, some girls' schools have been established by Government, as an experiment.

At one of the three national Universities, that of Calcutta, 1334 candidates lately offered themselves for examination, of whom only 61 were Christians and 46 Mahometans, while there were 1200 Hindoos. All passed the examination in English and one other language selected by themselves. This suggests the remark that the Hindoos generally show more intelligence than the native Christians and the Mahometans. The Government has, moreover, offered rewards to the authors of the best works written in the native languages, and in 1873 twenty-nine such works were successful. When we consider that a short time ago the Indians were an utterly unhistorical people, that they had no sense of history, no notion of chronology and historical composition, nor the faintest idea of the laws of historical development, it must certainly be regarded as a sign of the awakened energy of the Indian mind that in 1873 four works on Indian history appeared.

But here, too, the Government is confronted with difficulties at every step. Hindostance poetry teems with productions full of brutal sensuality and shameless pictures of erotic passion. In some towns the Government has had works of this kind removed from the booksellers' shops, and this has led to disputes. It succeeds better in superintending the choice of books for the public libraries,—of which there were no less than 176 in the Presidency of Bombay only in 1873,—as well as for the school libraries.

Not a few journals are written by the Hindoos in English, or appear as polyglot papers, so that the higher officials can read them, and thus acquire a knowledge of the feelings and wishes of particular classes of the people; for public opinion, in the European sense of the term, can, of course, have no existence in a country where the different sections of the people are divided from each other by religion, by rules about food, and by caste, as though by brazen walls. This, on the other hand, lightens the task of government, for it makes any extensive political

combination and opposition among the people impossible. It would be of the greatest advantage to both countries if a considerable number of young Indians could go through an educational curriculum of some years at an English high school, away from the overpowering and intoxicating atmosphere of Hindooism. The plan of establishing a college for Indians in London or Oxford has often been discussed both in England and India ; only Persian, Arabian, and Sanscrit must be substituted for Greek and Latin, for Arabian has for Mussulmans, and Sanscrit for Hindoos, the significance we attach to Latin, while Persian takes the place of French with us. But the scheme is fraught with difficulties on both sides, which seem insuperable. For the Hindoo, still confined within the fetters of caste, the mere leaving of the sacred soil of India is a sin ; he can hardly live in a foreign land without incurring defilement and loss of caste, which, in his own country, would prove an intolerable curse. And therefore, in discussing the plan, attention had first to be given, not to the director or superintendent, but to the cook, who must be a Hindoo of higher caste, and to the Ganges water, indispensable for every Hindoo, which would have to be constantly transported from India. Thus their religion, and the relations of the Government to it, ever recur as the most difficult problem, entering into, and one may say poisoning, everything.

In Garcin's Reports a great deal of room is taken up by the inevitable question of language, partly because he was mixed up with it himself, and his advice was asked on the subject, partly because in a country where there are a hundred different languages, besides a number of dialects, the choice of one in particular for governmental and administrative purposes is an equally weighty question for the nation and for its rulers. That Hindostanee alone is suited for the purpose, all are agreed ; those acquainted with it maintain that for elegance and grace of expression no language in the world is superior to it. But it is divided into the Urdoo and the Hindee, of which the former is compounded from a mixture with the Persian used in commercial dealings under the Mahometan dominion ; it is the popular tongue enriched with Persian and Arabian words and Mahometan meanings. And since the official language of the Empire should be adapted for the two great religious parties, Brahminist and Moslem, everything seems to point to the selection of the Urdoo, which accordingly Garcin, in harmony with most Englishmen competent to form an opinion, strongly recommended. This view is confirmed by the fact that of the 3000 writers quoted by him in his "*History of Hindostanee Literature*," 2200 are Mahometan, while of the 800 Hindoo authors only 200 have written in their mother tongue, the Hindee. If all Mahometans as a matter of course wish the Urdoo to be made the language of business and administration, the Brahminists, on the other hand, who are three times as numerous, have a religious interest in the accordance of official recognition and preference to the Hindee, which is purer and more nearly

allied to the sacred Sanscrit, but is certainly the less serviceable dialect, and is wholly unequal to the expression of the multitude of innovations and new ideas now passing into Indian life. A third view has found favour among English officials, that all the native languages should be rejected, and English alone used, as being that of the ruling class. Garcin pronounces most emphatically against this scheme, which would unquestionably excite general and lasting discontent, not to say exasperation. And he is supported by one of those best acquainted with India, Professor Monier Williams, in thinking that the Government would do well to give more encouragement to the native languages, and take less care for the diffusion of English.

Garcin has always mentioned and discussed with visible preference what concerned religious matters in India. He was himself a sincere Christian believer, whose private life attested the reality of his religion. Like every educated and well-informed Catholic, not trammelled by professional obligations, he found it impossible to accept the Vatican decrees, and this led him to put himself into communication with me by sending me his works and announcing his adhesion to my protest. Both as a scholar and a Christian he took the liveliest interest in the religious movements of India; as a scholar, for—as he once observed—he considered a philosophical comparison of the different religions the noblest and most attractive subject of study that could be chosen, while, as a Christian, he saw in the acceptance by the Hindoos of the Gospel and its healing influence on their moral condition the sole hope of their national elevation and regeneration. But at the same time he was quite in harmony with the wise and provident reserve of English statesmen in avoiding any official countenance of missionary efforts, and securing equality of civil rights and protection to every creed. He knew that the very existence of the Empire depended on this impartial and strict neutrality. In a country where, as invariably throughout the East, religion interpenetrates everything, and dominates the entire family and social life, the Government is confronted by three religions, one of which—the Brahminist—is that of the majority, and has 150,000,000 adherents; while the two others—the Mahometan and Buddhist—are world-wide religions, the former embracing a fifth, the latter a third of the human race. There are only about 4,000,000 Buddhists in the British dominions, and it cannot be said that there is anything hostile to foreign rule in the nature and principles of their faith; but the case is very different with Brahminism and Islam.

And here I must lay stress on a fact which will have an important bearing on the destinies of the world—viz., that the Queen of England and Empress of India is the greatest sovereign of Mahometan peoples; no Moslem ruler has anything like the same number of subjects, not even the Turkish Sultan, who reigns over only 21,000,000 Mahometans in Europe, Asia, and Egypt, while British India contains 50,000,000. Russia has at present about 6,500,000, and even if Persia and the

Khanates of the interior of Eastern Asia were incorporated with them, which is a mere question of time, her Moslem subjects would not equal in number those under the British sceptre.

The religion of the Arabian Prophet exhibits at present a singular phenomenon. On the one hand it is developing throughout the whole of Asia and Africa a power of expansion and fecundity of proselytism far beyond that of Christianity, while at the same time it betrays symptoms of internal decay, especially in that common disease which threatens all Mahometan States with dissolution, incapacity for government. The Sultanate is in its death-throes, as the Caliphate was before it. The old Arabian hierarchical State system has perished; the mongrel creation of a half-hierarchical, half-military State, which succeeded it, and finds its type in the Ottoman Empire, is now too in process of dissolution, and no third system is conceivable as long as the Koran retains its supremacy. For the loose, primitive form of a mere tribal union, as with the Bedouins, is not adapted for a large State.

But if we look simply at the strong expansive force of the Arabian religion, which is extending itself now almost as rapidly and as vigorously by the peaceful methods of persuasion as formerly by the sword, we are in presence of an historical enigma. In Africa it advances like a torrent; whole tribes in the interior, who yesterday were idolaters or fetish-worshippers, are to-day believers in the Koran. In Sierra Leone, on the north-western coast of Guinea, there is a Moslem high school with 1000 pupils. In China the Mussulmans have already become so numerous that they were able recently to venture on an insurrection. In Tonkin there are 50,000 of them. Among the Malays in the islands of the Indian Archipelago they have, for the first time in our day, made hosts of proselytes.

From Sumatra Islam has spread to Java, and the whole population of nearly 8,000,000 have now for the first time—under the Dutch Government—become Mahometan. The greater part of Sumatra, and at least half of Borneo and Celebes, are won over to Islam. Wherever in the Indian Archipelago a formerly heathen population is under Dutch rule Islam makes gigantic strides, while Christianity, in spite of the missionaries and missionary societies, advances very little, if it does not actually lose ground. The chief cause of this astonishing advance—by which the ground is cut away from Christianity for centuries to come, at least, in these countries—is said to be the facility offered by steam navigation for the pilgrimage to Mecca; for the numerous pilgrims, or "Hadjis," who return from thence, as a rule, become zealous emissaries of the Prophet. Moreover, in Eastern Asia and Africa, as elsewhere, Islam has one important advantage over the Christian Churches, from its knowing nothing of that sharp distinction between clergy and laity which is so especially marked in the Roman Catholic Church, so that every Moslem feels bound to take part in the conversion of unbelievers, while Christians are accustomed to treat mission work as

a specialty of the clergy, which it is not fitting for them to encroach upon.

In British India also, as Garcin reports, there have lately for the first time been numerous secessions, chiefly in the North-west Provinces, and they occur the more easily every day because Brahminist notions and usages have there got mixed up in various ways with the Moslem religion. On the other hand, there are hardly ever conversions from Mahometanism to Christianity. Where once this religion, which at bottom is simply a sect and Judaizing perversion of Christianity, has established itself, Christian missionaries knock in vain at the doors of the human conscience and need of a religion. It is only by forcible extirpation, as in Spain, that Christianity has hitherto been able to win ground from Islam.

These 50,000,000 Mahometans will be, according to circumstances, a firm support or a grave danger to the Indian Government. In a contest with Russia they would undoubtedly take the side of England, for Russia is regarded throughout the East as the hereditary enemy of Islam; it threatens Persia, dismembers Turkey, subjugates the Khanates of Central Asia. The Russian people look on every war with Mahometans as a religious war, and the number of the Moslem subjects of Russia in Siberia has considerably diminished under the influence of their rulers. On the other hand, the Moslem doctrine offers to Mahometans in a land under the rule of unbelievers only the alternatives of expatriation or rebellion, and the establishment of an orthodox *régime* by force of arms. This doctrine is actively disseminated in India by those Puritans of Islam, the wandering preachers of the Wahabee sect. Annihilation of English rule and restoration of the old Caliphate is the aim and passionate desire of these dangerous fanatics, and there is only too good reason for believing that the great body of their Indian co-religionists openly or secretly agree with them. The murder of the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, by an Afghan, may be remembered in that connection. Of late years the Moslem journals have boldly mooted the question whether rebellion is a duty?

An assembly of Moslem doctors from Lucknow and Delhi, held at Rampoor not many years ago, decided that India with its English Government is not Dar ul Islam (the Land of Islam), but Dar ul Harb (the Land of War). It ought, therefore, properly speaking, to be conquered for Islam; but inasmuch as a war against the overwhelming superiority of England would at present offer no prospect of success, and defeat would disgrace Islam in the eyes of the world, their injunction is to keep quiet for the present. It follows obviously that the first real or apparent difficulty or conspicuous misfortune of England would be the signal for a general Mahometan revolt. The Mahometan society of Calcutta took alarm at this, and had it promulgated by their doctors of the law that India still remains a land of the faithful, and therefore insurrection is unlawful. And now the faithful have also soothed their disquiet by procuring an opinion from the doctors of Mexico,

the birth-place of Islam, declaring India, in spite of the English dominion, to be a land of Islam, which implies for the strict Moslem this unavowed but obvious consequence, that he is bound to do all in his power to re-establish the complete legal validity of the orthodox discipline in the country, and to regard as invalid whatever the foreign Government has ordained or introduced which is incompatible with those principles. And there is much of that: Moslems have been replaced by English governors, and Moslem judges have been removed; the whole legislative system is more or less visibly opposed to the Koran. Hitherto, those who considered the Hegira, or religious flight and emigration, obligatory in such a case have settled in Afghan territory, and the threatening thunder cloud on the north-western frontier of the Empire has especially contributed to draw an English army to Afghanistan. There is, indeed, a small minority of Indian Mussulmans who endeavour to get rid of this obligation to rebellion and a holy war against unbelievers by an artificial interpretation of the only too clear passages of the Koran, but there can be no doubt what the great majority—notably among the Sunnites, who form nine-tenths of the Indian Mussulmans—think and believe. For the Moslem does not forget that his own Indian Empire was overthrown by the British. But the whole Koran is based on the principle that the Mussulmans are either a dominant people, or a people striving for dominion. Moreover, the Mahometans of India are—through their own fault certainly—almost excluded from public positions and offices, which are chiefly in the hands of Brahminists.

The statesmen in London and Calcutta should not therefore fail in caution and watchfulness, lest they be again surprised by such events as those of 1857. No British statesman on the spot will indulge the hope that Christian missionaries will succeed in soon softening the deeply-ingrained hatred, mingled with contempt, entertained by Mahometans for Christianity. It is, however, a noteworthy sign of the time that lately a Mahometan scholar, Sayid Ahmed Khan, supreme judge at Ghazipoor on the Ganges, has advertised and commenced a translation of the Old and New Testament, saying that both are rules of faith and life for Mahometans also. He does not mean thereby to renounce the Moslem theology. But hitherto every Mahometan, in spite of his reverence for Christ, has been wont to treat the New Testament with contempt, on the pretext that—according to Mahomet's infallible declaration—the text has been tampered with by Christians. The Moslem who detests the adherents of the Roman and Greek Churches as idolaters, on account of their worship of images, and will not even hold any intercourse with their missionaries, would be more ready to listen to an English missionary, and would, perhaps, say with the Mollah, quoted by Vambéry, "A wide and deep sea divides us from Greeks and Armenians; from the English only a ditch." But this ditch—the doctrines of the Trinity and Redemption—proves on coming to closer quarters to be an impassable gulf.

The attitude of the Brahmins towards Christianity is very different. For them all religions are good, and emanate either from the Supreme Being Himself or from some divinity; to leave the religion in which one is born is both a folly and a crime. When the Pundits assembled by Warren Hastings at Calcutta drew up a summary of Hindoo legislation, they began by laying down as a fundamental principle that the Supreme Being has imparted to every nation its own belief, and to every sect its own religion, and now beholds in every region of the world that manner of divine worship which was appointed for it.

Garcin used to examine, in his Annual Reports, with special attention and predilection the missionary efforts of the Christian bodies, and to take impartial note of every success. He recounted with pleasure the harmonious co-operation of the Protestant missionaries of different Churches who were content to forget their confessional differences in presence of the common foe, Heathenism, and vied with each other in the founding of schools, the establishment of printing presses, and the dissemination of Bibles and Biblical text-books. He rejoiced to find converted Brahmins, like Banarjea and Sastri Gore, combating in writings of their own the teaching of the Vedas and the philosophical systems of Indian pantheism, while the latter predicted the complete dissolution of Brahminism, whenever these systems can be eradicated from the minds of the Pundits, or learned Brahmins. They all repose at bottom on a common principle; all lead to the surrender of human individuality and teach a return of the soul into the impersonal all-unity of Brahma, disappearance in the ocean of the Godhead, pantheistically conceived as neither thinking nor willing. For this pantheism in its popular form is spread over the whole intellectual horizon of India, like a thick cloud which no rays of the sun can penetrate.

So much is clear from Garcin's Reports and from the English publications about India—the great process of the decomposition of Brahminism has begun. The old constraining power of philosophical pantheism over minds in the higher castes is shaken; the mere presence of Christianity on Indian soil, contact with it, the spectacle of Christian supremacy over every department of life, the spread of education and European sciences—all this presses on Hindooism with irresistible force, and tends to hasten the bursting asunder of the firm joints of the caste system, that worst enemy of European manners and religion. The great idol festivals no longer bring together such multitudes as formerly; theistic schools are already being formed, which refuse to serve the old idol-gods. Freedom of the press, and British legislation based on the principles of Christian morality—the benefit of which the Hindoo feels—conspire to loosen Hindooism from its old moorings and pave the way for European views. The Brahmin Reform party, the so-called Brahma-Somaj—formed by Rammohan Roy and now led by Debendranath Tagore—abandoned the belief in a divine inspiration of the Vedas, and is aiming at a rational theism without any revelation. It appears as a new

religion, has its temples and chapels, of which there are said already to be sixty, aims at social reforms, the abolition of the far too early marriages and the limitations of caste, and an improvement in the condition of women. It exercises, according to Garcin, an important influence on the middle classes. Max Müller and some Englishmen look with hope and sympathy on the efforts of this party, in spite of the division in it which has taken place. But—*on ne détruit que ce qu'on remplace*. The Indian mind needs a substantial nourishment for intellect and heart. Only it is a grave question whether it is yet adequately trained, especially in the higher castes, to be capable of understanding and appreciating Christian doctrine. As far as I can see, this is denied by those best acquainted with Hindooism. And when we remember how Christianity was only able to take root in the old world after it had been sufficiently prepared by Hellenism and Hellenized Judaism, while the corresponding preparation and education of the Indian world through English influence was only begun in earnest twenty years ago, one will be disposed to agree with them. Moreover, men like Max Müller, Monier Williams, and Bishop Patteson suggest another ground of hesitation; they think the Christianity offered by the missionaries to the Hindoos is too strongly Western in its colouring, and takes a too specifically English form, while in its primitive, simpler, and therefore more Oriental form it would find an easier entrance.

While all open and direct encroachment on the religious domain is carefully and anxiously avoided in the schools, the mere acquirement of European knowledge acts as a solvent on the minds of the adherents of the Asiatic religions. For an Indian's whole view of the world is indissolubly bound up with his religion, and is in every point incompatible with the first elements of European science. On the other hand, it is true, of course, that nothing is further from the thoughts of a Brahmin, who walks as a god among men, than any desire for a faith whose first result would be to deprive him of his dignity. The mind of the Brahmin, on whom the Hindoo impress has once been stamped, will never completely get rid of it; European knowledge will enlarge his intelligence, but will not change it, or, according to Brahmin logic, he will not cease to think. The usual arguments of missionaries glide off him without leaving a trace behind. If the demoralizing consequences of his idolatry are put before him, he replies that India has for a long time been in the dark and evil age of Kalee-Juga, and another age of the world in the course of things will improve its moral state.

A friend of Garcin's, the Orientalist Sprenger, who was formerly at Calcutta, and now lives at Berne, has lately propounded the opinion that in less than a hundred years the renewed life of the East will react on European civilization and impart an unexpected direction to its mental development. The works of those Oriental peoples would be as useful to Europeans as to themselves, and since they are equal, and in many respects superior, to the latter, they might easily, at no very

distant time, take the lead in the general progress of humanity. That is certainly possible, but it must be remembered that the Indians are almost, if not quite, the only Asiatic people from whose subtle intellect any new and powerful upward movement could be expected; nobody who knows them will look for anything of the kind from the Chinese, Mongolians, Malays, Arabians, or Persians. But the Indians, so far as history knows anything of them, are a people doomed to intellectual stagnation; the cycle of their ideas was definitely closed two thousand years ago, and since then it has not received a single addition, if we except Buddhism, which was rejected as a heresy and expelled from the soil of India. The prolific seed and generation of a new intellectual life will then only proceed from Europe, and even a hundred years hence the intelligence and knowledge of the West, though translated into Eastern forms, will retain its supremacy in Asia.

All Asia is now, so to speak, in the grip of Europe. "Asia's Cry of Distress" is the title of a work circulated not many years ago at Constantinople. "Asia, the mother of Islam and of all true culture," says the writer, "is in danger of being overthrown by the barbarians. The Russians are pressing into the heart of this region on the Oxus, the Dutch destroy all civilization in Sumatra, and the English oppress Islam in India and Arabia on the pretext of abolishing slavery." (This seems to refer to what has occurred in Aden and Zanzibar.) The danger indicated by this believer in the Koran has been redoubled since then. The West must, willing or unwilling, fulfil the task laid upon it in the history of the world, of becoming the teacher and educator, the orderer and reformer, of the decomposing East. It is by no human caprice, but by virtue of a higher law, that the great European powers are drawn thither, and constrained to subordinate their policy to the interests there growing upon them and the ends set before them. To Russia the North, to England the South, of that region has been assigned. The Russian, mentally and materially more closely related to the Asiatic nature, knows better than the Englishman how to consort with Orientals and repel them less, while yet he brings to the districts he occupies a strong organization and the beginnings of social development. Foreign domination is the rule throughout all Asia; all Asiatic countries, from China to the Euphrates, are under foreign dynasties, which only maintain themselves by force. Nor can it be doubted that Persia is already a vassal State of Russia, and a tool in her hands.

Although the reluctant English Government has been drawn to Afghanistan by the law of self-preservation, England has now for years past perceived and openly avowed that fresh acquisitions of territory are not desirable for her, but rather that the internal moral conquest of the people under her rule, their education and civilization, demand her whole power and undivided energies. Russia appears at present to be far from discerning this, but the time will yet come, and is already near, when on the Neva too that saying will be understood to be as true in politics

as in its intellectual bearing, "The master is shown first in knowing where to stop." Soon too will North America, to whom the road has already been pointed out by the Chinese emigration, apply herself to Buddhist Asia, while England, from Australia as well as from India, will begin to bring under her influence the tribes behind India. There the French, already settled in Cochin China, will meet with the Dutch as they advance from the South; and we may hope that the meeting will be a peaceful one, and will lead to co-operation in a common task.

If the problem of regulating and dividing the inheritance of the expiring Ottoman Empire has hitherto led, and will very likely lead again, to sanguinary conflicts, injurious alike to victor and vanquished, that is because there irreconcilable and incompatible claims and interests are involved. But in the interior of Southern and Eastern Asia things are different; there is plenty of room there for every free development of power.

To us Germans too a part is assigned, and not the least, in the great work of Europeanizing Asia. On us the duty is specially incumbent of vigorously prosecuting Oriental studies with all the zeal and thoroughness of which—to name only members of this Academy—scholars like Haug, Plath, Spiegel, Max Müller, and Trumpp have given and still give us so bright an example. When the Orientals were settling down in troops in old Rome, Juvenal said that "the Syrian Orontes had flowed into the Tiber."* Would that men may be able to say hereafter that the Rhine and Elbe, the Danube, Isar, and Spree, have flowed into the Ganges and Indus—I mean that German knowledge and literature have achieved their proper part in the enlightenment, the intellectual and moral regeneration, of the great Indian people! As yet the Hindoos have translated hardly any but English works for themselves. May the time not be very far distant when the productions of the German mind shall also be read and appreciated by Indian Brahmins, and may their choice fall, not on poisonous plants, but on the noble, nutritious and healing products of our literary garden!

J. VON DÜLLINGER.

* Juv. Sat. iii. 52.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WEEK.

"It may be assumed, with Ideler, that the week has originated from the length of the synodic months, . . . and that references to the planetary series, together with planetary days and hours, belong to an entirely different period of advanced and speculative culture."—HUMBOLDT (Cosmos).

I HAD occasion to consider in the pages of this REVIEW, some years ago,* the origin of the seventh day's rest. The origin of the week, or time-measure of seven days, is a different matter, though of course associated with the question of the Sabbath. The observance of a day of rest once in each week may or may not have synchronized with or quickly followed the recognition of the week as a measure of time, but it certainly was not a necessary adjunct to the week. I propose now to consider how the week probably had its origin, presenting, as occasion serves, such subsidiary evidence as can be derived from history or tradition. Usually this and kindred subjects have been dealt with *à posteriori*. Observances, festivals, chronological arrangements, and so forth, known or recorded to have been adopted by various nations, have been examined, and an inquiry made into their significance. The result has not been altogether satisfactory. Many interesting facts have been brought to light as research has proceeded, and several elaborate theories have been advanced on nearly every point of chronological research. Any one of these theories, examined alone, seems to be established almost beyond dispute by the number of facts seemingly attesting in its favour; but when we find that for another and yet another theory a similar array of facts can be adduced, we lose faith in all theories thus supported. At least those only retain their belief in a theory of the kind who have given so much care to its preparation that they have had no time to examine the evidence favouring other theories.

On the other hand, there is much to be said in favour of an *à priori* method of dealing with ancient chronological arrangements. We know certainly how the heavens appeared to men of old times; if

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occasion arise we can determine readily and certainly the exact aspect of the heavens at any given place and time; we know generally the conditions under which the first observations of the heavens must have been made; hence we can infer, not unsafely, what particular objects would have been first noted, or would have been early chosen as time-measures; what difficulties would have presented themselves as time proceeded; and how such difficulties would have been met.

The inquiry, let me remark at the outset, has an interest other than that depending on chronological relations. I know of none better suited to commend to our attention the movements of the heavenly bodies, which, as Carlyle has remarked, I think, though taking place all the time around us, are not half known to most of us. As civilization indeed progresses, the proportion of persons acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies becomes less and less; both because artificial measures of time come more generally into use, and because fewer persons in proportion are engaged out of doors at night under conditions making the movements of the heavens worth observing. Even the increased interest taken of late in the study of astronomy has not tended, I believe, to increase the number who have a familiar acquaintance with the heavenly bodies and their motions. So soon as a student of astronomy sets up an observatory, indeed, he is more likely to forget what he already knows about ordinary celestial phenomena than to pay closer attention to them. If he wants to observe a particular star or planet, he does not turn to the heavens—one may almost say indeed, strange though it sounds, that the heavens are the last place he would think of looking at; he simply sets the circles of his telescope aright, knowing that the star or planet he wants will then be in the field of view. The telescope is as often as not turned to the object before the door of the revolving dome has been opened—that is, while no part of the sky is in view.

It is precisely because in old times matters must have been entirely different, and familiarity with astronomical facts much more important to persons not themselves engaged in the study of astronomy, that the method of inquiry which I propose now to pursue respecting the origin of the week is so full of promise. If we will but put ourselves mentally in the position of the shepherds and tillers of the soil in old times, we can tell precisely what they were likely to notice, in what order, and in what way.

In the first place, I think, it will appear that some division of the month analogous to the week must have been suggested as a measure of time long before the year. Commonly the year is taken as either the first and most obvious of all time-measures, or else as only second to the day. But in its astronomical aspect the year is not a very obvious division of time. I am not here speaking, be it understood, of the exact determination of the length of the year. That, of necessity, was a work requiring much time, and could only have been success-

fully achieved by astronomers of considerable skill. I am referring to the commonplace year, the ordinary progression of those celestial phenomena which mark the changes of the seasons. As Whewell well remarks of the year, the repetition of similar circumstances at equal intervals is less manifest in this case (than in that of the day), and, the intervals being much longer, some exertion of memory becomes requisite in order that the recurrence may be perceived. A child might easily be persuaded that successive years were of unequal length; or, if the summer were cold, and the spring and autumn warm, might be made to believe, if all who spoke in its hearing agreed to support the delusion, that one year was two. Of course the recurrence of events characterizing the natural year is far too obvious to have been overlooked even before men began to observe the heavenly bodies at all. The tiller of the soil must observe the right time to plant seeds of various kinds that they may receive the right proportion of the summer's heat; the herdsman could not but note the times when his flocks and herds brought forth their young. But no definite way of noting the progress of the year by the movements of the sun or stars* would probably have suggested itself until some time after the moon's motions had been used as means of measuring time. The lunar changes, on the other hand, are very striking and obvious; they can be readily watched, and they are marked by easily determinable stages. "It appears more easy," says Whewell, "and in earlier stages of civilization more common, to count time by *moons* than by *years*."

It has indeed been suggested that the moon's use as a measurer of time was from the earliest ages so obvious that the Greek words, *mēn* for month, *mēnē* for moon (less common, however, than *selēnē*), and the Latin *mensis* for month, have been associated with the Latin verb *to measure* (*metior, mensus sum, &c.*). Cicero says that months were called *menses*, "*quia mensa spatia conficiunt*," because they complete measured spaces. Other etymologists, says Whewell, connect these words "with the Hebrew *manah*, to measure." Note also the measure of value, *maneh*,—"twenty shekels, five-and-twenty shekels, fifteen shekels shall be your *maneh*, or *mna*," Ezek. xlv. 12. Again, the name *manna* is given to the food found in the desert, by some interpreted "a portion." The word *mene*, or *mna*, in the warning, *Mene, tekel, phares*, was translated "numbered." With the same word is connected the Arabic *Al-manac*, or *Al-manach*. Whewell points out that "if we are to attempt to ascend to the earliest conditions of language, we must conceive it probable that men would have a name for a most conspicuous object, *the moon*, before they would have a verb denoting the very abstract and general notion, to measure." This is true; but it does not follow that the moon may not have received a name implying her quality as a measurer long after she was first named. For the idea of using the

* There are many reasons for believing, as I may one day take an opportunity of showing in these pages, that the year was first measured by the stars, not by the sun.

Moon as a measurer of time must as certainly have followed the conception of the abstract idea of measurement, as this conception must have followed the recognition of the moon as an object of observation. It is noteworthy, indeed, that in the Greek the moon has two names—one, more usual, *sēlēnē*, from which the Latins derived the name *luna*; the other, *mene*, certainly connected with *mēn*, for month. It seems almost certain that they, and those from whom they derived the usage, had come to regard the moon's quality as a time-measurer as distinct from her quality as an ornament of the night. To this second term for the moon Whewell's remark does not apply, or rather, his remark suggests the true explanation of what otherwise would be perplexing, the explanation being that very derivation of the words *mene*, *mensis*, *month*, *moon*, &c.,* from a word signifying "to measure," which Whewell oppugns. Even if this view be rejected, we may yet regard the words signifying mensuration (measurement and numbering) as derived from a name for the moon, months, &c.—a circumstance which would indicate the recognized character of the moon as a time-measurer even more significantly than the converse derivation.

It is noteworthy that of all the phenomena obvious to observation, the motions of the moon are those which most directly suggest the idea of measurement. The earth's rotation on her axis is in reality much more uniform than the moon's circling motion around the earth; but to ordinary observation the recurrence of day and night seems rather to suggest the idea of inequality than that of the uniform subdivision of time. For the lengths of day and night are seldom equal, and are constantly varying. The daily motions of the fixed stars are more uniform than the moon's, and, if carefully noted, afford an almost perfect uniformity of time-measurement. But instruments of some kind are necessary to show that this is the case. The moon, on the other hand, measures off time in an obvious and striking manner, and, to ordinary observation, with perfect uniformity. In measuring time, the moon suggests also the idea of numerical measurement. And measures of length, surface, volume, and so forth, could more readily have been derived in ancient times from the moon's motions than in any other manner. In precisely the same way that now, in Great Britain, all our measures,† without exception, are derived

* To these may be added the Sanskrit *māsa*, the Zend *mao*, the Persian *mah*, the Gothic *mena*, the Erse *mios*, and the Lithuanian *mienu*.

† Even our measures of the value of money depend on the observed motions of the stars. As I pointed out in my essay "Our Chief Time-piece Losing Time" ("Light Science for Leisure Hours"), "when we come to inquire closely into the question of a sovereign's intrinsic value, we find ourselves led to the diurnal motion of the stars by no very long or intricate path." For a sovereign is a coin containing so many grains of gold mixed with so many grains of alloy. A grain is the weight of such and such a volume of a certain standard substance,—that is, so many cubic inches, or parts of a cubic inch, of that substance. An inch is determined as a certain fraction of the length of a pendulum vibrating seconds in the latitude of London. A second is a certain portion of a mean solar day, and is practically determined by a reference to what is called a sidereal day,—the interval, namely, between the successive passages by the same star across the celestial meridian of any fixed place. This interval is assumed to be con-

from the daily motion of the stars, so in old times the more obvious motions of the moon could have been used, and were probably used, to give the measures required in those days.

If, then, the names of the moon, months, and so forth, were not originally derived from the idea of measurement, it is nevertheless certain that the moon must, from the very earliest times, have been regarded as, *par excellence*, the measurer. The *à priori* reasons for expecting that the moon's name, or one of her names, would be thus derived, seem to me to add greatly to the probability of this derivation, which has been inferred from the actual co-existence of such names as *mene* for the moon; *men*, *mensis*, &c. (see previous note), for the month; *mna*, *maneh*, *mensus* (root *mens*) for measurement.

The circling motion of the moon round the earth being noted from the very earliest time, it is certain that, very soon after, men would think of subdividing the moon's circuit. The nights when there was no moon would be distinguished in a very marked way from those in which the moon was full or nearly so, and thus the lunar month would be obviously marked off into two halves, each about a fortnight in length. Something analogous to this first subdivision is to be recognized in a circumstance which I may one day have to deal with more at length, the subdivision of the year into two halves—one in which the Pleiades were above the horizon and visible at sunset, the other when they were below the horizon. There would be the bright half and the dark half of the month (so far as the nights were concerned), and it must be remembered that these would not be unimportant distinctions to the men of old time, nor mere matters of scientific observation. To the shepherd, the distinction between a moonlit and a moonless night must have been very noteworthy. All his cares would be doubled when the moon was not shining, all lightened when she was nearly full. A poet in our time singing the glories of the moonlit night might be apt to forget the value of the light to the herdsman; but in old times this must have been the chief thought in connection with such a night. Thus we find Homer, after describing the beauty of a moonlit night, in a noble passage (mistranslated by Pope, but nobly rendered by Tennyson), closing his description with the words—

“The Shepherd gladdens in his heart.”

We can well understand, indeed, that according to tradition, the first astronomers in every nation were shepherds.

It might seem at a first view that the division of the month into two parts would be most conveniently marked by the moon (1) coming to full and (2) disappearing. But apart from the consideration just mentioned,

stant and is in fact very nearly so. Strangely enough, the moon, the older measure of time, is, by her attraction on the waters of this earth, constantly tending to modify this nearly constant quantity—the earth's rotation. For the resistance of the tidal wave acts as a break, constantly retarding the earth's turning motion,—though so slowly that 1,500 millions of years would be required to lengthen the terrestrial day by one full hour.

showing the probability that the first division would be into the bright half and the dark half, it is easily seen that neither the full phase, nor what is called technically "new" (in reality the absolute disappearance of the moon), could be conveniently determined, with anything like precision. The moon looks full a day or two before and a day or two after she really is full. The time of the moon's coming to the same part of the sky as the sun, again, though it can be inferred by noting when she first disappeared and when she first reappeared, is not obviously indicated,—or, which is the essential point, so manifested as to afford, *at the time*, an indication of the moon's reaching that special stage of her progress. If a clock were so constructed that time were indicated by the rotation of a globe half white half black, and so situated that the observer could not be certain when the white side was fully turned towards him, it is certain he would not observe that phase for determining time exactly. If he were not only uncertain when the black side was fully turned towards him, but could not ascertain this at all until some little time after the white side began to come into view again on one side (having disappeared on the other shortly before), he would be still less likely to observe the black phase as an epoch.

If we consider what the owner of such a timepiece would be apt to do, or rather would be certain to do, we shall not be long in doubt as to the course which the shepherds of old time would have followed. The only phases which such a clock would show with anything like precision would be those two in which one half the globe exactly would be white and the other black. Not only would either of these be a perfectly definite phase marked unmistakably by the straightness of the separating line between black and white, but also the rate of change would at these times be most rapid. The middle of the separating line, or terminator in the moon's case, is at all times travelling athwart the face of our satellite, but most quickly when crossing the middle of her disc. Apart, then, from the consideration already mentioned, which would lead the first observers to divide the month into a dark and a light half, the aspect of the moon's face so varied before their eyes as to suggest, or, one may say, to force upon them, the plan of dividing her course at the quarters, when she is half full increasing and half full diminishing.

Let us pause for a moment to see whether this first result, to which we have been led by purely *à priori* considerations, accords with any evidence from tradition. We might very well fail to find such evidence, simply because all the earlier and less precise ways of dividing time (of which this certainly would be one), giving way, as they must inevitably do, to more exact time-measures, might leave no trace whatever of their existence. It is, therefore, the more remarkable and in a sense fortunate, that in two cases we find clear evidence of the division of the lunar month into two halves, and in the precise manner

above indicated. Max Müller, remarking on the week, says that he has found no trace of any such division in the ancient Vedic literature of the Hindoos, but the month is divided into two according to the moon—the *clear* half and the *obscure* half.* (Flammarion, from whom I take the reference to Max Müller, says, “the *clear* half from new to full, and the *obscure* half from full to new;” but this is manifestly incorrect, the half of the month from new to full having neither more nor less light by night than the half from full to new.) A similar division has been found among the Aztecs.

The next step would naturally be the division of each half, the bright and the dark half, into two equal parts. In fact this would be done at the same time, in most cases (that is, among most nations) that the month was divided into two. The division at half full increasing and half full decreasing would be the more exact; but once made would afford the means of determining the times of “full” and “new.” During the first few months after men had noticed closely the times of half full, they would perceive that between fourteen and fifteen days separated these times, so that “full” and “new” came about seven days after the times of half-moon.

All this would be comparatively rough work. Herdsmen, and perhaps the tillers of the soil in harvest time, would perceive that the lunar month, their ordinary measure of time, was naturally divisible into four quarters, two epochs (the half-moons) limiting which were neatly defined, while the intermediate two could be easily inferred. They would fall into the habit of dividing the months into quarters in this rough way long before they began to look for some connection between the length of the month and of the day, precisely as men (later, no doubt) divided the year roughly into four seasons, and the seasons into months, long before they had formed precise notions as to the number of months in years and seasons. We shall see presently that in each case, so soon as they tried to connect two measures of time—the month and day in one case, the year and month in the other—similar difficulties presented themselves, and also that while similar ways of meeting these difficulties naturally occurred to men, tradition shows that these natural methods of dealing with the difficulties were those actually followed in one case certainly, and (to show which is the object of the present paper) most probably in the other also.

Men, at least those who were given to the habit of enumeration, would have found out that there are some $29\frac{1}{2}$ days in each lunar

* It is noteworthy that in the Assyrian tablets lately deciphered by Mr. G. Smith (which are copies of Babylonian originals older probably than the books of Job and Genesis), we find in the account of the creation of the sun, moon, and stars, from which the account in Genesis was probably abridged, special reference to the moon's smaller horned phase—"At the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night, his horns are breaking through, and shine on the heaven; on the ninth day to a circle he begins to swell."

month not long after they had regarded the month as divided into four parts, and long before they had thought of connecting months and days together. After a while, however, the occasion of some such connection would arise. It might arise in many different ways. The most likely occasion, perhaps, would be the necessity of apportioning work to those employed as herdsmen or in tilling the soil. They would be engaged probably (so soon as the simplest of all engagements, by the day, required some extension) by the month. In fact one may say that certainly the hiring of labourers for agricultural and pastoral work must have been by the month almost from the beginning.*

But from the beginning of hiring also, it must have become necessary to measure the month by days. Herdsmen and labourers could not have had their terms of labour defined by the actual observation of the lunar phases, though these might have shown them, in a rough sort of way, how their term of labour was passing on.

Thus, at length, a month of days and its subdivisions must have come into use. The subdivisions would almost certainly correspond with the quarters already indicated; and the week of seven days is the nearest approach in an exact number of days to the quarter of a month. Four periods of eight days exceed a lunar month by two and a-half days; while four periods of seven days exceed a lunar month by only one and a-half days.

Now there would be two distinct ways in which the division of the month into four weeks might be arranged.

First, the month might be taken as a constant measure of time, and four weeks, of seven days each, suitably placed in each month, so that the extra day and a-half, or nearly enough three days in two months, could be intercalated. Thus in one month a day could be left out at the time of new moon, and in the next two days, one day alternating with two in successive months: if the remaining part of each month were divided into four equal parts of seven days in each, the arrangement would correspond closely enough with the progress of the months to serve for a considerable time before fresh intercalation was

* The earliest record we have of hiring is that contained in Genesis, chap. xxix. We read there that Jacob "abode with Laban the space of a month," serving him without wages. Then Laban said to Jacob, "Because thou art my brother, shouldst thou therefore serve me for nought? tell me, what shall thy wages be?" At this time, it is worth noting, the number seven had come to be regarded as convenient in hiring, for Jacob said, "I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy younger daughter. . . . And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they seemed unto him but a few days, for the love he had to her." It is obvious that the length of the service was regarded by the narrator as a special proof of Jacob's love for Rachel. For an ordinary wage a man would work seven days; for his love Jacob worked seven years. That this was so is shown by Laban's calling the term a week. After giving Leah instead of Rachel, he says, "Fulfil her week, and we will give thee this also for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet seven other years. And Jacob did so, and fulfilled her week." The week must have been a customary term of engagement long before this, or it would not be thus spoken of. Servants (the herdsmen of Abram's cattle, and the herdsmen of Lot's cattle) are mentioned somewhat earlier. The word week is not used earlier than in the passage just quoted; and there is no reference to a weekly day of rest before the Exodus.

required. Two lunar months would thus be counted as fifty-nine days, falling short of the truth by one hour, twenty-eight minutes, and nearly eight seconds. On four lunar months the difference would be nearly three hours, and in thirty-two lunar months nearly one day. So that if in the first month two days, in the second one, in the third two, in the fourth one, and so on—in the thirty-first two, and in the thirty-second two (instead of one) were intercalated, the total error in those thirty-two months, or about two years and five calendar months of our present time, would be only about half-an-hour.

We find traces of a former arrangement by which the time of new moon was separated, as it were, from the rest of the lunar month. The occurrence of new moon marked in most of the old systems a time of rest and religious worship, probably, almost certainly, arising originally from the worship of the heavenly bodies as deities. But the chronological arrangements, probably connected with this usage at first, have left few traces of their existence. The usage presents manifest imperfections as part of a chronological system, and must soon have been abandoned by the more skilful of those who sought among the celestial bodies for the means of measuring time. The Greeks adopted such an arrangement as I have above indicated. "The last day of each lunar month," Whewell says, "was called by them 'the old and new,' as belonging to both the waning and the re-appearing moon, and their festivals and sacrifices, as determined by the calendar, were conceived to be necessarily connected with the same periods of the cycles of the sun and moon." "The laws and oracles," says Geminus, "which directed that they should in sacrifice observe three things, months, days, and years, were so understood. With this persuasion, a correct system of intercalation became a religious duty. Aratus, in a passage quoted by Geminus, says of the moon—

"As still her shifting visage changing turns,
By her we count the monthly round of morns."

But the religious duty of properly intercalating a day every thirty-two months, to correct for the difference between two lunar months and fifty-nine days, would seem not to have been properly attended to, for Aristophanes in the "Clouds" makes the moon complain thus:—

"CHORUS OF CLOUDS.

"The moon by us to you her greeting sends,
But bids us say that she's an ill-used moon,
And takes it much amiss that you should still
Shuffle her days, and turn them topsy-turvy;
And that the gods, who know their feast-days well,
By your false count are sent home supperless,
And scold and storm at her for your neglect."

The second usage would be the more convenient. Perceiving, as they would by this time have done, that the lunar month does not

contain an exact number of days, or of half-days, men would recognize the uselessness of attempting to use any subdivision of the month, month by month, and would simply take the week of seven days as the nearest approach to the convenient subdivision, the quarter-month, and let that period run on continually, without concerning themselves with the fact that each new month began on a different day of the week. In fact this corresponds precisely with what has been done in the case of the year.

The necessity of adopting some arrangement for periodical rest would render the division of time into short periods of unvarying length desirable. And as herdsmen and labourers were early engaged by the lunar month, and afterwards by its subdivision the quarter-month, it is very probable that the beginning of each month would first be chosen as a suitable time for a rest, while later one day in each week would be taken as a rest day. This would not be by any means inconsistent with the belief that from very early times a religious significance was given to the monthly and weekly resting days. Almost every observance of times and seasons and days had its first origin, most probably, in agricultural and pastoral customs. It was only after a long period had elapsed that arrangements, originally adopted as convenient, became so sanctioned by long habit that a religious meaning was attached to them. Assuredly, whatever opinion may be formed about the Sabbath rest, only one can be formed about the new moon rest. *That* certainly had its origin in the lunar motions and their relation to the convenience and habits of outdoor workers. It seems altogether reasonable, apart from the evidence *à priori* and *à posteriori* in favour of the conclusion, to adopt a similar explanation of the weekly rest, constantly associated as we find it with the rest at the time of new moon.

This explanation implies that the week would almost certainly be adopted as a measure of time by every nation which paid any attention to the subject of time-measurement. Now we know that no trace of the week exists among the records of some nations, while in others the week was at least only a subordinate time-measure. Among the earlier Egyptians the month was divided into periods of ten days each, and hitherto no direct evidence has been found to show that a seven-day period was used by them.* The Chinese divided the month similarly. Among the Babylonians the month was divided into periods of five days, six such periods in each month, and also into weeks of seven days. The same double arrangement was adopted by the Hebrews.

It is easy to show, however, that the division of the month into six equal or nearly equal parts, five days in each, was not arrived at in a similar way to the division into four parts, and was a later method.

* Laplace asserts of the Egyptians that they used a period of seven days, but he misunderstood the account given by Dion Cassius, who referred to the astronomers of the Alexandrian School, not to the ancient Egyptians.

We have seen how the quarters of the lunar orbit are determined at "half-full," by the boundary between the light and dark half crossing the middle of the moon's disc. Content at first to determine this ocularily, observers would after a time devise simply methods of making more exact determinations. Such devices as Ferguson, the self-taught Scottish peasant, employed to determine the positions of the stars, would be likely to occur to the Chaldaean shepherds in old times. That astronomer (for he well merits the name, when we consider under what disadvantages he achieved success) constructed a frame across which slender threads could be shifted, so that their intersections should coincide with the apparent places of stars. A frame similarly constructed might be made to carry four such threads forming a square, which properly placed would just seem to enclose the moon's disc, while a fifth thread parallel to two sides of the square and midway between them could be made to coincide with the straight edge of the half-moon,—and thus the exact time of half-moon could be easily determined. Now when the separating line or arc between light and darkness fell otherwise, the fifth thread might be made to show exactly how far across this separating arc (that is, its middle point) had travelled, and thence how far the month had progressed,—if the observer had some little knowledge of trigonometry. If he had no such knowledge, but were acquainted only with the simpler geometrical relations of lines and circles, there would only be two other cases, besides that of the half-moon, with which he could deal by this simple method, or some modification thereof. When the middle point of the arc between light and darkness has travelled exactly one-fourth of the way across the moon's disc, the moon has gone one-third of the way from "new" to "full." When that middle point has travelled exactly three-fourths of the way across, the moon has gone two-thirds of the way from "new" to "full." Either stage can be determined almost as easily with the frame and threads, or some like contrivance, as the time of half-moon, and similarly of the corresponding stages from "full" to "new." Thus, including new and full, we have six stages in the moon's complete circuit. She starts from "new;" when she has gone one-sixth of the way round, the advancing arc of light has travelled one-fourth of the way across her disc; when she has gone two-sixths round, it has travelled three-fourths of the way across: then comes "full," corresponding to half-way round; then, at four-sixths of the way round, the receding edge is one-fourth of the way back across the moon's disc; at five-sixths it is three-fourths of the way back; and lastly she completes her circuit at "new" again. Each stage of her journey lasts one-sixth of a lunar month, or five days, less about two hours. Thus five days more nearly represents one of these stages than a week represents a quarter of a lunar month. For a week falls short of a quarter of a month by more than nine hours, while five days exceeds a sixth of a month by rather less

than two hours. Moreover while six periods of five days exceed a month by less than half-a-day, four weeks fall short of a month by more than a day and a-half.*

We can very well understand, then, that the division of the lunar month into six parts, each of five days, or into three parts, each of ten days, should have been early suggested by astronomers, as an improvement on the comparatively rough division of the month into four equal parts. We can equally understand that where the latter method had been long in use, where it had become connected with the system of hiring (one day's rest being allowed in each quarter-month), and especially where it had become associated with religious observances, the new method would be stoutly resisted. It would seem that a contest between advocates of a five days' period and those of a seven days' period arose in early times, and was carried on with considerable bitterness. There are those who find in the great pyramid of Egypt the record of such a struggle, and evidence that finally the seven days' period came to be distinguished, as a sacred time-measure, from the five days' period, which was regarded doubtless as a profane though perhaps a more exact and scientific subdivision. In the Jewish religious system, however, both subdivisions appear.

A singular piece of evidence has quite recently been obtained respecting the week of the Babylonians, which, while illustrating what I have above shown about the week and the five days' period, seems to afford some explanation of the week of weeks. So far as I know, it has not been considered in this particular light before. We learn from Professor Sayce that the Babylonians called the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days of each month *sabbatu*, or day of rest. Here clearly the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th correspond to the same day of the week; but how does the 19th fall into the series? It appears to me,—though I must admit that I only make a guess in the matter, knowing of no independent evidence to favour the idea,—that the 19th day of a month became a day of rest as being the forty-ninth day from the beginning of the preceding month. It was, in fact, from the preceding month, the seventh seventh day, or the sabbath of sabbaths. So to regard it, however,—that is, to make the 19th day of one month the forty-ninth from the beginning of the preceding,—it is necessary that the length of the month should be regarded as thirty days (the difference between forty-nine days and nineteen).

While in any nation the month and its subdivisions would thus, in all probability, be dealt with,—the week almost inevitably becoming for a while at least a measure of time, and in most cases remaining so long in use as to obtain an unshaken hold on the people from the mere

* The five days' period has as great an advantage over the week in more exactly dividing the year, as it has in dividing the month, since, while fifty-two weeks fall short of a year by nearly a day and a quarter, seventy-three periods of five days only fall short of a year by a quarter of a day. But the number 52 has the great advantage over 73 of being subdivisible into four thirteens.

effect of custom,—another way of dealing with the moon's motions would certainly have been recognized.

Watching the moon, night after night, men would soon perceive that she travels among the stars. It is not easy to determine, from *à priori* considerations, at what particular stage of observational progress the stars, which are scattered over the background on which the heavenly bodies travel, would be specially noticed as objects likely to help men in the measurement of time, the determination of seasons, and so forth. On the whole it seems likely that the observation of the stars for this purpose would come rather later than the first rough determinations of the year, and therefore considerably later (if the above reasoning is just) than the determination of the month. The suitability of the stars for many purposes connected with the measurement of time is not a circumstance which obtrudes itself on the attention. Many years might well pass before men would notice that at the same season of the year the same stars are seen at corresponding hours of the night; for this is less striking than the regular variation of the sun's altitude, &c., as the year progresses. This would be true even if we assumed that from the beginning certain marked star groups were recognized and remembered at each return to particular positions on the sky. But it is unlikely that this happened until long after such rough observations as I have described above had made considerable progress. There is only one group of stars respecting which any exception can probably be made,—viz., the Pleiades, a group which, being both conspicuous and unique in the heavens, must very early have been recognized and remembered. But even in the case of the Pleiades (though almost certainly it was not only the first known star group, while most probably it was the object which led to the first precise determination of the year's length) a considerable time must have passed before the regular return of the group, at times corresponding to particular parts of the year or seasons, was recognized by shepherds and tillers of the soil. Certainly the moon's motions must have been earlier noted.

So soon, however, as men had begun to study the fixed stars, to group them into constellations, and to watch the motions of these groups athwart the heavens, hour by hour, and (at the same hour) night by night, they would note with interest the motions of their special time-measurer, the moon, amongst the stars.

They would find first that the moon circuits the stellar heavens always in the same direction; namely, from west to east, or in the direction contrary to that of the apparent diurnal motion which she shares with all the celestial bodies. A very few months would show that, speaking generally, the moon keeps to one track round the heavens; but possibly, even in so short a time, close observers would perceive that she had slightly deviated from the course she had at first pursued. After a time this would be clearly seen, and probably the observers of those days may have supposed for a while that the

moon, getting farther and farther from her original track, would eventually travel on a quite different path. But with the further progress of time, she would be found slowly to return to it. And in the course of many years it would be found that her path lies always, not in a certain track round the celestial sphere, but in a certain zone or band some twenty moon-breadths wide—to which no doubt a special name would be given. It was in reality the mid-zone of the present zodiac, which is about thirty-five moon-breadths' wide. The central track of the moon's zone, which may be called the lunar zodiac, is in reality the track of the sun round the heavens. But the recognition of the moon's zone would long precede either the determination of the sun's path among the stars or that of the zodiac or planetary highway. The distinction between the sun and moon in this respect is well indicated in Job's words, "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness,"—the brightness of the sun preventing man from determining his real course till astronomy as a science had made considerable progress, whereas the track of the moon among the stars is obvious to every one who watches the moon, either from night to night or even for a few hours on any one night. The motions of the planets, again, and indeed the very recognition of these wandering stars, belong to an astronomy much more advanced than that which we have been here dealing with.

Watching the moon's progress along her zone of the stellar heavens night after night, the observers would perceive that she completes the circuit in less than a month. Before many months had passed they would have determined the period of these circuits as between twenty-seven and twenty-eight days. It is very likely that at first, while their estimate of the true period was as yet inexact, they would suppose that it lasted exactly four weeks. We must remember that the natural idea of the earlier observers would be that the motions of the various celestial bodies did in reality synchronize in some way, though how those motions synchronized might not easily be discovered. They would suppose, and as a matter of fact we know they did suppose, that the sun and moon and stars were made to be for signs and seasons and for days and months and years. To imagine that the celestial machinery contrived for man's special benefit was in any sense imperfect would have appeared very wicked. They would thus be somewhat in the position of a person for whom a clockmaker had constructed a very elaborate and ingenious clock, showing a number of relations, as the progress of the day, the hour, the minute, the second, the years, the months, the seasons, the tides, and so forth, but with no explanation of the various dials. The owner of the clock would be persuaded that all the various motions indicated on the dials were intended for his special enlightenment, though he would be unable for a long time to make out their meaning, or might fail altogether. So the first observers of the heavens must have been thoroughly assured that the

movements of the sun, moon, planets, and stars were for measures of time, and therefore synchronized (though in long periods) with each other. We recognize a wider system (a nobler scheme, one might say, if this did not imply a degree of knowledge which we do not really possess) in the actual motions of the celestial bodies. But with the men of old times it was different.

Most probably, then, perceiving that the moon completes her circuit of the stellar heavens in a day or two less than a lunar month, they would suppose that it was *this* motion which the moon completes in twenty-eight days. Nor would they detect the error of this view so readily as the student of modern astronomy might suppose. The practice of carrying on cycle after cycle till a great number have been completed in order to ascertain the true length of the cycle, obvious though it now appears to us, would not be at all an obvious resource to the first observers of the heavens. Of course, if this method had been employed, it would soon have shown that the moon's circuit of the stellar heavens is accomplished in less than twenty-eight days. The excess of two-thirds of a day in each circuit would mount up to many days in many circuits, and would then be recognized,—while after very many months the exact value of the excess would be determined. This, however, is a process belonging to much later times than those we are considering. Watching the moon's motions among the stars during one lunation, the observer, unless very careful, would note nothing to suggest that she is travelling round at the rate of more than a complete circuit in twenty-eight days. If he divided her zone into twenty-eight equal parts, corresponding to her daily journey, and as soon as she first appeared as a new moon began to watch her progress through such of these twenty-eight divisions as were visible at the time (those on the sun's side of the heavens would of course not be visible), she would seem to travel across one division in twenty-four hours very nearly. As she herself obliterates from view, all but the brighter stars, it would be all the more difficult to recognize the slight discrepancy actually existing,—the fact really being that she requires only twenty-three hours and about twenty-six minutes to traverse a station, a discrepancy large enough in time, but corresponding to very little progress on the moon's part among the stars. Then in the next month the observation would simply be repeated, no comparison being made between the moon's position among the stars when first seen in one month and that which she had attained when last seen in the preceding month. If this were done—and this seems the natural way of observing the moon's motions among the stars when astronomy was yet but young—the discrepancy between the period of circuit and four weeks would long remain undetected. So long as this was the case, the moon's roadway among the stars would be divided into twenty-eight daily portions.

Accordingly, we find, in the early astronomy of nearly all nations a lunar zodiac divided into twenty-eight constellations or luna

mansions. The Chinese called the zodiac the Yellow Way, and divided it into twenty-eight *nakshatras*. These divisions or mansions were not neatly or precisely defined, but, precisely as we should expect from the comparative roughness of a system of astronomy in which alone they could appear at all, were irregular divisions, straggling far on either side of the ecliptic, which should be the central circle of the lunar roadway among the stars. The mansions were named from the brightest stars in each; and we are told that the sixteenth mansion was named *Vichaca*, from a star in the Northern Crown, a constellation almost as distant from the ecliptic as the horizon is from a point half-way towards the point overhead.

A similar division of the older zodiac was adopted by Egyptian, Arabian, Persian, and Indian astronomers. The Siamese, however, only reckoned twenty-seven, with from time to time an extra one, called *Abigitten*, or the intercalary mansion. It would, appear, however, from some statements in their books, that they had twenty-eight lunar constellations for certain classes of observation. Probably, therefore, the use of twenty-seven, with an occasional intercalary mansion, belonged to a later period of their astronomical system, when more careful observations than the earlier had shown them that the moon circuits the stellar heavens in about twenty-seven and one-third days.

It is important to observe that astronomers were thus apt to change their usage, dropping either wholly or in great part the use of arrangements found to be imperfect. For, noting this, we shall have less difficulty in understanding how the twenty-eight lunar mansions of the older astronomy gave place entirely among the Chaldeans to the twelve signs of the zodiac—that is, the parts of the zodiac traversed day by day by the moon gave place to the parts of the zodiac traversed month by month by the sun. Because the Chaldean astronomy has not the twenty-eight lunar mansions, it is commonly assumed that this way of dividing the zodiac was never used by them. But this conclusion cannot safely be adopted. On the contrary, what we have already ascertained respecting the Chaldean use of the week, besides what we should naturally infer from *à priori* considerations, suggests that in the first instance they, like other nations, divided the zodiac into twenty-eight parts; but that later, recognizing the inaccuracy of this arrangement, they abandoned it, and adopted the solar zodiacal signs.

This corresponds closely with what the Persian astronomers are known to have done. We read that “the twenty-eight divisions among the Persians (of which it may be noticed that the second was formed by the Pleiades, and called *Pervis*) soon gave way to the twelve, the names of which, recorded in the works of Zoroaster, and therefore not less ancient than he, were not quite the same as those now used. They were the Lamb, the Bull, the Twins, the Crab, the Lion, the Ear of Corn, the Balance, the Scorpion, the Bow, the Sea Goat, the Watering Pot, and the Fishes. The Chinese also formed a

set of twelve zodiacal signs, which they named the Mouse, the Cow, the Tiger, the Hare, the Dragon, the Serpent, the Horse, the Sheep, the Monkey, the Cock, the Dog, and the Pig.

It appears to me not unlikely that the change from lunar to solar astronomy, from the use of the month and week as chief measures of time to the more difficult but much more scientific method of employing the year for this purpose, was the occasion of much ceremonial observance among the Chaldæan astronomers. Probably elaborate preparations were made for the change, and a special time chosen for it. We should expect to find that this time would have very direct reference to the Pleiades, which must have been the year-measuring constellation as certainly as the moon had earlier been the time-measuring orb. It has long seemed to me that it is to this great change, which certainly took place, and must have been a most important epoch in astronomy, that we must refer those features of ancient astronomy which have commonly been regarded as pointing to the origin of the science itself. I cannot regard it as a reasonable, still less as a probable assumption, that astronomy sprang full formed into being, as the ordinary theories on this subject would imply. Great progress must have been made, and men carefully trained in mathematical as well as observational astronomy must for centuries have studied the subject, before it became possible to decide upon those fundamental principles and methods which have existed from the days of the Chaldæan astronomers even until now. As to the epoch of the real beginning of astronomy, then, we have, in my opinion, no means of judging. The epoch to which we really can point with some degree of certainty—the year 2170 B.C. or thereabouts—must belong, not to the infancy of astronomy, but to an era when the science had made considerable progress.

I have said that we should expect to find the introduction of the new astronomy, the rejection of the *week* as an astronomical period in favour of the *year*, to be marked by some celestial event having special reference to the Pleiades, the year-measuring star-group. Whether the *à priori* consideration here indicated is valid or not, may perhaps be doubtful; but it is certain the epoch above mentioned *is* related to the Pleiades in a quite unmistakable manner. For at that epoch, *quam proximè*, through the effects of that mighty gyrational movement of the earth which causes what is termed the precession of the equinoxes, the star Alcyone, the brightest of the Pleiades and nearly central in the group, was carried to such a position that when the spring began the sun and Alcyone rose to their highest in the southern skies at the same instant of time.

Be this, however, as it may, it seems abundantly clear that quite early in the progress of astronomy, the more scientific and observant must have recognized the unfitness of the week as an astronomical measure of time. With the disappearance of the week from astronomical systems (the lunar "quarters" being retained, however) the

week may be considered to have become what it now is for ourselves a civil and in some sense a religious time-measure. That it should retain its position in this character was to be expected, if we consider the firm hold which civil measures once established obtain among the generality of men, and the still greater constancy with which men retain religious observances. A struggle probably took place between astronomers and the priesthood when first the solar zodiac came into use instead of the lunar stations, and when an effort was made to get rid of the week as a measure of time. This seems to me to be indicated by many passages in certain more or less mythological records of the race through whom (directly) the week has descended to us. But this part of the subject introduces questions which cannot be satisfactorily dealt with without a profound study of those records in their mythological sense, and a thorough investigation of philological relations involved in the subject. Such researches, accompanied by the careful discussion of all such astronomical relations as were found to be involved, would, I feel satisfied, be richly rewarded. More light will be thrown on the ancient systems of astronomy and astrology by the careful study of some of the Jewish Scriptures, and clearer light will be thrown on the meaning of these books by the consideration of astronomical and astrological relations associated with them, than has heretofore been supposed. The key to much that was mysterious in the older systems of religion has been found in the consideration that to man as first he rose above the condition of savagery, the grander objects and processes of nature—earth, sea, and sky, clouds and rain, winds and storms, the earthquake and the volcano, but, above and beyond all, the heavenly bodies with their stately movements, their inextricably intermingled periods, their mystical symbolisms—all these must have appeared as themselves divine, until a nobler conception presented them as but parts of a higher and more mysterious Whole. In all the ancient systems of religion we have begun to recognize the myths which had their birth in those first natural conceptions of the Child-man. To this rule the ancient religious system of the Hebrew race was no exception; but from their Chaldaean ancestors they derived a nature-worship relating more directly to the heavenly bodies than that of nations living under less constant skies, and to whom other phenomena were not less important, and therefore not less significant of power, than the phenomena of the starry heavens. So soon as we thus recognize that Hebrew myths would, of necessity, be more essentially astronomical than those of other nations, we perceive that the Hebrew race was not unlike other early races in having no mythology, as Max Müller thought, but possessed a mythology less simply and readily interpreted than that of other nations. It would, however, take me far from my special subject at present to deal further with the considerations to which it has here led me. I may, however, before long endeavour to show reason for my belief.

RICHARD A. PROCTOR.

CONSPIRACIES IN RUSSIA.

*"Nein, eine Gränze hat Tyrannemacht.
Wenn der Gedrückte nirgends Recht kann finden,
Wenn unerträglich wird die Last—greift er
Hinauf getrostes Muthes in den Himmel
Und holt herunter seine ew'gen Rechte,
Die droben hangen unerlöserlich
Und unzerbrechlich, wie die Sterne selbst—
Der alte Urstand der Natur kehrt wieder,
Wo Mensch dem Menschen gegenüber steht—
Zum letzten Mittel, wenn kein andres mehr
Verfungen will, ist ihm das Schwert gegeben—
Der Güter höchstes dürfen wir vertheid'gen
Gegen Gewalt."*

SCHILLER'S *Teil*.

I.

ALURID light has suddenly been shed upon the condition of Russia by the startling events of the last few months. Tragic deeds follow each other with bewildering swiftness. The most eccentric flight of fancy does not now suffice to gather in the full picture of the dramatic rapidity with which, in the Czar's dominions, horrors accumulate upon horror's head. Sick of a so-called "paternal government" which combines Mongol cruelty with all the deleterious subtleness of "a culture that was rotten before it had become ripe," Russian malcontents resort to a mode of warfare such as outraged human nature, in its despair, is wont to adopt against a relentless foe. Men's eyes may look in sadness upon a spectacle which has the appearance of a ghastly midnight reflex from the mythic Nibelungen Massacre. But of the fatal moving cause and connection of those acts of violence none can doubt who keeps in mind the course that has hitherto marked Russian history.

It has come to this at last, that he who was extolled as a "Divine Figure from the North," is now looked upon, by the best portion of his own people, as an "unspeakable" despot. His corrupt, venal, unscrupulous minions are ruthlessly shot down, stabbed, strangled, at the order of a secret *Vehme*, as "the one great anti-human specimen of humanity." All illusion is dispelled. The contrasts face each other with determined mien, with pitiless action. "Terror for Terror!" is the acknowledged programme of those who strike out for deliverance from a galling thralldom. The Autocrat replies with fresh cruelties; he only widens thereby the circle of his foes. Everywhere the hand of the invisible League turns up—in the public street, in the places of popular amusement, in the midst of a brilliant social gathering, in the office of the merchant and the banker, in the bureaux of the police; ay, in the barrack-room, and in the very cabinets of the Czar and the Heir Apparent.

It is a perfect revelation to many men not conversant with Muscovite history, this extraordinary spirit of secret leaguings in Russia. People are amazed to hear of occult political associations in the new as well as in the older capitals of the Czar's Empire—at St. Petersburg, at Moscow, at Kieff,—not to speak of Kharkoff, Odessa, and other towns of the east and the south. Yet we need not go farther back than the first part of the present century, in order to find precedents for Secret Societies—strong, remarkable precedents, little or scarcely known here, but of deep import for Russia's present and future. There is a conspiratory tradition in the interest of Liberalism or Democracy even in the ice-bound atmosphere of the northern realm. The events of the present day are but a revival—a revival on a more extensive scale. Now, all history proves that when a movement thus enters a second stadium with increased energy, the chances of its final success augment, progressively, in a threefold and fourfold proportion.

Germany, too, has had her patriotic and revolutionary conspiracies since the beginning of this century. It has sometimes been said that the open-hearted Teuton does not incline to plotting. As a rule, this is true. As a rule, few nations incline at all that way. Dire necessity only drives them into a secret *Bund* or a *Venta*; and then these hidden leagues have their justification in the stress of circumstances. From the days of Armin, the Liberator of Germany from the Roman yoke, to those of the Swiss patriots, the Peasant Unions of the sixteenth century, known as "The League of the Laced Shoe" and "The Poor Konrad," and down to our times, Germans also have now and then largely resorted to occult organizations of freemen.

They conspired against the Napoleonic yoke with Dörnberg, Schill, and Hofer—and, chief of all, with Baron Stein. They conspired after the restoration of their national independence, when the simplest liberties were denied them by ungrateful princes; hundreds of men distinguished by learning or position—not to speak of the thousands of obscurer patriots—becoming the prey at that time of royal persecution. Again, they conspired before those great risings of 1848-49, which for a while brought the occupants of the thrones down on their knees, and, in spite of the subsequent reaction, successfully did away with many of the worst abuses. Whatever progress Germany has made on the road towards Union and Freedom, has been foreshadowed, prepared, and furthered by secret confederacies like the *Tugend-Bund*; the patriotic Students' Associations (*Burschenschaften*) which aimed at the restoration of the Empire or the establishment of a Republican Commonwealth; "The League of the Free;" "The Association of Germans;" "The Union of the Proscribed;" "The German League of Justice;" and kindred brotherhoods. Countless have been the victims of a Royal and Imperial Inquisition which pried by its spies into the patriotic fraternities, and often swept hundreds of members, together with masses of wrongly suspected people, into its widespread nets. But not in vain has been the martyrdom of

these men. From a soil fruitfully watered by their blood—from the dreary walls of their ghastly dungeons—from the weary paths of their hopeless exile, many a sweet flower has sprung up, whose bright colour and fragrance gladden a generation which knows little of the sufferings of its sires.

The same with France and Italy. There also, the Democratic and national spirit, driven in by sanguinary royal reactions, found a refuge, and set up centres of organization, in clandestine folk-motes of free-men, until the moment came when action in the light of day became possible. Cavour himself acknowledged, after his success, "I have been a conspirator my whole life long!" Yet, what comparison could he bear, in that respect, with the Apostle of Italian Freedom and Union, the whilom Triumvir of the Roman Republic, to whom a deeply-rent nation—a "mere geographical expression," in Metternich's contemptuous words—owes the secret organization of that Sicilian campaign which, under the subsequent glorious headship of the Leader of the Thousands, for the first time rendered a United Italy possible!

II.

The successful precedents of Germany, France, and Italy have something of a counterpart in Russia. I refer to the conspiracies under Alexander I. and Nicholas, in which men of the highest social rank and of eminent position in the Administration and the Army, men connected with the Government and the Court, noblemen of historic families, and officers whom the Czar had fully trusted, were deeply implicated.

One of them, who has given valuable details of those early movements, I met abroad, years ago. When I made his acquaintance, it was little expected—though all the rest of Europe was in commotion through popular uprisings against princely misrule—that any corresponding movement could originate in Russia. Ages of uncontested oppression seemed to be before her as her unavoidable lot. For nearly a quarter of a century after his triumph over the insurrection of December, 1825, Nicholas had held the country in his iron grip. It was as if the very soul of the Russian nation were crushed. Fortunately, the mad ambition of that tyrant brought upon him the retaliation of Europe. Striking out for universal dominion through an attack upon Constantinople—whose conquest has been the secular aim, not of the down-trodden Russian nation, but of a series of her despots, heathen and Christian, ever since the ninth century—he was deservedly foiled; leaving to his successor the legacy of an Empire deeply shaken—in which the seeds of dissatisfaction rapidly germinated, though at first in underground darkness.

Many may have forgotten it, some may pretend not to know it, but it is a plain fact that the Crimean War acted upon Russia, in a notable degree, as a liberating solvent. Defeat brought the irresponsible rule of Czardom into very serious difficulties. Even as, in 1870, the

Napoleonic disaster led to French freedom, so the capture of Sebastopol gave rise to a movement in Russia, which aimed at the introduction of representative government, together with the abolition of serfdom. The new Autocrat—himself, like his predecessors, an extensive slaveholder through his Crown-Peasants—tried to fence off the danger to his sovereign privilege by suddenly making friends with the serfs. Of this more will have to be said in a subsequent article. Let it suffice to state here that he became a Liberator of the *mujiks*, the better to hold the educated classes in continued political subjection. But it is ill fighting against the currents of the time. After some twenty years of apparent success of this crafty policy, political aspirations once more rise strongly to the surface.

In vain did Alexander II. seek to divert the feeling of the nation from pressing home-questions to glorious military enterprises abroad. In vain he strove to uphold the prestige of success, without which Autocracy cannot live, at all hazards and at all costs to humanity—committing ruthless barbarities in the Caucasus, in Poland, and in Turkestan, to which further unspeakable atrocities were added in the recent campaign against Turkey. It is all of no avail. In the very hour of his triumph the wall-writing appears which foretells his doom.

I believe there can be no doubt that the unprovoked attack upon the Ottoman Empire—made in the midst of an attempt at a parliamentary reform on the basis of the civil and political equality of races and creeds—had little, if any, support among the Liberal, none among the advanced or Democratic, elements in Russia. By them it was felt that that attack was the usual device of a hard-driven despotism which tries to get rid of internal complications by blood-letting abroad. Had the Porte been allowed to work out its reforms in peace, Russian Liberals would have been able to retort upon their own Oppressor by asking him for "Freedom as in Turkey," even as French Democrats, under Napoleon III., asked for "Freedom as in Austria." The fact of an Ottoman representative government having been established at Constantinople through students' (Softas') demonstrations and popular risings against despotic and incapable Sultans, one of whom was deposed after the other, would have strengthened the hands of the progressive parties at St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kieff. Hence I think—and I do not say it lightly—that the Czar's anti-Turkish crusade was looked upon with deep inward aversion by the more energetic revolutionists.

Still, some of them inclined to the belief that, one way or the other, the war would have the effect of shaking the autocratic edifice. In war, the rottenness, the corruption, the venality, the inefficiency of the Administration, civil and military, would come out. Heavy sacrifices in blood and treasure would have to be made by the people. Dissatisfaction would therefore increase. When death is to be faced, when sufferings are to be undergone by hundreds of thousands, men become bolder in

thought and action. A better chance would thus offer itself for agitation among the masses, otherwise so stolid in Russia. The Czar and the Grand Dukes would have to go to the scene of war—to stay there for a length of time, especially if things went wrong. Who knew what might be done in such a case among a mutinous army on foreign soil, and an angered population at home?

Victory itself was similarly discounted. After a triumph gained with enormous sacrifices for the alleged deliverance of the Bulgars, the Russians would have a good claim for their own emancipation. If Alexander then refused to the Russian people its right of self-government, as he was sure to do, the revolutionary party would be strengthened. So, whether the Czar vanquished the Sultan, or the Sultan the Czar, or "each did kill the other," every way some gain was hoped for by men whom wild despair had made reckless as to the use of means.

Had England and Austria-Hungary, in alliance with reformed Turkey, made a combined push against Russia, when her weakened forces lay before Plevna, the event would have been hailed with ill-disguised pleasure by the leaders of the Secret Societies. It would have brought matters to a crisis. The Czar, at that time, dared not return to Moscow, lest the demand for a Charter should be presented to him on the point of militia bayonets, respectfully arrayed for his reception. It was a great historical opportunity, that long siege of Plevna; but it was lost, so far as English interests are concerned, through divided counsels here.

A year ago, a distinguished English statesman, an ex-Cabinet Minister, who has taken a prominent part, though generally in a moderate sense, in the discussions on the Eastern Question, asked me, in presence of others, "whether, in the case of foreign intervention in the East, there would not have been a great patriotic rally among Russian revolutionists themselves?" I answered "that, to the best of my belief, an active opposition of European Powers to the war-policy of the Czar would have found allies in Russia, and that the present revolutionary party there must not be judged by precedents taken from other and dissimilar cases."

What has happened since June last is, I think, calculated to show the correctness of this appreciation. The Eastern Question is immaterial to the so-called Nihilists. They disliked its being raised; they have no enthusiasm for its results. They use the complications arising out of it one way or the other, according to circumstances. And the majority, albeit by no means holding (as is often erroneously thought) Internationalist or Social Democratic views, would certainly have preferred seeing Autocracy put to straits from abroad, in order to get greater elbow-room for themselves within, so as to be able to lift Czardom from its base by the parallelogram of forces. This attitude of the Russian revolutionists is to be explained from two considerations which act upon them with major force. First, they feel that the Empire is already an

unwieldy, overgrown one, which becomes less and less fit for free institutions the more it succeeds in annexing further foreign races, whom the Czar plays out against the Russians, or against each other, whenever reforms are called for. Secondly, they know that the widely scattered, ignorant peasantry of Muscovy proper are difficult to reach and to organize for political objects, whilst in the comparatively few larger towns in which progressive sentiments pulsate, Government employs a reign of terror against the freedom-loving class.

In such a situation the Party of Action would have been glad to see Government checked in its conquering career by foreign Powers, thereby disparaged in the eyes of the country, and thus rendered liable to defeat at home. A beaten army is often rebelliously inclined. At all events, it is rather a doubtful instrument for internal repression. For various reasons the "Nihilists" would consequently not have objected to a repetition of the lesson given to Czardom in the Crimean War.

III.

Another circumstance, connected with the traditional policy of Russian monarchs, is to be taken into account. It is an old and well-kept rule in their State Councils that neighbouring countries must not be permitted to reorganize themselves in such a way as to strengthen the impediments to encroachment, or to provoke the envy of the Russian people. Thus Poland was accused of intolerable anarchy, in order to get a pretext for her dismemberment. Yet, no sooner did Poland reform her Constitution in a truly Liberal sense than she was charged with being a "hotbed of Jacobinism" and struck from the roll of nations. In the same way, the intervention of the Emperor Nicholas in Hungary had the twofold object of preventing the Magyar Commonwealth from becoming an even more dangerous stumblingblock to Panslavist advance and a virtual reproach to the continuance of the autocratic system in Russia. Sweden, another parliamentary country, was for a similar double reason robbed of Finland. Against Turkey the scheme of procedure has always been laid down with cynical openness. During the war of 1828-29, Count Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian ambassador at Paris, plainly wrote in a despatch that all hesitation of his Government as to whether Turkey ought to be attacked was at an end as soon as the Emperor saw that the reforms just introduced by the Porte would have the effect of consolidating the Ottoman Empire.

The despatch of Pozzo di Borgo goes on:—"The Emperor has put the Turkish system to the proof, and His Majesty has found it to possess a commencement of physical and moral organization which it hitherto had not. If the Sultan has been enabled to offer us a more determined and regular resistance, whilst he had scarcely assembled together the elements of his new plan of reform and ameliorations, how formidable should we have found him *had he had time to give it more*

solidity, and to render that barrier impenetrable which we found so much difficulty in surmounting, although Art has hitherto done so little to assist Nature! Things being in this state, we must congratulate ourselves upon having attacked them (the Turks) before they became dangerous to us; for delay would only have rendered our relative situation worse, and prepared us greater obstacles than those with which we met."

Can anything be clearer? And is there not a perfect counterpart to this Macchiavelism in the arguments mentioned in a despatch which Mr. Layard sent to the Earl of Derby, under date of May 30, 1877? There we read:—"A Russian gentleman observed to me: 'Russia looks upon the establishment of a Constitution and a Parliament by the Turkish Government as an insult and a defiance to her. Their existence would alone furnish us with a sufficient reason to make war upon Turkey. We will never consent to be the only Power left in Europe without Constitutional institutions; and as we are not yet prepared for them, *we cannot, it is evident, allow Turkey to have them.*'"

Could more convincing proofs be required that it is in the interest of Europe to see Russia thrown into the path of radical political reforms, so that the incubus of an aggressive despotism ever plotting in the dark might be lifted from our part of the world? This European interest coincides with the wish of the most resolute parties at present active in Russia. A change has in this respect come over the dream of her propagandists. Alexander Herzen, who passed for a "revolutionist," worked in his time for the Panslavist cause and for the conquest of Constantinople; pointing out even Vienna as a legitimate object of Russian ambition, and speaking of Czars as if they were revolutionary dictators to whom a historical task was given! These strange ideas are often found to underlie his apparently most Democratic language. In private, he now and then would avow such views in even bolder words, into which his impetuous character allowed itself to be betrayed on slight provocation. The transition from him to Katkoff, of the *Moscow Gazette*—his rival in influence, and adversary in agitation—was therefore not so abrupt as may at first sight appear.

On their part, the present Russian revolutionists are dead against Chauvinism. In one of their organs they plainly said after the recent war:—"No longer do we mean to tolerate a rule of satraps, after we have sacrificed more than 300,000 lives for doing away with a Government in Bulgaria which was *far more humane, far more liberal and honourable than this vile Mongol system which tyrannizes over us.* The Russian people will not be so foolish as to permit itself to be led again to the shambles for the sake of foreigners, whilst its own condition is a far more miserable one than that of the Bulgars, whom the *impostors of Moscow* had written up as 'brethren' of ours. Does a Russian peasant possess a house and farm similar to those which Bulgarian peasants own? And when had Turkey ever such tyrants as Kleinmichel,

Murawieff, Trepoff, or Mesentzoff, who in Russia may be counted by the hundred? We are the unhappiest people on the earth, and our misfortune is the existence of Czardom."

Such was the language of the *Journal of the Revolution*, shortly after the stipulations of San Stefano. Since then, the secret leaders have seen fit to address themselves more specially to the army, in a slightly altered tone. In doing so by an Appeal issued a few weeks since, they introduced words such as men who have bled for their country always like to hear. The Appeal contains the following passages:—

"There is a power in Russia which might serve the cause of freedom and hasten its triumph; and this power is the army. It, too, had of late to undergo all the sufferings arising from the prevailing system of government. Can the army already have forgotten what it passed through, and not have understood the cause of the evil? Its present condition is a much worse one than that in which the Russian army found itself after its return from the Napoleonic Wars of 1813-15. Then it saw, on coming back, the country under a state of siege and the people in misery. Now, our soldiers meet with famished peasants; deficits; an enslaved nation; a public exchequer robbed by frauds; schools under the administration of intriguing bigots; and a dominant rule of spies, with whom, through the enactments of the new ukase on the courts-martial for political offences, even members of the Imperial family are now associated. The brave warriors of the Shipka Pass, the sufferers of the crossing of the Balkans, are employed for shameful executions against poor tillers of the soil and starving workmen. To the officer who escaped from death at the terrible attack upon Plevna, it may happen that he must shoot down his own sister who perchance takes part in a street demonstration of the discontented population; or that he has to march, in military step, over the grave of his own brother whose body was riddled with bullets in consequence of a denunciation launched against him by an infamous secret police. What a terrible situation! Among the heroes of the Napoleonic Wars there were men who could not bear such a state of things. They formed Political Unions tending to a change of the system of government in Russia. The same, with the necessary modifications required by our own circumstances, ought to be done now within the army, if it still counts men of noble heart and of high intellect in its ranks. Now there is a better prospect of success than there was in 1815-25, because now it is not the aristocracy and the officers alone who will act. Sooner or later the despotism that weighs upon us must fall, though the crisis may last a long time and the victims may be many. It depends upon all honourable and thinking men of the army to facilitate the decision and to hasten the end of the crisis."

These words, containing as they do a characteristic reference to the conspiracies under Alexander I. and Nicholas, mark a fresh departure in the revolutionary Propaganda of Action. A tradition is here appealed to, which had become somewhat obscured in the mind of the younger generation in Russia, and of which but little is known to the general public out of the Northern Empire. In the warfare of parties of action, traditions of this kind are valuable. A consciousness of the struggles of the past, a sympathetic remembrance of the bygone champions, an intelligent understanding of the reasons of their temporary failure, are apt to embolden men, to fill their hearts with sacred fire, and to strengthen their confidence in the coming triumph of a cause which has been "bequeathed from bleeding sire to son."

The history of the Russian conspiracies and revolutionary risings of the earlier part of this century may, therefore, well be of interest at this moment. Its importance is all the greater because the doings of the Secret Leagues of those days, in which so many of the very *aristoi* of Russia were engaged, show in several respects a wonderful likeness to the procedure of the revolutionary party of the present day. A strong historical side-light is thus shed upon what is going on now.

IV.

Before proceeding to detail the conspiracies whose aim was to establish representative government in Russia, in the first part of this century, a rapid glance at the rise and origin of her despotic system may be of use. Thus only can we fully understand the fierceness which nerves men who look back upon the slavery of a thousand years to the most eccentric deeds of desperate resolution.

Mr. Gladstone, in an article in which he spoke of the "ample evidence of a just and philanthropic mind" in Alexander II., once described Russia as "nationally young." No greater historical error could be committed: Russia is an old country; and the tyranny of her rulers is of the most ancient date. Vainly does the eye search for a period of popular freedom in wandering over her Imperial annals. From the ninth to the nineteenth century, the grim darkness of the long Kimmurian night of her oppression is but relieved, here and there, by a pale star of nascent liberty, whose uncertain glitter, scarcely seen, rapidly vanishes away. At the very time of the formation of the Empire we meet with a dire despotism, "born with teeth in its head." And to this hour the same tyranny, only in crueller, more systematic form, holds the nation in an abject thralldom, against which the nobler minds among the better educated classes—before all, the aspiring youth—desperately carry on a desultory warfare.

The earliest chronicles of Russia show us a people subjugated by a foreign warrior sib, called Warangians, who came from the Germanic North. They were Norwegians, Swedes, Angles, and Goths, led by chieftains whose names are all of the clearest Teutonic type. It was Rurik, with his brothers Sineus and Truvor, who laid the foundations of the realm in the ninth century, and gave the country its name and its institutions. Slav, Finnic, and Tatar tribes, dwelling between the Finnish Gulf and the upper course of the Dnieper, were combined by these Teutonic Warangians into a "Russian" kingdom. At that time, the word "Russiau" only signified the conquering race—even as the name of France arose out of that of the conquerors of Gaul, the German Franks. To this day, thirty-nine princely families in Russia assert their origin from the direct male line of Rurik. Among these families are the Gortchakoffs, and the Krapotkins, one of the latter of whom recently fell a victim to the Secret League, whilst another Krapotkin lives as an exile in Switzerland.

The institutions brought over by the Russo-Norman war-clan to the great Skythian plain, on which Fins, Slavs, and Turko-Tatars then dwelt, were of a semi-feudal kind. Still, they contained the germs of some of those liberties which we meet with among all early Teutonic tribes. Soon, however, the Russian Grand Princes, feeling little restraint for their lust of power among the easily yielding native races, became so thoroughly despotic as to show no trace of their original character as Germanic sib-heads, or *Kunings*. The native population at large was held by them in severe subjection. This slavery was turned into an even deeper degradation when Russia fell under the yoke of a second foreign dominion, namely, that of the Golden Horde—a Mongol tribe, whose Khans swayed Russia from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.

The Khanate, gradually collapsing through internal feuds, was supplanted by the Czardom of Muscovy. Slowly rising on the ruins of the power of the Golden Horde, it continued to govern in the spirit and with the administrative machinery of the Mongols. With the aid of Tatar mercenaries, the Czars broke down the few self-ruling communities which had in the meanwhile grown up in the North—such as Novgorod, the associate of the German Hanseatic League, Pskoff, and Tver. Though delivered from the harsh yoke of the Tatars, Russia was not to enjoy any liberty. Her monarchs established everywhere the dead level of oppression. No representative institutions were allowed, by which the nation could make its voice regularly heard. The will of the Autocrat was supreme.

Herberstein, an envoy of the German Empire, who visited Russia soon after the withdrawal of the Mongols, wrote with utter astonishment:—"The Grand Prince speaks, and everything is done; the life, the property, of the laymen and the clergy, of the nobles and the citizens, all depend on his supreme will. He knows of no contradiction, and everything appears in him just, as in God; for the Russians are convinced that the Grand Prince is the fulfiller of the heavenly decrees. 'God and the Prince have willed it!' are the ordinary expressions among them. . . ." "I do not know," Herberstein adds with philosophical sadness, "whether it is the character of the Russian nation which has formed such Autocrats, or whether the Autocrats have stamped this character upon the nation!"*

Exactly the same picture is given a century later by the French captain Margeret,† who had long served the Russians during the Civil Wars. Speaking of the State Council he says:—"There is no fixed number to this Council; for it entirely depends on the Emperor‡ to appoint as many of them as it pleases him. The Secret Council, when

* *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii*. Vienna: 1549.

† *Etat de l'Empire de Russie et Grand Duché de Moscovie*. Paris: 1607.

‡ This title, as I have shown in a special essay in *Fraser*, of June, 1876 ("The Russian Imperial Title: a Forgotten Page of History"), was not founded for the first time in 1721, but had already been in use before, towards the end of the sixteenth century.

matters of high importance are at issue, is usually composed of the nearest relatives of Imperial blood. By way of outward form, the advice of the Church dignitaries is taken, the Patriarch being summoned to the Council with some bishops. But, properly speaking, there is neither law nor Council. There is nothing but the will of the Emperor, be it good or bad, which is free to waste everything with fire and sword, and to strike alike the innocent and the guilty. I hold him to be one of the most absolute princes in the world; for all the inhabitants of the country, whether nobles or commoners, even the Emperor's own brothers, call themselves *clops hospodaro*—that is, slaves of the Emperor."

So hopeless was the bondage of the Russian nation, even at a time when, owing to the frequency of changes on the throne through long civil wars, one might have thought some independence of character would assert itself among the supporters of the different monarchs or pretenders rapidly succeeding, or fighting against, each other in the midst of endless plots.

v.

A few rare cases of the convocation of a special Assembly (*Zemskoi Sobor*, or *Zemskaja Duma*), for particular legislative purposes, must, however, be noted.

In 1549, that vicious and blood-stained tyrant, Ivan IV., or the Terrible, called an Assembly together for the discussion of a law-code. In these States-General—if that name can be given them—sat the highest Church dignitaries; the abbots of the first-class cloisters; and a number of great noblemen, or boyars. Among the elected members were the deputies of the clergy in town and country, as well as those of the nobility, of the merchants, and of the townsmen in general. Again, in 1556, when a war with Poland threatened to break out, Ivan IV. took the opinion of an Assembly for that special case.

At his death, in 1584, when his son Feodor, a sickly, half-witted prince, came to the throne, the advisers of that Czar once more convoked an Assembly. In the very same year, his brother-in-law, Boris Godunoff, who belonged to a Tatar family, practically assumed the governing power. Dissolving the Assembly, he ruled in the most absolute manner. In order to gain over the smaller landed proprietors, he added to this political tyranny the enslavement of that section of the peasantry which had not yet been serfs.

When the long civil wars and the rule of pretenders drew towards their end, some kind of States-General had of necessity to be convoked for the selection of a new dynasty. This happened in 1613, when Michael Romanoff, the young son of Philaret, the Metropolitan of Rostoff, was chosen. For a few years this Assembly continued to exist, but only with a consultative voice. Originally, Michael Romanoff had been selected by the States-General from the various candidates, on account of a letter produced before them, which purported to be

written by Philaret, and in which that Church dignitary was made to say that the Assembly ought not to confer autocratic power upon the monarch whom they should elect, but that the legislative power should be divided between the Czar, the House of Boyars, and the States-General. The oath imposed upon Michael Romanoff was therefore to the effect that he should neither decree laws nor declare war, nor conclude treaties of peace or alliance, nor inflict capital punishment or confiscation of property upon any person, except with the assent of the Boyars and the Parliament.

Philaret's letter, which had induced the Assembly to elect his son, was afterwards declared to be a forgery. The young Czar himself, a few years later, ordered the Charter of 1613 to be destroyed, and to be replaced by another, in which it is laid down that Michael Romanoff was elected Czar "*and Autocrat*" of all the Russias. In course of time, the convocation even of the merely consultative Assembly became less and less frequent. At last its existence ceased altogether. After 1682, no convocation took place—except once, under Catherine II., for a temporary object.

It is to these sporadic cases of States-General, if we may call them so, and to a Charter enshrouded in some historical doubt, that Russian Liberals have in our time, now and then, referred as to a precedent. At least they did so in writings published abroad; Russian censorship having forbidden the subject to be touched upon at all.

Peter I., Catherine I., Peter II., Anna, Elizabeth, Peter III., Catherine II., Paul I., Alexander I., Nicholas, Alexander II., all ruled on the strict autocratic principle. Peter I.—"the Great"—enlarged upon it by extending the liability to corporal punishment from the nobility, which was already subjected to the knout, to the Imperial family itself. He had his own sisters whipped! He put his own son to the torture, who died from it. A bestial reign—this reign of a gifted madman, who took a delight in chopping off the heads of a row of alleged political offenders, whilst quaffing brandy between each fatal stroke of his reddened axe. It was Sultanism with a vengeance.

VI.

What were the Russian nobility—the descendants of a proud and brave conquering race—doing in the meantime, in presence of these Saturnalia of Tyranny?

Strange to say, though humbled to the dust by an insane Autocracy, they did not wring the smallest political concession for their own order from the arrogant monarchical power—not even when women sat on the throne. All manly spirit seemed to have gone from them. True, at the death of Peter I., in 1725, some suspicion arose that there was a party among them which might try a *coup* for the sake of obtaining a Constitution, similar to the one in neighbouring Sweden or Poland. But the display of some guns, and the marching out of the Imperial

Guard by Prince Mentchikoff, with whose family she had once lived as a servant, sufficed to cow the would-be conspirators, and to insure the proclamation of Catherine I. as autocratic ruler. By origin, that Empress was a soldier's daughter from Livonia. First a housemaid; then alternately courtesan and mistress of a general, of a nobleman, and lastly of Czar Peter, she finally came to govern an Empire in true despotic fashion, with the aid of favourites; a degraded nobility slavishly dancing attendance upon her, even when she had become a helpless drunkard and debauchee.

When Peter II. died in 1730, the two leading ministers in the State Council—the Dolgorukoffs and the Galitzins—seemed to be intent at last upon limiting the power of the Crown. The supporters of merely oligarchical views and the friends of Constitutional aspirations were, however, at loggerheads. The result was, that a simple condition was imposed upon Anna, upon whom the Crown had been conferred, that she should follow in everything the advice of the Supreme State Council. Parliamentary institutions were not stipulated for. Anna subscribed to the terms; but a fortnight after her arrival she easily restored the autocratic system by a successful conspiracy and State-stroke of her own.

In 1740 we come upon a harrowing event. A Cabinet Minister, Volynski, was tried on the charge of having aimed at a diminution of the armed force of the State; of having (strange crime!) described that monster in human shape, Ivan the Terrible, as a tyrant; and—worst of all—of having praised the Polish form of government, whilst saying that “one had everything to fear from the absolutistic power in Russia.” Volynski had committed the imprudence of writing a “Project for the Reform of the Affairs of the State.” There were some historical remarks in it, which the Empress interpreted as a comparison between herself and Messalina. Such was her wrath that she looked upon all those who had read the memorandum as accomplices of the unfortunate Minister.

The revenge was terrible. It was done in the old Oriental style of Gengis Khan and Timur Lenk. Brought at the Czarina's order before a secret tribunal, mainly composed of military men, Volynski was sentenced to be impaled alive, after having his tongue cut out. His alleged accomplices were to be broken upon the wheel, or beheaded. His innocent children were condemned to exile for life.

In her great mercy, the Empress commuted these sentences in the following manner:—She ordained that Volynski was to have his tongue cut out, and then his right hand chopped off. His son was exiled to Siberia until the age of fifteen, then to be sent as a common soldier to a garrison in Kamtshatka. His daughters were to be kept in a convent under strict watch, and never to be allowed to issue from the cloister gates. Some of the so-called accomplices of the unhappy would-be reformer were beheaded, or transported as prisoners and exiles to distant parts of the country. This was her Imperial mercy.

It is said that the Empress fell afterwards into a state of extreme terror, thinking she was pursued at night by the mutilated, blood-bespattered phantom of her former Minister. On her death-bed she imagined seeing him standing before her in mute reproach. Unutterable fear agitated her at the seeming apparition. Let us hope that there was really enough conscience left in her to feel anguish at the remembrance of her fiendish deed!

In 1765, Catherine II., herself a most arbitrary ruler under a philosophical mask, read the documents of Volynski's trial. She left behind her an expression of disapproval, going so far even as to avow that the unfortunate sufferer had been "a good and zealous patriot, and an innocent man, who had unjustly suffered death." Still, the Autocratic form of government remained all the same under Catherine II.

VII.

We now come to more modern times, only to get deeper into Imperial horrors.

In 1775, Nathalie, the wife of the then Grand Duke Paul, a German princess from Hesse-Darmstadt, privately elaborated with Count Panin a Constitutional project. A woman of considerable intellect, she seems to have understood that this was the only means of closing the era of oligarchical plots and palace conspiracies ending in murder. Her plan provided for two Houses of Parliament; it had also the gradual emancipation of the serfs for its object. Panin himself, formerly Russian ambassador in Sweden, had acquired a great liking there for the parliamentary system. Still, even his project was rather of an oligarchical than of a really Constitutional nature; it would have limited the power of the Crown without conferring freedom upon the nation.

Catherine II., on hearing of this project, declared strongly against it. Soon afterwards, Nathalie died in child-bed, and a rumour spread of her death having been brought about by the midwife who had attended upon her. Considering the many violent deaths in the Imperial house of Russia, the rumour had nothing improbable in it, though no proof could be furnished in point of fact—except the somewhat strange circumstance that "this midwife amassed a great fortune, and that Prince Potemkin" (Catherine's favourite), "who was so haughty and so arrogant towards everybody, went from time to time on a visit to her."^{*} The mystery of Nathalie's death was followed by the revelation, through a heap of letters found in a secret drawer, of her intimate relations with Count Razumowski, once the friend of Paul, in his boyhood. Catherine II. had the cruelty to communicate these letters to her son, who from thence fell into an access of rage, soon culminating in occasional outbreaks of madness.

A slight hope there was, for a moment, of a Constitution being

* See Prince Dolgorukoff's *La Vérité sur la Russie*, from which some of the above details are taken.

obtained after the violent death of Paul I., brought upon him by a palace conspiracy.

He was the son of the unfortunate Peter III., who himself had been murdered at the instigation of his own wife, Catherine II. It was Count Orloff, the brother of the paramour of the Empress, who murdered Czar Peter. Tyrannic Autocrat as she was, Catherine, in her arbitrary dealings with men, yet preserved some outward politeness of form. In her successor, Paul, the absolutistic fury knew no bounds. "Sir," he once said to a French emigrant, "there is no nobleman, except the man to whom I deign to speak, and only as long as I speak to him!" Under this violent ruler, men were degraded beyond endurance. By a ukase he compelled all people that met him in their carriages to step down and kneel before him in the street. The slightest whisper of complaint marked a person as a candidate for transportation to Siberia. In his terrible fits of anger he did not even spare the dignity of his fellow-monarchs—as when, for instance, he challenged to duel every sovereign that would not declare war against England. Such a challenge, addressed to the King of Denmark, he had published in the Official Gazette of St. Petersburg. He was on the verge of downright insanity—as all princes are apt to be, whose violence of character is not reined in by any limitation of power.

The end was that ghastly nocturnal scene, when Paul, attacked by the conspirators, died of the well-known "apoplectic stroke." The midnight surprise originated with the Princes Suboff; Count Pahlen, the Governor-General of St. Petersburg; the Vice-Chancellor, Count Panin; General Uwaroff, and some others. They personally did the deed. Paul's son—the future Emperor Alexander I.—had been drawn into the plot. He gave his assent to a demand for his father's abdication; promising, it is said, by word of mouth, that if he himself were placed on the throne he would grant a Charter.

It was easy to foresee what result the demand for Paul's abdication would have. Nobody expected that this proud Muscovite Sultan, whose reason was always overmastered by his wrathful impetuosity, would yield to a threat. So the issue of the assault upon his autocratic privilege could not be doubtful in his son's mind. The Czar's bedroom had but a single door. The door towards the Empress's apartments he had shortly before had walled up, expecting danger from that direction. This proved a help to the conspirators. When the monarch, driven to bay, jumped up from his couch with drawn sword, trying to reach the window, they surrounded, throttled, and battered him into such a hideous, mutilated mass of flesh, that the sorry remnants of whatever humanity there was in this mad specimen of royalty had afterwards to be hidden from the members of his family.

This was one of the typical scenes of absolutistic government, as practised in Russia for a long time past.

On Pahlen and the three brothers Suboff announcing the event to

the Czarewitch, who was now Alexander I., the exclamation of the new Emperor simply was: "What a page in history!" Count Pahlen answered, "Sire, the pages that are to follow will throw oblivion over this!" In these words, a reminder was contained of Alexander's promise that he would grant a Charter.

But the new Czar—of whom Napoleon I. afterwards said that he was "false as a Greek of the Byzantine Empire" (and Napoleon understood these things well, being himself of the craft)—was saved from keeping his word by the intervention of three members of the palace conspiracy, who declared for the continuance of autocratic rule. They had probably been bought over beforehand by the wily Imperial *Grec*. It was Prince Peter Volkonski, adjutant and favourite of Alexander, together with Lieutenant-General Uwaroff, and Major-General Talyzin, the commander of the Preobrashenski Guards, who threatened to call out these troops if a Constitution were insisted upon. Thus, Alexander I. preserved his absolutistic power as *Samodershez*, having gained his object by that art of dissimulation in which he was an adept. Talyzin died shortly afterwards. Uwaroff and Volkonski, who had been among the murderers of Paul, continued enjoying Court favours for many years; the one dying under the reign of Alexander I., the other under that of Nicholas. It is a common saying in Russia that "every Czar walks with his predecessor's murderers in front and his own murderers behind him."

Alexander had got rid of his pledge that he would introduce a Constitution. Nevertheless, owing to the troublousness of the revolutionary times, whose waves reached even the Russian frontiers, he thought fit to keep a draft of a Constitution, as it were, in stock—to be conveniently produced if ever some sudden, unavoidable urgency should arise. All Europe had been shaken by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. None could say whether some fresh political earthquake might not unexpectedly happen. The task of drawing up a Constitutional project was therefore entrusted, in secret, to Mr. Speranski. He was a man of humble birth and, as his enemies said, of doubtful origin, but had risen, through his abilities, to the post of State Secretary of the Czar. He entered upon his commission with a zeal he had afterwards to repent.

Looked at from the point of view of Parliamentaryism as understood in Western Europe, Speranski's scheme turned out a very mild and exceedingly moderate one. He wished to maintain the so-called Senate, which in Russia is a mere body of Government nominees, composed of invalid, aged, slavishly-obedient ex-officials. Along with the Senate he proposed a Representative Assembly, not by means of direct elections, but by a fourfold process of filtration. There were to be, according to his scheme, Communal Assemblies, which would have to treat of the smallest local or parish affairs. Delegates from these were to form District Assemblies. Again, delegates from the District

Assemblies were to form County Boards—or “Government” Assemblies, as the Russian phrase for counties is. Lastly, delegates from the County Boards were to form the Representative Chamber, or *Gossudarstvennaja Duma*.

It need scarcely be said that this project aimed mainly at the establishment of a consultative body, without decisive privileges; a body which was expected to fix the budget, but not to presume upon refusing it, in case of a conflict with the Crown. Still, the scheme was something, considering the state of affairs in Russia. Alexander I., however, suddenly conceiving mistrust against the man whom he himself had urged to draw up this scheme, banished him one fine morning. In his old age, being recalled, Speranski turned Conservative. He had seen enough of the danger there was in working peaceably for progress—even when it was done in the position of a State Secretary, and at the order of a sovereign.

VIII.

From that time, palace conspiracies are followed in Russia by conspiracies in the popular interest.

A strange commotion seized upon many minds among the educated classes in Russia after the war against Napoleon I. From the excitement of a War of Independence in which the popular forces had played no mean part, the return to the brutish system of the knout was not easy. The Russian troops—including, not only the regular soldiers, but also masses of the militia—had passed and repassed through Germany and France during the years 1813–15, and had seen and heard a great deal in these campaigns. They found in both countries an emancipated peasantry. They learnt that a Government which had ruled by *lettres de cachet* had gone down in the storms of a revolution. They had been in contact with nations where men were somewhat jealous of their personal dignity, and where the public expected that an Administration would be composed, at least, of honest officials—not of such as would rob the State exchequer in the manner of the jokingly so-called Russian “conveyers of Crown property.”

To go back to a country whose peasants were serfs; whose Government ruled by Cabinet ordinances in the *lettres de cachet* style and by the whip; whose officials were (and still are) the most corrupt in the world; and where all personal dignity of the subject is trodden under foot, was consequently rather a sudden transition. It gave to some a great mental shock. The ordinary herd of drilled *mujiks*, or of roving Cossacks, may not have felt it so much. But the officers did. All Russian writers agree in saying that from that time, Liberal ideas began to be propagated in their country. They also aver that the German *Tugend-Bund*, and kindred associations, which had helped in overthrowing the Corsican despot, and which then still acted as a leaven in Germany for reform in the national and parliamentary sense, had made

powerful impression upon the minds of Russian officers, who, on their return, felt degraded by the rule of irresponsible tyranny and its concomitant, the knout.

At first—so Nicholas Turguenieff states—there sprang up quite a secret literature of political epigrams and couplets, in the satirical or pathetic style. This is the customary outcome of dissatisfaction in despotically governed countries. France, before 1789, furnished an example of it. Where there is no freedom of the Press, men take their clandestine revenge against tyranny by squibs, which are often not the less biting because their allusions are hidden under an apparently harmless poetical garb.

Such stinging epigrams and ditties were orally repeated, or even shown in manuscript, soon after 1813-15, among friends in the highest Russian circles. Greater freedom in general talk also became a habit. The officers of the Guard, before all, attracted attention by the audacity with which they uttered their political thoughts. They took no heed whether those to whom they spoke in public, or in the drawing-rooms, were partisans or adversaries of their doctrines. A whirlwind of great historical events had passed over Europe. Men's minds had become bolder. The very spy-system, under which Russia had suffered so long, was not able to maintain itself in its former force and influence. All this contributed to enhance the tone of the Liberal *Fronde* in society.

However, the mass of the nation, bowed down by long political slavery, and bound in the fetters of serfdom, could not be stirred. Nicholas Turguenieff, who played a part in these attempts at Liberalizing his country, points despairingly to a number of popular sayings in his country which are characteristic signs of a spirit of abject submission. "Everything belongs to God and to the Sovereign!" "Though thou dislike it, be always ready to do everything thou art bidden!" Quite a string of such sayings is daily current in Russia. "To petition" is expressed there by the technical phrase, "To beat the earth with the forehead;" and so forth. A nation with such a vocabulary—Turguenieff thought—makes its way with difficulty towards freedom.

A despotism founded on the backwardness of the masses may for a long time keep its power, in spite of the more intelligent section of the community. But when this section, though a minority, takes resolute action, the despot may be overthrown by a revolution achieved in a comparatively small circle of men. The inert great mass are then no real obstacle. A palace conspiracy, aided by outsiders in influential position, may oust or cow the tyrant, and effect a change in the parliamentary sense. And if, in a despot-ridden country, things are to be bettered at all, some first attempt of this kind must be made, at one time or other, without waiting for the slow process of the gradual enlightenment of the masses—or else a country would simply be kept for ever in a vicious circle. Despots do not grant the rights necessary

for such gradual education. Macaulay saw this ; and he was not a revolutionist of a very pronounced type.

The Russian masses being so sluggish, and no possibility existing for a legal, open propaganda of progressive ideas, men were naturally led towards the idea of a secret organization.

We get the first glimpse of an attempt to found some kind of a Political Association in 1815. It was in Lithuania, at the head-quarters of the Second Army commanded by Prince Wittgenstein. There, the two brothers Murawieff, both officers, sought to attract kindred spirits who were inclined towards bringing about a great reform in the State. These officers of the line, going to St. Petersburg, sounded others of the Imperial Guard, and, to their great delight, found among them much readiness and goodwill. At first, there was probably nothing more than friendly conversation in the way of wishes—no definite plan of revolution whatever. In the character of the educated Russian there is a great deal of the self-critical faculty, with no corresponding energy of action—a kind of musing melancholy which occasionally seems to take a Titanic start, only to collapse, after a little while, into utter despair. It is a state of mind neither adapted to steady, plodding public labour, nor fit for the slow, persevering work of occult propagandism, in which great powers of reserve and self-abnegation are required. Yet, under the spur of a sudden emergency, these same men may be brought to perform a daring, heroic deed. Such, at least, the character of educated Russians was in the earlier part of this century. Since then, a remarkable change has been wrought.

It is somewhat difficult to state with exactness how the various Secret Societies which followed each other after 1815 arose, and how far the ideas attributed to their leading men were those of the totality or majority of the members. On one point Russian writers of the most different party-views are agreed—namely, that Colonel Pestel, an adjutant of Prince Wittgenstein, rapidly became the directing mind of the movement, after he had made the acquaintance of the brothers Murawieff, who invited him to join the conspiracy. Of German extraction, but a Russian subject by birth, Pestel had been educated at Dresden, in Germany, and afterwards been in the corps of Imperial Pages in Russia. His father was Governor-General of Siberia. Young Pestel took part in the campaigns against France; became a captain; then adjutant of Marshal Wittgenstein; and, lastly, commander of the infantry regiment of Viatka. It is believed that he was the founder, in 1817, of "The League of Well-Being," also called "The Worthy Sons of the Fatherland."

This was a short-lived Association, probably on account of the great divergence of opinions among its members. Nicholas Turguenieff, a writer otherwise most competent to speak on the subject of these occult movements, denies the existence of the League of Well-Being. But the Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry which in later years

at 1825, positively affirms that a League of the name mentioned had been
 for med in 1817. As a rule, the credibility of a Russian Government
 Co mmission is not to be placed on a par with the statement or the
 opin ion of a man of so high a character as Nicholas Turguenieff. It must,
 how ever, not be forgotten that his book was written in the way of self-
 defence against the judicial charges of a Government whose persecuting
 arm reached very far, and which even sought—unsuccessfully, of course
 —to obtain the surrender of Turguenieff's person from an English
 Government! It is, therefore, not impossible that Turguenieff may have
 been unnecessarily inclined to doubt the existence of a secret association
 of which he had not been a member, but whose doings were neverthe-
 less lugged into a Judicial Report against himself.

Some of the "conspirators" of this first League cannot have been very dangerous men; at least, not to the monarchical principle. There were those who, in the spirit of Stein, Hardenberg, Gneisenau, Arndt, and Jahn, sought to save Monarchy in spite of itself. They did all they could to maintain a line of connection with the existing powers. A few of the Russian would-be conspirators were artless enough to propose drawing the Emperor himself into the secret—unless the proposal was the very depth of art, and had merely the object of securing for them, in case of detection, a colourable excuse, however lame. The Judicial Report alluded to does not, indeed, put this interpretation upon the strange suggestion. It simply says that "several members proposed to solicit the assent of the late Emperor (Alexander I.) to the establishment of the Society."

In another passage, the Report declares that "the principal provisions of the Code of the League of Well-Being, the division of the subject-matter into chapters, its most remarkable ideas, and even the very style of writing, show an imitation, and, in a great measure, a translation from the German original"—that is, from the statutes of the *Tugend-Bund*. No doubt, Pestel had become acquainted with these latter during the war in which he had served. The German "League of Virtue" having counted, in its ranks, many leading members in high administrative position, who never ceased to be zealously loyal to the Crown, some of the Russian imitators may have wished to apply the same procedure to a very dissimilar case. This was not the view of Pestel and his friends. Soon, therefore, things assumed a more decided aspect, which rapidly changed into a sombrer hue of tragic import.

IX.

After the dissolution of the short-lived League of 1817, a Secret Association was started under the name of "The Society of Public Welfare." Its name was similar enough to the previous one; its rules, too, were copied from those of the German *Tugend-Bund*. The members were almost all officers, or writers. Moderate Constitutional ideas were

still the prevailing ones in it; but, here and there, Democratic notions came up among the more ardent associates. French, German, and English principles of progress and Liberalism served as themes of discussion. Of French writers, Benjamin Constant especially was made use of as an intellectual guide.

At that time, a few of the older Liberals, such as Admiral Mordwinoff, who wished for a change in the moderate parliamentary sense, were not prepared for the emancipation of the serfs, to which Turguenieff attached great importance. "We must begin with the Throne," said Mordwinoff; "not with the serfs. It is from above that one sweeps the stairs!" He would have been content with the introduction of a Constitution on the most aristocratic basis, curtailing the power of the Crown, but leaving the vast mass of the people at the mercy of the landholders. However, the majority of the would-be reformers entertained better, more advanced ideas; and they continually tried to impress the less progressive members with the necessity of working out a great measure of peasant enfranchisement, so as to win over the masses. Those who at present always speak of the "Liberator-Czar" Alexander II. ought to note this fact of the early aspiration towards a manumission of the serfs among the opponents of irresponsible Czardom.

The Society of Public Welfare had members in the capital, at Moscow, and at Tultschin, in which latter place the head-quarters of the Second Army were established. One of the Generals, a commander in the Caucasus, learnt, on his arrival at St. Petersburg, that the Emperor had been secretly informed of the existence of the Society, and that Government had its eyes upon the members. This he communicated to some of the conspirators; adding that Alexander thought the Society a large one—which, in point of fact, was very far from being the case—and that this alone kept him from "playing them a bad trick." One of the members of the Society, General Michael Orloff, also heard through his brother, who was the Emperor's adjutant, that Alexander I. knew of the meetings of the would-be conspirators.

Here we have a clue to the Czar's cautious conduct and to his occasional affectation of Liberal sympathies. Altogether, his position was a dubious one. The Congress of Vienna had stipulated for the "Kingdom of Poland"—as the Russian portion of the dismembered country was called—a Representative form of Government. Hence the Czar, Autocrat in the larger part of his Empire, had to observe some Constitutional forms in the western section of his dominions. At the opening of the Polish Diet in 1818, he made a speech which seemed to foreshadow similar parliamentary institutions for Russia. These, however, he was evidently bent, at heart, upon preventing as long as he could. At the same time he knew that he was surrounded by men longing for a parliamentary régime—men who might at any moment spring a mine upon him, but whom it would not be safe to attack just now.

His father's terrible end was before his eyes as a warning. In the complicated position in which he was placed, Alexander I. no doubt feared that if he unbosomed himself to persons of his immediate surrounding, asking them to proceed against others of equal social or military rank, the very men so addressed in confidence would perhaps turn out to be themselves members of the Secret Society. Would he not thus bring about his own doom? Would not his enemies, forewarned, arm themselves at once, and proceed against him? Must not the danger have appeared to him all the greater because he thought—erroneously, it is true—the Society to be a large one?

But he knew how to dissimulate. "By the falseness of his character," Prince Peter Dolgorukoff says, "he was the worthy grandson of Catherine, whose remarkable intellect he was, however, far from possessing. . . . During the first eighteen years of his reign he played the Liberal in Europe, and wore the mask of the same in Russia. But during the last years of his government, having fallen, as regards foreign policy, under the influence of the Minister who then governed Austria, and in home matters under the influence of the cruel and pitiless Araktcheieff, he abjured the tendencies of his youth, and entered upon a completely reactionary course—though without adding the violence and the brutality which his brother Nicholas afterwards showed." Such is the appreciation of the character of Alexander I. by a writer of most moderate Constitutional views, who always shows as much reserve as is possible in judging of the acts of crowned heads.

X.

When, in consequence of this reactionary course of government, matters approached a crisis, the Society of Public Welfare was dissolved. In appearance at least; for immediately afterwards it was reorganized. Nicholas Turguenieff presided at the meeting which pronounced the dissolution. In reality, the League was transformed by the bolder men, who had only resorted to this manœuvre in order to get rid of the timid. Turguenieff professes to have from that time discontinued his connection with the Society.

Baron Stein, the eminent German reformer, had in earlier years expressed himself very favourably as to Turguenieff's talents and presumable prospects as regards a public career. These qualities Turguenieff displayed, indeed, in his position as a member of the State Council. We get a tolerably lively picture of the inner rottenness of the absolutistic system when we find a description from Turguenieff's own pen, as to how he, with Admiral Mordwinoff and Count Potozky, read with great glee, some years afterwards, Byron's "Age of Bronze" in a room situated but two steps from the Czar's cabinet, and divided from it only by a wall.

The Napoleonic sentiments in Byron's poem might have been perused by the *Frondeurs* near the Autocrat's cabinet, without bringing them under too great a suspicion. But what if they had been seen enjoying

with delight the terrible squibs contained in it against the "Divine Figure" of Alexander I. ? Thus we read in "The Age of Bronze":—

" . . . Greeks only should free Greece,
Not the Barbarian, with his mask of peace.
*How should the Autocrat of Bondage be
The King of Serfs, and set the nations free?*
Better still serve the haughty Mussulman,
Than swell the Cossaque's prowling caravan ;
Better still toil for masters, than await,
The slave of slaves, before a Russian gate,—
Number'd by hordes, a human capital,
A live estate, existing but for thrall,
Lotted by thousands, as a meet reward
For the first courtier in the Czar's regard ;
While their immediate owner never tastes
His sleep, *sans* dreaming of Siberia's wastes ;
Better succumb even to their own despair,
And drive the camel than purvey the bear."

Again :—

"Resplendent sight ! Behold the coxcomb Czar,
The autocrat of waltzes and of war !
As eager for a plaudit as a realm,
And just as fit for flirting as the helm ;
A Calmuck beauty with a Cossack wit,
And generous spirit, when 'tis not frost-bit ;
Now half dissolving to a liberal thaw,
But hardened back whene'er the morning's raw ;
With no objection to true liberty,
Except that it would make the nations free.
How well the Imperial dandy prates of peace !
How fair, if Greeks would be his slaves, free Greece !
How nobly gave he back the Poles their Diet,
Then told pugnacious Poland to be quiet !
How kindly would he send the mild Ukraine,
With all her pleasant pulks, to lecture Spain !
How royally show off in proud Madrid
His goodly person, from the South long hid ! . . .
I am Diogenes, though Russ and Hun
Stand between mine and many a myriad's sun ;
But were I not Diogenes, I'd wander
Rather a worm than *such* an Alexander !
Be slaves who will, the cynic shall be free ;
His tub hath tougher walls than Sinopé :
Still will he hold his lantern up to scan
The face of monarchs for an 'honest man.'"

In the same poem there is an allusion to the famous hymn ascribed to Kallistratos, which it will be remembered begins thus :—

"Cover'd with myrtle-wreaths, I'll wear my sword
Like brave Harmodios, and his patriot friend,
Aristogeiton, who the laws restored,
The tyrant slew, and bade oppression end."

Such were the books which some of the Czar's high officials read in an apartment next door to his own cabinet.

XI.

The Society of Public Welfare had existed with two chief branches—a "Society of the North," comprising St. Petersburg and Moscow, and a "Society of the South," with Kieff and one or two other southern towns as head-centres.

In the Society of the North, where the less advanced ideas prevailed, dissatisfaction gradually arose against Pestel, who entirely swayed the Southern branch. Upon this, Pestel himself brought about a general meeting of the members at Moscow, in February, 1821, where high words were bandied between the different partisans. Finally, as already mentioned, the dissolution of the League was pronounced under the chairmanship of Nicholas Turguenieff.

Colonel Abramoff, who protested against this resolution, exclaimed that "the Society could not be dissolved, as it would continue to exist even if he alone were to remain of it." He evidently did not know what Pestel and his friends aimed at. Their only object had been to weed out the less audacious. A fresh Society, under the Directorate of Pestel, Yushneffski, and Nikita Murawieff, was at once established. The activity of this new League, whose head-quarters were at Tultschin, was such that in the course of less than two years four branch societies were called into existence. Soon, almost the whole Staff of Field-Marshal Prince Wittgenstein consisted of members of the conspiracy—without the Prince himself, or the Chief of the Staff, Paul Kisseleff, suspecting anything wrong!

Prince Dolgorukoff, in speaking of these secret propagandistic labours, says :—

"The Liberals of St. Petersburg and Moscow—'The Society of the North' as it was called—wished for a monarchical Constitutional government. 'The Society of the South' desired a federative Republic composed of the various provinces of Russia. The Society of the South had at its head a man who possessed an eminent intellect, a courage ready to face every danger, an unshakable energy, and a boundless ambition—namely, Paul Pestel. His truly superior mind had understood that a representative government is only solid and durable when it is so directed as to develop the well-being of the masses. Whilst the members of the Society of the North, though rejecting the odious principle of serfdom, had no fixed ideas as to how the manumission of the serfs should be wrought, Pestel had induced the Society of the South to decide that *the serfs should be emancipated with a grant of freehold land*. This idea, which to-day is admitted in Russia by all those who wish for serious, not for fictitious reforms, was during the life-time of Pestel, forty years ago, an innovation of astonishing boldness."

These words, written in 1860 by a Russian author who himself belongs to the moderate Constitutional party, are a testimony in honour of Pestel, which those may reflect upon who believe that Alexander II. was the initiator of the emancipation idea.

Before Prince Dolgorukoff, Alexander Herzen had written the following, in 1858, on Pestel :—

"From the day that he had entered the Society he became its centre, its soul. Thanks to him, the vague aspirations and Liberal tendencies obtained an aim, a

practical determination. His great figure dominates over the whole conspiracy; it is a great figure even in the venomous accounts of the Commission of Inquiry. An ardent Republican and determined revolutionist, he imposes and precipitates nothing. He acts with admirable prudence and reserve. He only seeks to better organize the Association. He gives it regulations, and centralizes it. Knowing well the still timid conscience of those generous youths who are full of devotion, but scarcely imbued with ripe political ideas, he grants to them that the great thing would be to restrict the arbitrary power of the Czar. In the fragments of his conversations with others—as quoted by the Inquiry—it is impossible not to admire his tact and the richness of his resources. Conceding to some that a Constitution on the English pattern would be very good, he, as soon as an interlocutor expresses a doubt, adds that, for his own part, he would prefer the American Constitution, which, he says, would be good for everybody, and not only ‘for lords and merchants.’ However, he thinks that if a Charter could be imposed upon the Emperor, this would be a considerable progress. Then, in a few words, he refers, *among the possible contingencies, to the Emperor’s death*. He doubts the possibility of forcing, by the sole pressure of public opinion, an absolute ruler to cede a portion of his power. He shows that by physical force alone this could be done, and that, in order to limit his power, not less physical force would be required than for abolishing it altogether. And although he expressed himself with such caution—a caution interpreted as tergiversation by the Commission of Inquiry—he was at last understood: and some men feared him. Alexander Murawieff left the Society. The members of the Alliance of Well-Being murmured. The Society of the North began to fear the ambition of Pestel.”

This was before the dissolution of the original Society in 1821. After its reorganization, Pestel increased his activity with the most ardent conspiratory zeal. At St. Petersburg, the reconstructed Society had at first Prince Trubetzkoi at its head; then Nicholas Murawieff and Prince Obolenski. It may be mentioned, incidentally, that the Trubetzkoi and the Obolenskis are among those families who derive their origin from the once ruling house of Rurik, the Germanic founder of the Empire. In the South, Pestel had the chief influence. Over and over again he insisted on the necessity of emancipating the peasants with a grant of land. Only in this way, he said, the Revolution could be successfully accomplished.

XII.

Besides the occult Associations mentioned, there was one, called “The United Slavs,” which in Russia had for its leading spirit Sergius Murawieff-Apostol. Another secret league having been accidentally discovered in Poland by Bestujeff-Rumin, a member of Pestel’s Society, it was decided to establish a connection between the Russian and Polish men of progress.

The agreement made was to the effect that the Russians should acknowledge the independence of the Kingdom of Poland, as established in 1815, as well as of those Polish provinces in Russia which had not yet been quite Russified. The Polish Society promised to bring about an insurrection as soon as a rising should be begun in the Second Russian Army, and to effect the arrest of the Grand Duke Constantine, the Governor of Poland. The proclamation of the Republic in Poland was

among the conditions laid down by Pestel. But the Polish confederates, in whose name Krijanowski, Grodetzki, and Karkoski acted, refused to prejudge the question of the form of government. Nor would they engage themselves to proceed to the more extreme measures against the Grand Duke Constantine which are said to have been insisted upon by the Russian conspirators. These extreme measures, it is alleged, referred to the taking of the Grand Duke's life.

Everything appeared now ready for decisive action. Colonel Pestel was at the head of a regiment whose men were considered to be entirely under his influence, whithersoever he might lead them. As the whilom adjutant of Marshal Wittgenstein, he had great opportunities of forming good acquaintances with officers of rank. The Intendant-General of the Second Army, Yushneffski; two active Generals, friends of his, Von Viesen (of German extraction, like Pestel), and Prince Sergius Volkonski, were at one with him in the desire of overthrowing Autocracy. Then there were, in the Society of the South, six Colonels, and two Lieutenant-Colonels, Sergius and Matthew Murawieff, among the leading members of the conspiracy.

A number of officers could be reckoned upon. Besides, it would not have been difficult, through the members of the League, to seize the regimental chests, the papers of the Staff, the Intendance, and the Chancery of the Marshal. Pestel's plan was, to wait for the day when Alexander I., who was at Taganrog, would be present at the manœuvres, and then to act. On that day, Prince Wittgenstein, the higher Generals, and the Czar himself were to be arrested. The fortress of Bobruisk was to be occupied. Then the events to be brought about by the friends at St. Petersburg and at Warsaw were to be waited for.

In the capital, the Society of the North was to give the signal for the rising through the Imperial Guards. That Society had among its members some officers of rank—foremost among them, Prince Trubetzkoi, Colonel Mitkoff, and Captain Nicholas Murawieff, as well as Prince Obolenski, Bestujeff, and other men of influence and daring. Among the highest nobility, in the upper ranks of the civil administration, even in the immediate vicinity of the Court, there were associates of the conspiracy. At Moscow, the chief of the Chancery of Prince Galitzin; at St. Petersburg, a close friend of Count Miloradowitch, the Governor-General of the town, were affiliated to it. All the movements of Government could therefore be easily watched.

Unfortunately no full agreement was arrived at between the Societies of the North and the South, even in the reconstructed state of the former. In 1824, Pestel went to St. Petersburg in order to effect a thorough understanding and a full amalgamation of the several leagues under one direction. This was with difficulty attained. At the same time, the men of the North shrank from adopting his plans of action, which they declared to be too violent. There were, in the North, few adherents of Pestel's Democratic views. Almost all the members there

desired Constitutional government under a Monarchy. However, a number of these promised that if the Czar could not be made to accept a Charter they would go over to the Democratic side, and that in this case nothing was left but to banish the Imperial family from Russian soil. Still, with all these words of promise to the ear, they were loth to agree to a programme of immediate revolution.

Not having fully succeeded in his endeavour to bring about unity of purpose, Pestel suggested that a general meeting of the delegates of the various Societies should be held in 1826—under condition that action should then not be delayed any longer. He thereupon went back to the South.

Meanwhile, secret denunciations had reached the Emperor at Taganrog. The Czar, ill and in a melancholy mood, had not sufficient energy to proceed to a strong and sweeping measure. Yet, one of the conspirators, Colonel Schweikoffski, was suddenly removed from his regiment without a cause being publicly assigned. Suspicion was at once aroused by this act among the members of the League. For a moment, Schweikoffski thought of raising immediately the standard of insurrection, in order to forestall the danger that seemed to threaten them. The Report of the Judicial Inquiry asserts even that Schweikoffski proposed sending men to Taganrog to take the life of the Emperor. When the question is of being killed or of killing, scruples otherwise strong quickly vanish away. Colonel Artamon Murawieff is said to have offered himself for the deed. Bestujeff declared that he could find for that task fifteen men among "The League of the United Slavs." The Report adds that the project was in the end abandoned.

XIII.

This question of tyrannicide had gradually forced itself into the foreground in the secret meetings. The Report of the Judicial Inquiry alleges that it was mooted by some members as early as 1817, but that others repelled these ideas. Of Colonel Pestel it is asserted that he remarked to one of the Murawieffs that one of the first things to be done was to "get rid of the Imperial family;" to which Murawieff is said to have replied that "he regarded such a plan as wholly barbarous and unfeasible."

At one of the meetings, the question was raised openly as to what was to be done with the Imperial family in case of success. Banishment and imprisonment were in turn proposed. Pestel, having listened to the various speakers, is alleged to have remarked that in destruction alone there was safety. Others rejected the notion as a horrible one. "I know well that it is," he is stated to have replied. The vote being taken, the majority were for him, but only a majority of six. Again, he is asserted to have declared that "we must make the house clean," and that his project was to seize, by a surprise, the whole Imperial family; to seize also the members of the Senate

and the Synod, to force them to proclaim a new Government in the Republican sense; to declare all higher officials and army-leaders, who were not members of the Secret Society, dismissed from their functions; and to replace them by members of the Society.

These statements are repeated, without any depreciatory remark, by later Russian writers favourable to the cause of the so-called Decembrists of 1825. The mouths of the chief men of the conspiracy having been closed through death on the gallows it is difficult to discover the real truth.

In the nature of things—however opinions in the abstract may differ as to the legitimacy of tyrannicide—such views and intentions will always come up whenever men, driven to despair by a blood-stained cruelty, have to do battle, single-handed, against a thrice-armed oppression. So it was when Ehud slew the Moabite king; when Jael, the heroic wife of Heber, killed the Canaanite chieftain Sisera; and when Judith, “led by the hand of God,” avenged the wrongs of her nation. Thus acted Harmodios and Aristogeiton, Pelopidas, Brutus, and Cassius, and other champions of freedom, whose deeds have been extolled in the literature of all nations. Greek Republics possessed laws, or at least traditions, according to which any citizen that slew a usurper was to be regarded as pre-eminently virtuous, and to be rewarded with the garland of civic glory, and the erection of a statue. Not to speak of Cicero, Seneca, or Plutarch, quite a host of modern Italian, German, French, and English philosophers, poets, and writers have upheld the right of tyrannicide. The honour done to William Tell by the Swiss, Garibaldi, in his own way, did to the memory of Agesilao Milano after the overthrow of the Neapolitan Bourbon.

Of German poets that have distinctly upheld the right of tyrannicide, Herder, Lessing, Schiller, Richter, and Platen need only be mentioned; of French legists, thinkers, and poets, Montesquieu, Vattel, Rousseau, and Victor Hugo; of English statesmen, writers, and poets, Milton, Algernon Sidney, Sidmouth, Cobbett, Byron, Walter Savage Landor, and Benjamin Disraeli in his younger days, when he sang in honour of Brutus and Tell:—

“Blessed be the hand that dares to wield
The Regicidal steel that shall redeem
A nation's suffering with a tyrant's blood.”

This passage in Mr. Disraeli's “*Revolutionary Epick*” is not stronger than that in which Milton, speaking of the right among the Greeks and Romans “to kill an infamous tyrant at every time without trial,” adds: “And but reason that he who trod down all law should not be vouchsafed the benefit of law.” To which, in further confirmation, Milton adds a translation from Seneca—

“There can be slain
No sacrifice to God more acceptable
Than an unjust and wicked king.”

A great French authority on public law has declared, in pre-revolutionary times, that a tyrant, or one who overthrows a free Constitution, is "an enemy of the commonwealth and a pest of humanity—a pest which must be treated in accordance with its nature." A free-minded German poet, one of the most sentimentally humane men, has said that between the deed of Brutus and one like that done by Ravaillac "there is a difference as between virtue and crime." A famed English poet, but recently gone, distinguishes between "legitimate and praiseworthy" tyrannicide and mere assassination. Men of the Conservative party in State and Church, like De Maistre or Solar Della Margherita, have on their part also declared: "*Non injuste rex potest destrui, si potestate regia tyrannice abutatur.*" In the time of the Holy Alliance, Gentz upheld a similar doctrine as against Napoleon. The Stuart Prince who afterwards reigned as Charles II. issued his well-known proclamation, as the "rightful claimant," against "a certain mechanic fellow, Oliver Cromwell." In it, Charles says that he "hereby gives free leave to any man whomsoever, by pistol, sword, poison, or any other means, to destroy the life of the said Cromwell, wherein he will do an act acceptable to God and good men;" and he offers a yearly pension of £500 to any one doing the deed, as well as to his heirs. In the same way, Napoleon I., in his last will,* bequeathed 10,000 francs to Cantillon who had made an attempt upon the life of the Duke of Wellington at Paris by a pistol shot. This legacy, together with the interest accrued, Louis Napoleon paid, under his own signature, with the word "Approved;" the decree being inserted in the *Moniteur* of May 6, 1855.

We have to keep in mind these historical doctrines, deeds, and occurrences which actually reach from antiquity down to our own times, and which show a surprising concurrence of views among a number of the foremost men of all nations and ages, irrespective of party, in order to understand at least—though many will still condemn—the intentions attributed to some of the members of those earlier Secret Societies in Russia, who thought that, in a struggle begun in the popular interest against red-handed and pitiless Czardom, it was a question of killing or being killed.

The nature of the governmental system must be taken into account against which these fiercer-minded conspirators intended waging war. In the words of the *Daily News*—which is certainly not suspected of systematic hostility to the powers that be at St. Petersburg, and which, it need scarcely be said, strongly condemns the present "mania of murder,"—"Russian history is the narrative of a long series of murders, and of their consequences." We might almost say that an ancestral curse broods over the throne, like that which prompted the revenger in the house of Atreus. From the time when Boris Godunoff slew Dmitri and stole the crown from the descendants of Rurik, crime has followed crime, and blood has called for blood. . . . The rival princes gouge each other, stab each

* Fourth Codicil, dated Longwood, April, 1821.

other, and do not hesitate to call the common enemy, the Tartar, to take a side in the fraternal wars. . . . When the house of Romanoff was at last established on the throne, murder followed on murder, and mystery on mystery. . . . On the murder of Ivan VI. followed the death of Peter III., that 'domestic bagatelle' which Voltaire declined to discuss when the character of his friend Catherine was called in question. The room in a Russian palace where the dust lay heavy on broken chairs and tables, and on all the mute witnesses of the struggle which ended in the death of the Emperor Paul, has but recently been converted into an open passage in a military school. . . . The assassinations of Russian history have been, so far, party affairs or official undertakings. Usurpers have dipped their hands in blood. Tyrants have cruelly secured their throne. Disloyal wives have brought dishonour on the name of women. Conspiring officials cleared the madly ambitious Paul out of the way, with all his schemes for sending Cossacks to attack England in India."

In the same article, written on the arrival of the news of the attempt of Solovieff, the *Daily News*, whilst pronouncing against the revolutionary party, declares that "people (in Russia) writhe under a hundred social and political wrongs, and they have introduced an unofficial reign of terror." It is the natural reaction against a barbarous system, which takes no heed of the intellectual progress that has reached at last considerable sections of Russian society, and of the political and social aspirations connected therewith.

Similar feelings existed already in the upper strata of Russian society under Alexander I. He had mounted the throne after the assassination of his father, without keeping the constitutional promise that was said to have been given by him when he was initiated into the palace conspiracy. Here, then, was another case of a murder, "and its consequences," such as implacable History is wont to bring forth.

XIV.

The year 1826 having been fixed for the revolutionary rising by secret agreement, the Leagues did not stir after Schweikoffski's suspicious removal from his post. Suddenly, however, Alexander died at Taganrog, on December 1, 1825. Pestel's plan was thus once more thrown out of gear.

The death of the Czar happened, nevertheless, under circumstances which in a certain measure favoured the action of the members in the North. Had their measures been but better planned, Russia might, since 1825, have enjoyed at last representative government. A doubt which arose as to who was to succeed to the throne came to the aid of the friends of progress in the capital. Alexander had secretly changed the order of succession—with the consent, it is true, of the presumptive heir, but without designing to make the fact known to the millions whose duty he thought it was always to obey, and whom he did not therefore think it necessary to inform of

what had been resolved upon as regards their future ruler. Great was the astonishment when, after Alexander's death, it was suddenly asserted that not Constantine, the eldest-born, but Nicholas, had, by a decree until then hidden, been designated Czar of all the Russias. Men most devoted to the Crown were for several days puzzled as to whom they were to consider the rightful heir. Nicholas in person added to the confusion by at once declaring himself in public his eldest brother's subject.

In the Memoir* which the present Czar has ordered to be published from notes of the Emperor Nicholas, and from the recollections of several members of the Imperial family, it is stated that immediately after the arrival of the news of Alexander's death, he (Nicholas), accompanied by Count Miloradowitch, Adjutant-General Prince Trubetzkoi, Count Golanishtcheff-Kutusoff, and others, went to the great Court church, and there took the oath of homage to his brother Constantine, whom he assumed to be the Emperor now, according to dynastic law. His example was followed by those who accompanied him, and by other chief personages that happened to be in the palace. From the church the Grand Duke went back to the Dowager Empress to inform her of his act.

"Nicholas!" she exclaimed, "what have you done? Do you not know, then, that there is an Act which appoints you heir-presumptive?"

In his Memoir he professes to have "then heard for the first time in a positive form" of the existence of this Act. The words "in a positive form" are, however, a noteworthy qualification.

Matters were thus complicated enough. They became still more so when the Grand Duke Nicholas resolved—probably for the sake of his own personal safety—upon asking his brother to repeal his renunciation to the Crown. This was a strange step, almost incomprehensible when we remember the ambitious and arbitrary character of Nicholas; but perhaps he was afraid of suddenly being met by a strong Constantine party, which might deal with him as other Russian princes had before been dealt with by conspirators at Court. Be that as it may, he thought it advisable to exhibit some hesitation. Communication, in those days when there existed neither railways nor telegraphs, was difficult. It had taken ten days before the news of Alexander's death reached St. Petersburg. Fifteen days more were consumed by correspondence between the two brothers, one of whom was at St. Petersburg, the other at Warsaw. Nicholas had taken the oath to Constantine! Constantine had taken the oath to Nicholas! Probably each mistrusted the other. In the Imperial Palace there reigned the greatest consternation. The Grand Duke Michael went post-haste from St. Petersburg to Warsaw, and thence back again, in order to clear up the mystery.

* *Die Thronbesteigung des Kaisers Nicolaus I. von Russland im Jahre 1825. Nach seinen eigenen Aufzeichnungen und den Erinnerungen der kaiserlichen Familie auf Befehl Sr. Majestät des Kaisers Alexander II.* herausgegeben von Baron M. von Korff. Berlin: 1857.

Public opinion, in the meantime, was utterly unsettled. All this was calculated to help the patriotic conspirators.

On the 26th of December, 1825, the revolutionary attempt was made in the streets of St. Petersburg. During the preceding days, the members of the Secret League—Prince Trubetzkoi, Ryleieff the poet, Bestujeff, Prince Obolenski, Prince Rostoffski, Kahoffski, and other men of the military and civic class—had repeatedly met in the evening to concert a plan. Young Prince Odoeffski, an officer of the Horse Guards, kept them informed of what occurred at the Palace—even of the very words spoken there. The meetings of the conspirators were stormy, as is usual in moments of supreme danger. The more decided men proposed strong measures calculated to ensure success, whilst others shrank back from what they regarded as cruel violence. Between the 24th and the 25th there was a falling off in the number of those attending the nocturnal assembly. Only seventeen came—but all of them men of energy and influence. This thinning of the ranks, too, is a feature characteristic of all conspiracies just previous to action.

At the house of Prince Obolenski there appeared officers of the various regiments of the Guards as associates of the League. Obolenski announced that, by order of the Directorate, their duty was, on the day fixed for the public ceremony of homage to the new Emperor, to lead as many troops of their regiments as they could to the square before the Senate, and to make them refuse the oath to Nicholas. With the first regiment gained over, other regiments were to be approached. At the same time, the people were to be gathered by drums being beaten throughout the town. This latter proposal was made by Prince Trubetzkoi.

"We are going to meet death," exclaimed young Odoeffski enthusiastically, embracing his friends in Russian fashion; "but what a glorious death it will be!"

Others, of sterner stuff, like Kahoffski, a brooding and rather sinister man, said, "We cannot do anything with those philanthropists. The only question now is, to kill!"

"I have passed the Rubicon!" said Bestujeff; "and I shall strike down with the sword all that cross my path!"

It was assumed by the members of the conspiracy that Nicholas, seeing the military revolt before him, would enter into negotiations, perhaps renounce the Crown. Thereupon a Provisional Government was to be established, composed of three members. Old Admiral Mordwinoff, one of the most moderate, nay, ultra-moderate men, Prince Sergius Trubetzkoi, and a high Church dignitary were to be offered seats in this Government. Colonel Batenkoff was to occupy the post of Chief Secretary. A Constitutional Monarchy—not a Republic—was the aim of the leaders in the capital. There were to be two parliamentary bodies: an Upper House, whose members were to be appointed for life (Batenkoff was in favour of a hereditary House of Peers); and a House of Commons. The Council of the Empire, as hitherto existing, was to be

replaced by a Council of Thirty-six. Elections were to be held for the House of Commons; and Parliament was to frame a Constitution and to choose the new Sovereign.

Manifestoes to this effect had been printed in the night before the proposed rising, at the office of a printer who was in the League, but who, from the following day, became a traitor and informer. These prints were afterwards burned by Government order. The compositor whose services had been used by the conspirators "died suddenly."

xv.

The day of revolution dawned. Palace conspiracies had formerly been carried out in the dead of night. The New Russia, of which these patriots dreamt, was to be initiated in the light of the sun. This resolution—as most friendly writers aver—became fatal to the movement. "Better," they say, "would it have been had they chosen one of the long wintry nights of St. Petersburg for their bold deed!"

A portion of the Guards, and several companies of the Marine Troops, actually followed their officers to the public place. Count Miloradowitch, an honest, worthy man, who had seen danger on many a battle-field during the Napoleonic wars, and who at first had pledged himself to Nicholas for the security of the town, now hurried to the Czar with the ominous words, "Sire! things are turning out bad! They surround the monument of Peter the Great. But I am going to address them!" In vain was he warned not to expose his life. He answered, "What good would there be in a Governor-General if he did not know how to sacrifice his blood in case of need!"

Meanwhile, scenes of riot had been rife among the people. It was not yet a distinct awakening among the enslaved mass. No popular agitators came forward with words of fire on their tongue, or the promise of energetic deeds in their gestures. Yet, somehow, the sluggish soul of that inert multitude felt a sympathetic thrill. General Miloradowitch, seeing the danger, rode towards and addressed the mutinous soldiers who had been drawn into the "Constitutional" movement by the use of "Constantine's" name—words which among the more ignorant served as a helpful confusion. In the midst of his pathetic harangue, the aged warrior all at once sank down on his horse. His outstretched arm fell as if it were of lead. A pistol-shot fired by Lieutenant Kahoffski had mortally wounded him.

Masses of the population suddenly turned up now. St. Petersburg was in commotion. Cries arose for a Charter.

Shots were fired at General Woinoff,—ay, even, as Baron Korff's publication asserts, against the Emperor Nicholas himself, when he tried to bring back the troops to obedience. In this dangerous crisis, Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg displayed, as Russian army-leader, the sternest courage. He first advised a cavalry attack. When this proved

of no avail, grape-shot was employed against the body of rebel troops that occupied the Senate Square.

Before the word of command to discharge the guns was given, General Suchosannet, at the order of Nicholas, rode towards the insurgent soldiers, offering to spare their lives if they laid down their arms. He was received with the cry, "Have you brought the Constitution with you?" and with a volley of shots.

"Your Majesty!" Suchosannet reported, "these madmen call out for a Constitution!"

The Emperor, shrugging his shoulders, and raising his eyes to Heaven—so he says in his own Memoir—now gave the order to fire, but immediately recalled it. On the final order being given, the gunner did not execute the command! "They are our brethren!" the simple soldier exclaimed. "And if I myself stood before the gun," the officer cried, "and you were ordered to fire, how could you dare to hesitate?"

Upon this the shot was fired. The battle was begun. It ended with the defeat of the insurgents.

"The danger," says the Memoir published by Alexander II. in 1857, "was obvious. *Guards fought against Guards.* The Emperor, the only support of the Empire, risked his life during several hours. The people were in the utmost excitement, and it was difficult to learn the true state of public feeling. The conspiracy was a fact, but its head and its extent were yet hidden. Everything was still enveloped in impenetrable secrecy; and the whole outbreak might have recommenced any moment. These considerations were far from encouraging; but there was the firmness, the presence of mind, of the young monarch, which the officers marvelled at, and which inspired the soldiers. The victory remained with the Throne and with loyalty; and the soldiers heartily attached themselves to their new master."

Under this self-praise it is easy to recognise the true situation and the greatness of the perils which surrounded the "only support of the Empire"—that is, of the absolutistic form of government.

The same Memoir says that the Czar was not able on that day, from morning till late at night, to partake of any repast, and that he never went to bed during the whole night. He remained up, in uniform, with his sash on; personally examining the chief prisoners that were brought in, receiving reports, and giving orders. The Empress Alexandra Feodorowna had, from the excitement, "lost her voice and all strength." "All the Imperial children passed the night in two rooms, as in a bivouac."

XVI.

In the meanwhile other tragic events occurred in the South.

Pestel, the two Murawieffs, Bestujeff-Rumin, and some others, had been arrested in consequence of the denunciation sent to Alexander

at Taganrog. Officers, placing themselves at the head of some companies, hastened to free their comrades-in-arms. In the struggle that ensued, the Lieutenant-Colonel who had effected the arrest of Pestel and his friends was wounded. The liberated leaders then endeavoured a bold stroke. After taking the town of Vasilkoff, they tried to gain over fresh regiments, but were attacked, near Belaja Tzerkoff, by the division of General Geismar. In this battle, Sergius Murawieff was one of the first that were wounded and made prisoners, together with his brother Matthias. Another of the Murawieffs fell.

A political catechism had been drawn up for the insurgent troops, in which the Democratic form of government was proved to be, according to the teaching of the Old Testament, the only government acceptable to God. This teaching did not make a good impression on the rather bigoted *mujik*-soldiers. Their resistance, when attacked, was a weak one; a number of them acted treacherously towards their own chiefs. The movement in the South thus quickly collapsed. Moreover, no plan of action had been concerted between the leaders in the North and the South. Pestel's original advice having been disregarded, each section was thrown on its own resources to deal with an unexpected emergency as best it could.

The end was the usual scene of horrors. Pestel, Sergius Murawieff, Ryleieff, Bestujeff-Rumin, and Kahoffski suffered death on the gallows. Prince Trubetzkoi was, at the prayer of his wife, "pardoned"—that is, transported to Siberia, with eighty-three other leaders. The soldiers of the Guards that had taken part in the rising were sent against the mountain-tribes in the Caucasus, and against Persia.

Russia now became once more a prison-house in which utter silence reigned. Only the blows of the knout were heard in the drear solitude. The very groans of the victims seemed to be stifled.

It only remains to say a few words on the bearing of the originators of the December risings, as described in the Report of the Commission of Inquiry.

It has been remarked that the confessions made by these men incriminated them even more than the facts that were proved against them. Were these confessions the result of a sublime heroism in the face of death? Or had they been wrung from them—forced upon them—by means of torture? It may seem strange that so horrible a question should be raised even in reference to the Government practices under the grim Nicholas. But those conversant with the traditions of the dreaded "Third Division"—of which the bland Schuvaloff was the head, before being appointed to the task of deceiving, as I must call it, the English Government, and Queen Victoria in person, by false assurances made in the name of the Czar "on a gentleman's word of honour"—are well aware that torture has always been practised in Russia against political offenders. Only a few weeks ago the German Press and the London *Standard* have openly stated that torture was employed against Solovieff.

No denial has come yet, though the Cabinet of St. Petersburg seldom scruples to deny the most patent facts.

Nicholas Turguenieff, who, in his quality of a former member of the Russian Government administration, is always to be listened to with a great deal of attention, positively says: "The replies and the declarations of the accused of 1826 resemble too much those which were formerly drawn out by the system of torture not to have been the result of analogous means. Only, one does not see the same frankness in the drawing up of the judicial protocols; for though the results are given, there is silence as to the causes which brought them about. The Minister of War having been informed that Colonel Pestel had just been led into St. Petersburg, the first words which came from the Minister's lips were *an order to subject him to the torture*. I purposely use here a general expression, not wishing, by a more precise statement, to add disgust to the horror."

It is impossible, under these suspicious circumstances, to say how far we are to take the alleged avowals of the accused as genuine. "I would have been able," Ryleïeff is made to exclaim, in the Judicial Report, "to stop all proceedings; but I have, on the contrary, forced on action. I am the chief author of the events of December 26. If any one has merited death for that rising, it is I!"

Was this a noble attempt to shield his friends? Or were these words the outcome of a man's sufferings on the rack? We shall never know. Nor can we decide whether some of the accused had not, by cruel, fiendish means, been made to contradict and to incriminate each other in a manner which must have inwardly delighted the tyrannic victor. Let us draw the veil over these harrowing secrets of the dungeon! This much we know, that by barbarous atrocities was the reign of Nicholas initiated. Through pools of blood he waded to the throne; and the beams of the gallows served as supports for his proud Imperial seat.

More than fifty years have passed since the martyrdom of the insurgents of December, 1825. To-day Russia, in which under Nicholas the stillness of death had reigned, is deeply troubled by disaffection—"an Empire of the Discontented." So Katkoff calls it in his *Moscow Gazette*; and when he, the supporter of Autocracy, makes so general a confession, the absolutistic system, though still showing a face of brass, must, indeed, have feet of clay. In the next article I shall have to speak more fully of the attempt the successor of Nicholas made to thwart the progress of the Constitutional movement, which recommenced after the Crimean War, by that liberation of the serfs which the organizer of the Leagues of 1821-25 had already inserted in his programme. For the present I will conclude with a hope that the contest we see daily going on may result in a triumph but too long delayed, and that, guided by the spirit of Pestel and Murawieff, the opponents of a brutal Czardom may succeed in opening a new era for Russia, after the oppressive servitude of a thousand years.

KARL BLIND.

ENGLISH VIEWS OF CATHOLICISM,

FIFTY YEARS AGO AND NOW.

THOSE who are old enough to remember the light in which the Catholic religion was regarded in England some fifty or sixty years ago can scarcely fail to be struck by the change which has taken place in the interval. I do not refer either exclusively or chiefly to the conversions which have followed on the Tractarian movement, because I do not think that, numerous and important as they are, they have produced any appreciable impression on the great mass of English society. England is still an essentially Protestant country, and the traditions she has inherited from the Reformation are as yet but partially eradicated. I refer rather to those ecclesiastical and social phenomena of our time which prove that the Catholic religion has at length come to be regarded in England as a power which it is neither possible to ignore nor prudent to despise. But I refer more especially to the spirit of fairness and even kindliness in which Catholic subjects are now dealt with in our political language and periodical literature, and which forms so striking a contrast to the tone of controversial rancour and contemptuous indifference with which the same subjects were treated at the period from which the change may be dated. I do not forget that the political mind of England was at that period deeply interested, and not a little excited, by the great question of Catholic Emancipation, and that the discussions on that question made it necessary to characterize the religion of Catholics in a somewhat more respectful tone. Still that interest was concentrated solely on Ireland; and on the religion of Irish Catholics, mainly as it bore on the question of their political privileges. The Continent of Europe had then been opened some fourteen years to English tourists and the reporters of the public press; yet, as to all that related to the religion of those European countries in which the Catholic faith is professed, the public mind of England was almost an

entire blank. Meanwhile, as to the professors of the same faith in England itself, the popular idea concerning them was that they consisted of certain ancient families in the midland and northern counties who kept very much to themselves, and whose habits of life were but little known to their neighbours.

With this state of things, of which I do not think that the foregoing description represents an unfaithful picture, let us compare the place which the Catholic religion now occupies in the public mind of England. I am as yet speaking of my subject in its social and literary aspect only, and I do not think that I can better illustrate my meaning than by comparing the public interest which has been manifested in the characters and acts of the two last Pontiffs who have occupied the Papal Chair with the very different aspect under which their immediate predecessors were regarded. It is quite true that the reign of Pius IX. has been a more than commonly eventful one, even from its very commencement, and my argument must be received with such deduction as this fact may be fairly considered to apply to it. But it is not sufficient to explain either the extent or the character of the interest which gathered around the latter years and the latter months of that genial and large-hearted Pontiff. It is fresh in the memories of all of us how, from the time when his life was thought to be drawing to a close, not only his formal addresses, but his casual words and even his harmless pleasantries, went the round of the English newspapers; and in how different a tone his acts and sayings were publicly commented on from that in which they would have been represented at an earlier time. Never certainly was there a public character who received a larger share of popular consideration, whose antagonism to the spirit of the age met with greater allowance, or whose eminent private virtues were more generally recognised. When Pope Gregory XVI., the immediate predecessor of Pius IX., passed away in 1846, his death, as I well remember, was simply chronicled by the public press as that of any petty sovereign might have been, and the election of his successor was recorded with no greater marks of public interest. How striking a contrast to this apathy was presented somewhat more than a year ago, when the tiara passed from Pius IX. to Leo XIII.! Then it was that for the first time the English public was made aware of the nature and accompaniments of a Papal election, and was disabused of those ideas of domestic intrigue and popular violence which it had been accustomed to associate with that event. Although not myself sharing any of these prejudices I confess that I was impressed far beyond my expectation by the accounts of that great electoral conclave, its majestic calmness, its deep religiousness, and the manifest proofs which it gave of a conscientious regard to duty on the part of the electors, and a more than human guidance in the result of their choice. In the wisdom and impartiality of that choice, even the outer world itself, with a unanimity under the circumstances most remarkable, lost no time in expressing its concurrence.

These facts, taken one with another, appear to justify the contrast I have intimated between the state of English feeling at the two extremities of the period comprehended in the last half-century, and sufficiently to indicate the growth, I do not say of Catholic convictions, yet of a temper of mind as far removed from mere passive toleration on the one hand as from actual belief on the other, and which seems to me to be best expressed by such terms as kindliness or sympathy. I desire to found neither conclusions nor predictions on the facts themselves. They are no doubt to be explained in great measure by the progress of intelligence and the acquisitions of experience which the last half-century has brought with it. But they are at least worthy of being recorded as evidences of the power with which a generous people can emancipate itself from prejudices of no ordinary tenacity. Mr. Gladstone, in his late interesting lecture on Dr. Hook, is reported to have said that the amiable and popular subject of his memoir, when a young man, considered it to be his duty as an Englishman to hate the Pope, because Englishmen in general did so. If such was the national feeling when Dr. Hook was a young man, which would have been rather more than half a century ago, and if it would be now little less than a calumny to impute such a sentiment to Englishmen as a body, the change which has taken place in the interval is sufficiently great to bear out all that has been here said of it.

Another striking instance of the rapidity and completeness with which English feeling on the subject of Catholics and their religion can change from hatred and contempt to sympathy and admiration was exhibited in the contrast between the reception of Dr. Wiseman when he arrived from Rome as Cardinal in 1850 and the manner in which he was regarded at the time of his last illness and death in 1865. On the former occasion no condemnations were too sweeping, no sarcasms too pungent, and no abuse too virulent to express the national estimate of the great Papal Aggressor. Yet so entirely did English generosity get the better of English prejudice that, in less than fifteen years, the same man was the object of general consideration and affectionate interest. The variations of his illness were chronicled in daily bulletins, his house was thronged with anxious inquirers, while hundreds of thousands of the population testified their respect for him on the day of his funeral.

A still more remarkable instance of the same kind has occurred quite recently in the case of Dr. Newman, on the occasion of the distinguished favour conferred on him by Pope Leo XIII., and it is alike memorable from the character and circumstances of the event to which it relates, and from the manner in which the announcement of that event has been received by the English public. That a simple priest, and he, too, a convert from Anglicanism, living in seclusion in a provincial town, should have been selected for the bestowal of an honour which is usually the last and highest in a graduated series of ecclesiastical dignities, is in itself a fact of no ordinary moment. But still more

significant as evidence of the change which English feeling has undergone during a period considerably shorter than that which I have allowed for the range of its progress is the gratitude with which this mark of favour has been generally received, and the unanimity with which every principal organ of public opinion, every class of society, every political party, and every school of religious thought throughout the kingdom have borne testimony to Dr. Newman's character and claims. Far different was the light in which he was regarded when less than four-and-thirty years ago he quitted the communion of the Church of England for that of Rome. That memorable event was not only looked upon, as was natural, with disfavour by the heads of the Church and University to which he had belonged, but caused no sensation in the country in any degree adequate to its importance; and the revolution in the national judgment of Dr. Newman did not reach its climax till nineteen years later, when a writer in a magazine ventured to bring the charge of untruthfulness against him, and evoked that celebrated defence which at once and for ever had the effect of silencing every opponent. Never, perhaps, in the history of literature or of society did the appearance of a single work produce so marvellous an effect on the public sentiment as did that of the *Apologia*. It not only changed the mind but turned the heart of the nation, and established that settled belief in Dr. Newman's singleness of purpose which has found its voice in the late demonstration. Oxford, too, has not been behind in making reparation for her former ingratitude to one of her most devoted sons, and the graceful compliment paid him last year by the President and Fellows of Trinity is not the least pleasing among the recollections of his friends. Rarely, indeed, have the privileges of persecution and the dangers of popularity been so conspicuously united in the experiences of one and the same life.

When we pass from the political and literary to the ecclesiastical arena the facts which present themselves to our view are incomparably more significant than any with which we have hitherto been engaged. Of the four parties into which the Church of England may be considered to be now divided—the Ritualistic, the Moderate High Church, the Evangelical, and the Liberal or Broad—the first had absolutely no representation fifty or sixty years ago, and the last, though it had then a foreshadowing, had no such substantive existence as would entitle it to be called a party. The Laudian type of High Churchmanship had nearly died out during the eighteenth century, and the High Churchmanship which had taken its place concerned itself far less with doctrine than with the good things of this world. Of course there were favourable exceptions to this rule, but I fear that they were not sufficient to affect the general character of the class. The most compact and consistent, as well as the most real and earnest, of the two great sections of the Establishment was represented by the Evangelicals, though even they had lost somewhat of their earlier freshness. With the High Churchman

of the time they had little in common, and they had as yet but a very limited share in the dignities and emoluments of the Establishment. They charged the members of the High Church party with a neglect of evangelical truth, and were in turn charged by them with a leaning towards dissent. The social distinctions which separated these two great parties were no less strongly marked than their theological differences. The Evangelicals renounced card-playing, balls, and other amusements to which High Churchmen as a general rule had neither theoretical nor practical objections, and their habit of introducing religious sentiments into ordinary conversation caused them to be regarded as somewhat unwelcome guests at the dinner-table or in the drawing-room. Yet as a body they were earnest and devoted men, who contributed in no small measure to keep alive the dying embers of practical religion in this country, and to prepare the way for a revival which, although doctrinally most opposite to their religious tenets, was not without its points of contact with their views in many of its practical conclusions, as may be gathered from the gratitude with which Dr. Newman speaks in the *Apologia* of the benefits he had derived from Mr. Scott's Commentary on the Bible. But if High Churchmen and Evangelicals differed on most other topics, there was one on which they were cordially agreed, and that was in their dislike of the Catholic Church. I speak of dislike rather than of antagonism, because the Catholic Church was looked upon, at the time to which I refer, as so powerless and unsubstantial a foe that anything like open resistance to it would have been considered a mere idle and quixotic waste of controversial strength. High Churchmen and Evangelicals objected to the Catholic religion on somewhat different grounds. To the former, as to Englishmen in general, the idea of Popery was that of a system of unmitigated iniquity, and to that idea the fires of Smithfield, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the Gunpowder Plot, each contributed its quota of horror and deformity. With the Evangelicals, however, who were generally men of a more thoughtful turn of mind, the chief objection to Rome was founded on its supposed neglect of the Atonement and its cognate doctrines. This was also one of the grounds of their opposition to the teaching of the High Church party, which they considered as so far bordering on that of Rome. That the charge, as far as it related to a party within the Establishment, was not without foundation may very probably have been true. But nothing except the profoundest ignorance of the real character of the Catholic religion can account for an accusation against that religion which is refuted not merely by its dogmatic statements, but by its whole practical and devotional system.

In the external form of divine worship both parties in the Establishment were pretty well agreed, excepting that the Evangelicals laid greater stress on preaching than their High Church brethren, made use of sensational hymns instead of the metrical psalms of the old and new versions, and preached rather than read the morning and evening

prayers. The material type of an essentially Protestant Church has almost ceased to have any counterpart among us. The high-walled pews have given way to open benches; the pulpit is usually of more moderate dimension than heretofore, and the communion table presents a more decent if not dignified appearance than in the olden time. But at the period from which the change may be dated, the word Catholic, now so common in the vocabulary of Churchmen, was entirely unknown in its relation to anything within the Church of England, and the character of the national worship remained much the same as in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Even the Tractarian movement itself had no immediate effect on the ritual of the Established Church, except that of causing it to be administered with greater care and seriousness of demeanour. The early morning service in Adam de Brome's chapel at St. Mary's in Oxford was conducted by Mr. Newman with the utmost simplicity, and was distinguished from other services in the Church of England only by the remarkable spirit of reverence and devotion which pervaded it.

It remains to say something of the state of the Roman Catholic Church in this country at the same period. Priests were then still living who could remember the dark times of the generation before, when Mass had to be said by stealth in garrets or cellars, and priests to be smuggled into England like contraband wares. The flickering embers of the Catholic religion had been kept alive mainly through the untiring devotion of a few great families, the Welds of Lulworth, the Arundells of Wardour, the Cliffords of Chudleigh, and others of like ancestral renown, and it was in the chapels attached to their mansions, and in some very few others, that the chain of Catholic faith and worship remained intact from the days of St. Augustine of Canterbury to the present time, in spite of all that the powers of the world could do to break it. But at the time to which my narrative refers matters had begun to improve: chapels had sprung up in the metropolis in connection with the several Catholic embassies—the Bavarian in Warwick Street, the Spanish in Manchester Square, the Sardinian in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the French in King Street, and the Portuguese in Mayfair; and these were allowed to receive the Catholic inhabitants of the several neighbourhoods in which they were situated. Other metropolitan chapels speedily followed, or had already come into existence, such as that of Somers Town, which had been the resort of the French refugee priests of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Chapels were also established in the large provincial towns and in several of the cathedral cities; and wherever there was a chapel, a priest was resident either on the spot or in the immediate neighbourhood. These chapels, with their fittings, appurtenances, and services, were of the plainest character, and the clergy who were attached to them were completely ostracised from the Protestant society of the towns in which they resided. At Lichfield, where I passed my youth, there was a priest of no ordinary learning and most exemplary life, the late Dr. Kirk. I never

knew him, except by sight, till the year 1846, when he was ninety years of age, and I had lately been received into the Catholic Church. He told me that the only Protestant in the higher ranks of society with whom he had become acquainted during the fifty years and upwards of his residence in Lichfield was the venerable dean of the cathedral, Dr. Woodhouse, who used to speak to him when he met him in the street, and gave him free access to the cathedral library.

The great ritual movement in the Church of England took its rise somewhere about the year 1839, or rather earlier. It began, I believe, in the neighbourhood of Knightsbridge, where it had the advantage of being introduced in two goodly churches and under the auspices of two zealous and distinguished clergymen. In August, 1839, it was taken up with great interest by the minister of a little proprietary chapel in the neighbourhood of Cavendish Square, where it soon attracted considerable attention. The minister in question, of whose acts and intentions I have some right to speak with confidence, was a Fellow of one of the colleges in Oxford, who had been for some time a disciple in the school of Tractarianism, and, having resigned official engagements in his college, was anxious to find an opportunity of carrying out in a new sphere the principles of Churchmanship which he had learned at the feet of teachers greatly his own superiors in ability and theological erudition. This opportunity unexpectedly presented itself in the offer of an appointment to the ministry of the aforesaid little chapel. The chapel itself was not merely devoid of architectural attractions, but in its structure and interior arrangements was far below the average of Nonconformist meeting-houses. It was literally choked with pews and benches, which left passages on either side so narrow that two persons could hardly walk along them abreast. At the further end was the pulpit, which towered over the reading-desk and clerk's desk in front and over the communion table in the rear. This description will serve to show that whatever success afterwards attended the experiment, of which this little chapel was the scene, was in no way owing to its architectural advantages, and that, too, at a time when ecclesiastical architecture occupied a high place in the estimation of Churchmen. The two principal objects which the new minister proposed to himself were—first, to introduce a quieter and more thoughtful style of preaching than was at that time popular in London; and, secondly, to provide such sensible aids to devotion, both in the general character of the services and in the internal arrangements and ornaments of the chapel itself, as might take the place of more exciting and sensational methods of stirring up religious feeling. But it soon appeared that in the latter at least of these objects he would have to encounter no ordinary amount of adverse criticism. The first note of opposition proceeded from a highly respectable quarter, and took the form of an objection to the use of bags instead of plates for the collection of the alms, as a decidedly Romish innovation. The change had been introduced with the *bonâ fide* intention

of promoting secret, as against ostentatious, almsgiving; but, as the objection came from a high quarter, the minister thought it best to meet it by a compromise, which, like most compromises, made matters worse. He retained the bags, but caused their contents to be emptied into a large dish, which he himself held at the communion rails. A few days afterwards he was summoned by his bishop, who mentioned having received a letter from one of the visitors to the chapel, complaining that the minister gazed so intently on the alms dish which he held in his hand that it was evident he regarded it as an object of idolatrous worship. It is unnecessary to say more on this part of the subject than that complaints of this nature, though not all of them quite so ridiculous as the forementioned, continued to be made to the bishop, and to be brought by his lordship under the minister's notice during a period of nearly six years. The services and arrangements of the chapel, however, kept their ground without any material alteration, and the impression which they produced on one eminent person, who was a weekly and often daily worshipper, has been publicly recorded in terms which merit this writer's sincerest gratitude, and make it unnecessary for him to say another word of his own on the subject.*

Such were the modest and slender beginnings of that great Ritualistic movement which has now spread itself over the whole of England, and almost revolutionized, in not a few churches, the received type of the national worship. The hold which Ritual religion has gained on the minds of many persons in this country, in spite of the serious opposition which it has encountered, is a manifest proof that there is some correlative instinct in human nature to which it does not address its appeals in vain. This instinct it is to which the poet refers in the well-known lines—

“*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures
Quam quæ sint oculis subjecta fidelibus.*”

The Church has enlisted in her service that “faithful” sense of sight, as Horace calls it, which is the chief inlet of impressions to the mind whether for good or evil, and has thus wrested from the world one of the world's most powerful weapons. Her ceremonial may be described as the visible expression of doctrine: not by direct representation and the impersonation of characters, but in the only way by which doctrine admits of being illustrated—that is to say, symbolically and by way of suggestion. The distinction between these two very different applications of the dramatic principle may be exemplified by that which exists between the ceremonial of High Mass in a Catholic Church and the Passion Play of the Bavarian peasants, and is in my humble judgment greatly to the advantage of the former. The High Mass of the Catholic Church is not merely a grand act of worship but a veritable school of Christian instruction. It symbolizes not only one great doctrine but several of the principal Christian virtues or dispositions—as, for example, adoration

* See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for October, 1874, p. 681.

by the bending of the knee, reverence and honour in various degrees by the bowing of the head, courtesy in the mutual salutations of the officiating clergy, and charity in the kiss of peace.

The progress which confession has made in this country, outside the Church which is its natural home, is a further proof of the power with which a vigorous and restless instinct can force its way against an extensive popular prejudice. Those distresses of conscience for which confession is designed to be the remedy are felt by sensitive minds to be incomparably the most trying of human ills, and the rather because they are little understood and less appreciated. For other forms of bodily or mental affliction there are feelings of compassion and words of kindness, soothing at least if not satisfying. But the distressed in conscience must put up with the cold comfort of being told that theirs are diseases of the mind wherein the patient must minister to himself. They are thus driven upon concealing the troubles of which exposure is the only cure. Under the pressure of this terrible privation they will try various expedients with a view to relieve themselves from the burthen which threatens to crush them. They will commit their confessions to paper, and have been known even to inscribe them in a fragmentary shape on the walls of churches or of prisons. The restitutions which are almost daily recorded in the public papers under the expressive name of "conscience money" bear witness to the activity of the same instinct. These haphazard, however praiseworthy, methods of relieving the conscience are at once included and supplemented in the institution of the confessional, which alone secures those conditions of sympathy, secrecy, and counsel, which are the motives and safeguards of confidence. The first requisite is sympathy. Experience is the mother of compassion; and in a confidant of like flesh and blood with himself the penitent feels that he has a depositary of his grief who, if he be not the sharer of his guilt, is at least the sharer of his frailty. But he needs also such a depositary of his secret as will keep it with inviolable fidelity. Every man is the guardian of his own good name, and is protected even by the rules of law from trifling with it. By the act of confession he places this precious treasure in the keeping of another; and he must have as good a pledge for its safety as when it was under lock and key in his own breast. Such a pledge the Catholic Church gives him by means of an institution altogether exceptional and *sui generis*. This institution, as is well known, is the *sigillum* or seal of confession. Its obligation not only precludes the confessor from revealing by word of mouth the secret with which he is entrusted, but compels him to abstain from every hint, gesture, or like external sign by which his knowledge of it might be intimated to others, or by which the penitent himself might be reminded of it. He is bound also to take care that his penitent shall suffer no ill consequence whatever from the knowledge acquired by confession, and must act in his regard precisely as if that knowledge had never come into his keeping. In short, he must do nothing by which either the good name of his penitent might be imperilled, or odium

brought upon the confessional. Finally, the confessor must also be a counsellor. He must be able, like a skilful physician, not merely to understand the precise nature and extent of the malady which is brought under his cognizance, but to suggest its appropriate remedies; and it is these two special ends among others to which his previous theological training will have been directed. It is surely as reasonable that there should be a class of men in the world duly qualified to minister to the diseases of the soul as that a similar provision should be made for those of the body. When this provision is wanting in either case, the treatment of diseases which are as delicate as they are distressing is left in the hands of adventurers and empirics instead of being brought under the control of a regular science.

I am all along speaking of confession under its moral and not under its sacramental aspect, because I feel that any other view of it would be out of place in a popular discussion like the present. I am also speaking of it as it exists in the Roman Catholic Church, although I have no reason to doubt that all I have said of the purpose for which it is intended, and the sacredness of the obligation which its secrets impose, applies also to its use in the Church of England, where it is said to be somewhat extensively practised. It is commonly supposed to have been one of the results of the Ritualistic movement. But this is not the fact, as it had been revived before I became a Catholic in 1845, and I believe had never fallen altogether into disuse as a practice of the Anglican Church. Indeed, if I remember aright, it has a far clearer sanction in the Book of Common Prayer than some of the Ritual practices which are now said to prevail. Whatever ground it has recently gained has been secured against even a more determined opposition than Ritual itself has encountered. It is popularly charged with enslaving the conscience, coming athwart the relation between husband and wife, or that of children with their parents, disturbing the peace of families, and the like. But if the good people who make these objections to the practice would but consult the Catholic husbands and fathers of families who know its nature and results better than they can be known by outsiders, they would find that its influence on the peace and happiness of domestic life is precisely the reverse of what they imagine. But I am here concerned with these objections only so far as they bear witness to the power of the instinct which has caused itself to be felt in spite of them.

It remains to say something of the causes which have led to this great change of national feeling on the subjects of Catholics and their religion. So far as it may be considered to be reflected in the language and current literature of the day, it is undoubtedly due to the progress of civilization, the spread of knowledge and other like influences, which have tended to open the minds, enlarge the sympathies, and elicit the latent generosity of the English people. These causes, however, are in themselves hardly adequate to the effect produced, and that for two reasons. In the first place, they do not sufficiently account for the

increased popularity of a religion many of whose dogmas, institutions, principles, and practices are so strongly opposed to the spirit of the age; nor do they explain how it has come to pass that such a religion has succeeded in commanding for itself a more prominent position and a larger measure of popular consideration in this country than others of a less aggressive character, and more apparently at least, though not more really, in harmony with the spirit of liberty and toleration. There was, however, one cause of the removal or mitigation of ancient prejudice which deserves a more special notice, because it is more immediately connected with the present subject. I refer to the increased intercourse with foreigners which has followed upon the termination of the great war with France. Up to the year 1815 the Continent of Europe was, with the exception of one brief interval, closed against English travellers, whereas since that period it has formed one of the most popular attractions of the summer season. I have already said in a former part of this article that the opening of the Continent did not at once produce any marked result upon the anti-Catholic feeling of the nation. Nor is this much to be wondered at, when we consider the temper of mind with which the Englishman of fifty or sixty years ago visited the Continent. Mr. Gladstone, in the lecture on Dr. Hook, already referred to, tells us that the Englishman of Dr. Hook's time hated not only the Pope but the French—and there is no reason to question the correctness of the assertion. The only idea which the typical John Bull of that period had of a Frenchman was that he wore sabots and fed on frogs, and the only idea which the Frenchman had of his English visitor was that he was addicted to cursing and “rosbif.” These were not promising conditions of an instructive intercourse, especially when it is borne in mind that France was of all European countries the one most usually visited by English tourists of the time. We may reasonably infer that these tourists returned to England with views of the Catholic religion not more enlightened than those with which they left it. All that they had learned of that religion was probably confined to the experience of a visit made to Amiens Cathedral under the guidance of a loquacious but discreet commissionaire, who would probably take care to adapt his remarks to the prejudices of his companions. The great Tractarian movement, however, which followed some fifteen years after the opening of the Continent, poured into it a more intelligent and interested body of travellers, who made it their business to inquire into the working of the Catholic Church, and came back with glowing accounts of the devoted labours of the French clergy and sisters of charity, the excellence of the education conducted by the Jesuits, the heroic sacrifices of foreign missionaries, and other such details as were calculated to make a deep impression on the minds of religious persons in this country. Many of these details received a striking confirmation at the time of the Crimean War. On the other hand, it is a curious fact, and one not generally known, that almost the only foreign influence by which the Tractarian movement itself was

affected was the result of intercourse which took place between certain French priests and a clergyman of the Church of England, upwards of thirty years before the movement was even contemplated. I have already mentioned that the priests who sought shelter in this country from the expected horrors of the Great French Revolution were in the habit of reciting their office together in the building since known as the Somers Town Catholic Chapel, and soon attracted the compassion and respect of persons in the neighbourhood, who were naturally edified by observing how cheerily these holy exiles could sing the Lord's song in a strange land. Among those who became acquainted with them was a clergyman, who afterwards rose to high preferment and great distinction in the Church of England, the Rev. Charles Lloyd, for some years Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and Bishop of that See. In 1826, or thereabouts, Dr. Lloyd began a course of lectures with a private class of divinity students on the history of the Anglican Prayer Book, and the sources from which many of its contents are derived. Among the students who attended these lectures were Mr. Newman, Mr. Robert Wilberforce, Mr. Hurrell Froude, and myself, three of which number have since become Catholics. I distinctly remember Dr. Lloyd telling us that his knowledge of the Roman Breviary, of which such extensive use is made in the composition of the Prayer Book, was gained in his youth from the French refugee priests at Somers Town. His class were, I suppose, for the most part quite ignorant of the Breviary till he drew their attention to it. But the effect of the interest in it which his brilliant lectures created was that many copies of that work were immediately purchased, one of which is, I think, mentioned by Dr. Newman as having been found among Mr. Hurrell Froude's books after his death. Little, indeed, did the exiled priests dream of the consequences which were one day to follow upon the casual conversation with a youthful clergyman of the Established Church.

It is no small proof of the purely internal and independent character of the Tractarian movement that so accidental a circumstance as that just recorded should occur to my mind as almost the only instance in which the movement was even remotely affected by any external agency whatever. Never, surely, was the cause of the Roman Catholic Church so materially advanced by means with which that Church had so little to do. Neither foreign nor English Roman Catholics had, in fact, any part in its origin and early stages. At a later period of its development it is true that the bias of its leading mind was strongly turned in the Roman direction by a passage in the *Dublin Review* from the pen of a great Catholic controversialist. But it was St. Augustine, and not the controversialist in question, who was the author of that passage. Dr. Newman tells us in the *Apologia* that, when abroad, he never attended a regular Catholic service. He made a point of avoiding the company of Catholics who came to Oxford in the interests of their Church; and gave but slender encouragement to others who sought to hasten his conversion by letters. He appears also to have been much displeased at that

time by the language and political action of Catholics, especially in the sister island. It was equally true of others, and even of those who were supposed to be the more advanced members of the Tractarian school, that they had few, if any, relations with foreign or English Catholics, and scrupulously avoided mixing themselves up with the Catholic religion in this kingdom. The present writer, for instance, was never inside a Catholic Church in England till he was received; and rushed out of one which he had imprudently entered in Ireland under the impression that he had no business to be there, although it then wanted no more than a twelvemonth to his conversion. He resided nineteen years as an Undergraduate and Fellow of a College in Oxford, and never knew the Catholic priest even by sight, nor the situation of his chapel. Let it not be supposed, then, that the revival of Catholicity in this country has been due to the proselytizing efforts of Roman Catholics, or to any other cause than the intrinsic power of the religion itself. I have already said that the improved tone of English feeling on subjects connected with that religion is to be attributed mainly to causes of a general character. But it is the Tractarian movement alone to which must be ascribed the more purely ecclesiastical portion of the change; and that movement was almost entirely independent of any extrinsic aid, except such as it undoubtedly derived from the traditions and associations of the great University in which it took its rise. Oxford—especially the Oxford of that day—was replete with the vestiges of her ancient self; and there were those among the writers of the Tracts who were peculiarly alive to the impressions of the *admonitus locorum*. The memento of Founders and Benefactors in the bidding-prayer before the University sermon formed a perpetual link between the present and the past. Two of the principal Colleges bear titles which immediately connect them with special doctrines or institutions of the Roman Church; and one of the two owes its very existence to the Catholic practice of praying for the dead. Then there were the Latin services at Christ Church and St. Mary's, and the Latin grace at Balliol, in which there was a prayer for benefactors taken *verbatim* from the Breviary. There were also shreds and patches of old Catholic usages, which had been torn from their surroundings, and waited for better times to recover their interpretation. Yet the original movers of the great Catholic revival had themselves no idea of the direction in which their studies were leading them; and, for the most part, stopped short of what proved to be the ultimate destination of their labours. But although the issue of their work was, for a time, uncertain, there could never have been any reasonable doubt that an issue it would have, and a momentous one. It had within it those elements of vitality and perpetuity the presence of which is always a pledge of final success, and their absence a note of sure failure—singleness of purpose, the love of truth for its own sake, and the spirit of self-sacrifice.

FREDERICK OAKELEY.

THE BARBARISMS OF CIVILIZATION.

G UIZOT attempted to fix the meaning of the word Civilization by an elaborate induction, and concluded that its essential meaning is Progress. But to many minds progress will appear harder to define than civilization; such a definition is certainly *obscurum per obscurius*. Far more obvious it is to look to the history of the word Civilization. It is a modern development out of the verb Civilize, which, of course, meant nothing but to *make civil*. Thus we are thrown back on to the adjective Civil, Latin *Civilis*. If we can rightly expound this, we can hardly fail to interpret Civilize aright.

Notoriously a *Civilis animus* is the opposite of a *Regius animus*, which to the Latins suggested the claim of lordship and privilege, nay, a spirit haughty and high-handed. On the contrary, he who was *Civilis* had the qualities of a *Civis*, the virtues of a citizen: especially, he treated other men as his equals, his peers, and claimed no superiority; hence the popular English idea of Civility. Not only so, but he was a good citizen in a larger sense; ready to sustain the public welfare by wisdom and energy at the expense of personal sacrifices. Surely we need not hesitate to accept as a true interpretation, that to be "civilized" means to become thus *fit for citizenship*. If we try to step further back, and ask, What was the primitive idea of the word *Civis* with the Romans? our ignorance of early Latin embarrasses us. Yet in other cases also (whatever be the cause) the Welsh or the Irish language gives indirect suggestion. Here we find that the Welsh *Cyf* (sounded *Kiv*) is comparable to Greek *συν* and Latin *Con*, *Cum*. Words beginning with *Cyf* occupy twenty columns of Richards's Welsh Dictionary. *Cyfalle* means *conjux*, husband or wife, a partner, a fit match. *Cyfail* means a friend, a comrade, *alter idem*. This reminds us that those who were full Spartan citizens were called *οἱ ὅμοιοι*, the equals, *the peers*. By

such analogies the present writer is persuaded that the idea of *CIVES* among the Sabines, from whom it probably came into Latin, was Partners and Equals in the community. Out of this the sense of the adjective *Civilis* flows naturally, and comprises the notions of "fraternal, just, and courteous."

Now, if the attainment of such qualities be (as the writer believes) Civilization, it is only in *spurious* civilization that barbarity can inhere; and in this sense must the motto at the head of this article be interpreted. It is not here denied that there has been Progress (in the high and true sense) accompanying the national changes both in England and in all Europe; indeed, when there is occasion for it (as in a certain controversy there is), to recount the marks of such progress is easy enough. Yet, wherever a national history lies open to us, it is a familiar fact that its earlier barbarism had its own virtues as well as its vices, and that in its later stage new vices came in, or even the old ones under new pretences; so that at last, in spite of the progress of which it might justly boast, the *Civitas* broke in pieces mainly through the failure of the *Civilis animus*. From no other cause does the vain talk of Socialism now gain plausibility and influence than from a perception, an inward sense, that such is our present danger. If we will not look honestly into the face of facts, a fundamental discontent, not the less formidable because its claims are vague, may gain great and dangerous prevalence.

But in speaking of our barbarisms the argument must be confined to this United Kingdom, and nearly to matters which public opinion either does not censure or has even approved by law and established as systematic. Unless we thus limited ourselves it might seem doubtful where we should stop and whence we could hope for a remedy. Unhappily the range of facts to be considered is far too ample, even when limited as above. From what point shall we begin on a wide and varied topic? Perhaps from our *neglects*.

While population is scant over an area of which few know the limits, lawless freedom can do no harm against the force of Nature. If a stream be polluted by wanderers, the pollution is quickly carried away, and the evil is transitory. If trees be lavishly cut for firewood, the forest does not miss them. If their trunks impede a water-way, a new channel is presently opened. If large game be killed, and much of the carcass left to putrefy, the poisoned air does not reach far. Man is not yet powerful enough to improve the country; therefore neither to mar or ruin it. But when population increases, new dangers arise—not those of which alone Malthus and the spurious followers of Malthus talk, but—danger lest *one* spoil the air, the water, and the land for *another*; danger also lest one seize for himself more land than he can use, to the damage of many others. Even very rude tribes soon discern these dangers; our earliest common law denounced the practices which involved them; but local mischiefs can only be averted or redressed by locally vigilant authority; central power has plenty besides to do.

Among ourselves there has been, and there is, manifold and barbarous neglect.

It is not at all rare to find the side of a mountain or high hill thickly timbered as you traverse a road, until of a sudden the timber fails, and you see only thin rocky soil with tufts of gorse and grass. On examining, you discover the ground to be just as poor even where trees and bushes grow thick; but a wall encloses them. The difference is only that within the wall the land is private property, outside it is common. The law, as administered by the rich, has not defended the woods which belonged to the *public*, but has permitted each greedy individual to despoil them. In consequence the natural wood long ago disappeared, except where defended as private property. Continental countries have defenders of the public forests. We might have had defenders, appointed not by any central power, but by each parish, if our originally well-planned local institutions had been cherished and developed. Every wardmote, holden in the common interests of the people, might have been a public school and fountain of local sentiment. With little or no expense the people themselves would have restrained the offences of their own order: but there is now little to preserve; commons have been swept away, and public footpaths too, under cover of new laws, the rich rivalling and surpassing by far the encroachments of the poor.

Under English notions of freedom the same mischief has for a long time been going on in English colonies, or colonies so called—as, for instance, the Mauritius. This island was captured by the British in 1810. Since its sugar has been admitted into England on equality with West Indian sugar the blind eagerness of trade has done its worst to deform a beautiful spot. Nature is still too powerful for man; yet an old resident thus writes: “Fruit, once abundant, is now scarce and high-priced. The beautiful woods, rich in a tangle of gay flowering trees and gigantic *lianes*, are now to be seen only in a few of the more rocky places. Naked stumps and rows of stiff cane replace them. Even the prettily-wooded environs of the country-houses are too often sacrificed for the universal cane. There is not a Creole in the island but will shake his head mournfully, and tell you that his *petit pays* is but a shadow of its former beautiful self.” Far worse than this—that is, worse than the disappearance of rice, arrowroot, manioc, yams, potatoes, cotton, indigo, most of the fruit and much of the beauty of the island—is the terrible fact, that eagerness to raise sugar led to a large importation of “coolies” (ignorant, helpless men, who often came under a misunderstanding of the contract which virtually enslaved them); and no provision being made for cleanliness in a tropical climate, this island, formerly noted for salubrity, is permanently stricken with malarious fever. A lagoon many miles in extent, on one side of the principal town, is now described as a bare expanse of fetid mud, when the tide recedes.

The same may be said of many English sea-side resorts. Offensive details might easily be here put together. But to return to the destruction of timber. A Continental statesman of some eminence recently uttered the assertion: "The universal curse of old civilization is the wide destruction of the natural forests." He had Italy especially in view. But in Canada and the United States already the mischief is felt. One may presume that the steeper the hills the more rapid is the devastation. Often the rainfall is lessened. Also the forest which acted as a sponge no longer holds up the water, which runs off in flood instead of sustaining full streams all through the year. It is well if these floods do not carry off the soil from the surface, leaving bare rock, upon which no human repentance can renew the original timber. The modern English philosophy, too often preached by Radicals and practised by Conservatives, is: "Let the State give to every enterprising individual free leave to use up the natural products of the soil, vegetable or mineral, leaving posterity and the future to shift for themselves."

Poisoning of the natural streams is a still worse offence perpetrated by the cupidity of trade. This was severely forbidden by our common law, yet constantly committed, simply because we have no official public prosecutors. The same cause makes laws against polluting the air by smoke ineffective. Neighbours may be annoyed, yet do not like the odium of prosecuting; in manufacturing towns all the rich have interest in impunity, and shelter one another; much less is an individual likely to take the expense and risk of lawsuits, especially against an opulent company. Hence, long before the invention of gas polluted the Thames, foul water in plenty gushed into it against common law from the Fleet Ditch. But the main stream and upper water remained comparatively pure; for salmon came up with the tide beyond Richmond in the memory of men not yet decrepit. After the gas companies had made the water unfit for use no scruple was felt against increasing the pollution. No powerful corporation bestirred itself to prosecute, and neglect might seem already to have inflicted on the noble river the worst which it could suffer.

But theory, pedantry, and pretentious sanitation proved still more efficacious for evil than any mere neglect. A number of active-minded men, physicians, surgeons, and physicists, were shocked at the high death-rate of towns and their evident insalubrity. In order to improve the atmosphere they invented the bright idea of commanding the pollution of rivers. In the years 1844-48 it was in vain that any unpretending citizen argued with the eager sanitarians who assumed the direction of Parliament against the odious offence of poisoning the natural streams. In vain did one remind them that this was the specific iniquity, the detestable crime peculiarly forbidden (according to Greek belief) by "that voice of many peoples which is truly a voice of God." They derided opposition as the outcry of ignorant conservatism, and cajoled

Parliament (1848) into making that pollution of rivers to be compulsory, which from time immemorial had been penal. Before many years were past Parliament, in consequence, found itself half-poisoned by the pestiferous stench of the Thames. Then counter-legislation began. But the mischief had been made universal by fatuous law of which the sanitarian philosophers had been the originators, the Parliament the tool, and the helpless nation the victims. After this very grave blunder, to purify the polluted streams and get rid of noxious matters was easier to command than to effect. The evil which ought to have been removed by calling for the execution of the good old common law had been multiplied a hundredfold by the energy of would-be scientific statute law; it still distresses most and crushes many.

London, a very wealthy metropolis, has been relieved at the expense of many millions sterling; but it is only a relief, not a cure, which her vast constructions have achieved. The newer science has gone back to the wisdom of Moses, and teaches that earth is the rightful purifier of refuse that else will be dangerous; that no accumulation of material, noxious out of place, ought to be allowed to putrefy by long time; that it is a very evil thing to rob the head streams of rivers for the convenience of huge towns, first stinting the rivers of their natural supply, next pouring back into them the waters detestably polluted, to the misery of villagers. The marvel is, how any men pretending to science can have devised such plans. That they succeeded in winning over Parliament is, of course, to be accounted for by the over-occupation of that august body, and by the wretched misarrangement which permits laws (of perhaps vital importance) to be passed in thin and wearied Houses after midnight. A solemn condemnation of all this false sanitation is recorded in the Social Science Transactions of 1868—that is, in the able Address of Dr. Henry W. Rumsey on “Health.” Most reluctantly, no doubt, does he sum up against the deplorable errors of his predecessors in science. A short extract from his Address may here be appropriate (p. 93) :—

“So eager were most of the earlier sanitarians to get rid, at any cost, of human refuse that, without due consideration of the possible results of the measures adopted on the future water-supply of the people, they advised the pouring of abominations of all kinds into the nearest water-courses; having first rendered subsequent measures for the recovery of what was truly valuable in this (so-called) refuse almost impracticable by diluting it with floods of water, both that which had been artificially stored at enormous expense for town distribution and the natural rainfall.

“In vain did physiologists and scientific agriculturists protest, for various reasons, against this rash dilution and wrong disposal of organic matter. The skill and enterprise of our great civil engineers, supported by the energy of leading sanitary reformers, were triumphant. The effete products of manufactures and trades, the animal and vegetable *débris* of towns, mineral detritus, &c., were all to be got rid of by water-carriage. The result was, that communities have had to encounter a more serious difficulty than at the very beginning of sanitary reform. There were fish in the rivers, good for food; they all perished. There were human communities down the stream, suffering from an increase of sickness and

mortality, and crying out for drinkable water. Well, they were advised to filter the river water, or to boil and then aerate it; or if all this were too troublesome and expensive, they might sink wells, or tunnel the nearest hills, for a *safer* supply. No substantial relief or help was afforded them."

Dr. Rumsey goes on to quote figures which seem to confirm the belief emphatically preached by Dr. Budd of Bristol, that watercourses, when defiled by the products of disease, are very efficient diffusers of baneful malaria. Without adopting any germ theory, any novel or contested opinion, the repugnance of common sense to sending in every direction that which tends to poison the air might seem a sufficient reason for condemning and rejecting water-carriage of such materials. But we are not yet at the bottom of our difficulty. In all our towns it is both the fashion and the compulsory law to have tightly-closed drains; open sewers are forbidden. Good! right! we at first say. But, alas! the gases which are formed inside the drains will blow them up if some vent be not allowed; therefore at fixed distances vent holes are periodically opened, whence foul blasts are liable to assail one or other of the luckless neighbouring houses. But now we are taken aback by a new development. It is asserted that the drains need more ventilation than had been supposed. Orders from central authority in London insist that the vents shall be placed at shorter distances; and so great is central power that, in the town where the present writer resides, members of the ruling commission have made the ominous remark, that we seem now to be forced back in the direction of open drains! With an unsound basis you cannot attain consistency and stability. Surely this is a condemnation of water-carriage, even if we had, ready-made, a double set of natural channels and a double supply of water.

In all this discussion it has been overlooked that, instead of going to the root of the mischief, artifice has been applied to sustain historical wrongs which we ought to outgrow and remove. Dr. Rumsey justly insists on the essential want of ozone, and excess of carbonic acid, in the atmosphere of large towns. Large towns are in themselves a monstrous evil—an evil continually growing through wrongful laws or customs of land; and this system of drainage has, by affecting to induce salubrity, aided to blind the public and sustain the evil. A town of twenty thousand inhabitants is large enough for every good and desirable object. Even when this number is not exceeded careful regulation is needful to secure healthful air and water without unreasonable expense. One sentence suffices to express the cardinal condition which supersedes water-carriage of refuse, and ensures normal salubrity—viz., every block of houses should have side by side a proportionate space of land suitable to periodical and rapid crops, on which the whole refuse should be expended. It is not parks and gardens that we want in the middle of a town to serve merely as lungs, but rustic fields, to be manured and cropped at short intervals, under public and compulsory rules. To

enact such rules prospectively concerning towns not yet built involves no intrinsic difficulty even in the United Kingdom, and might almost be called easy in our newer colonies—say, Australia and New Zealand especially. But a Parliament so overworked as ours can never look forward, and is driven on to work chiefly by public disasters, for which (it might seem) it waits, except when intriguers manage and master it by a cunning study of its forms and rules. Empty fields and huge densely-packed towns denote in past history the era of decay, especially when the towns have to be fed from abroad. No large population ought now to live on a narrow area. In the ruder ages, before cannon and bomb-shells were invented, swarms of people huddled thick together in order to gain protection by a city wall. Military necessity then overpowered all scruples concerning health. But in the modern stage of the military art, an enemy who commands the field is formidable to a town in proportion as its population is dense, which is so much the more exposed to the horrors of famine and of bombardment. We have no longer excuse for any towns with closely-packed inhabitants; much less was there ever valid reason for cities so large that the children by scores of myriads are unable to walk into the country. The old accounts of Nineveh and imperial Babylon represent those capitals as having within the fortifications wide areas of cultivated land, making them, not cities, but fortified provinces, with rural districts enclosed. If thirty-five years ago our sanitarians had held the doctrine to which their sad failure points us—which, indeed, Dr. Rumsey maintains—that water-carriage of offensive matter is fundamentally wrong, their action would have been directed to control the growth of towns, and permit it only under severe conditions. But as things are now managed the land on the edge of every town is the property of an individual, and if built upon, its money value is multiplied manyfold. Therefore private cupidity, not the public welfare, prescribes when and where new houses shall be built, and how tightly the inhabitants shall be packed. To the poor this is a terrible calamity. The poor cannot select where they will live; they have to lodge where they can find shelter, not too distant from their work. The wild savage not only lives in pure air, but is fastidious in choosing the atmosphere in which he will sleep; but a poor family in a country which vaunts its civilization, too often, in spite of industrious virtue and immense efforts, sink down into misery, the health first of one, then another member breaking down under the insalubrity of a district. What avails it to talk of drains when the drainage from the higher grounds defiles houses that are lower, and perhaps a poisoned river adds its fatal exhalations? A family, packed into two, or say three, rooms can scarcely avoid contagion when a single member falls sick. Now also, the drains being out of sight, it is morally certain that defects will exist, or be caused by wear and tear, unseen. In one place evil liquids and gases will percolate; in another evil accumulations will putrefy. Instead of blending small portions of needful manure quickly with small portions of

the earth that needs it, we secure in the drains a slow putrefaction, and a permanent source of pestilence; we relieve a town by imposing a grave vexation and danger on the whole neighbourhood where its drains have exit; we make the mouth of every tide-river a harbour and storehouse of pollution; and after thus wasting an agricultural treasure, we send across the Atlantic ships for a very foul commerce in material destined to replace it. Is there here any lack of eloquent facts to rebuke our "barbarism?"

On a smaller scale we have like noxious deeds, not in dense populations, but in places essentially rural. These words do not allude to the hideous deforming of scenes naturally beautiful, say in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, or Wales, by the smoke of chimneys for manufactures or mining; pollution of the rivers is still pointed at. As isolated instances of a common fact, we may here state, that into the beautiful Ulleswater a fresh bubbling stream ran from Greenside, until in the mountain a mine was opened, which poured its refuse lead into the "beck," turning its colour to that of dirty milk. Hereby every wanderer gets warning not to drink. The peasants close by have become accustomed to get drinking water from other and smaller rills, and, if asked whether the loss of the beck is not an infliction, they reply: "Well, the good folk at the mines *give us work*." Thus, for a consideration, they become willing partners in the poisoning of the stream. But this is not all. The stream poisons the lake, at least where first it enters; no doubt much of the lead is quickly deposited in the deep bottom. But after copious rain, the lake overflows on the pastures. Some years back the writer knew a case, not likely to be isolated. A pony ate grass over which the water had flowed, and was killed by its poison. The company which worked the mines immediately paid the price of the poor animal, thus averting a lawsuit and a disgraceful exposure. But is this state of things not barbarous, and worse than barbarism? Again, at Aberystwith, where two streams meet, one of them is poisoned by refuse from a mine, but the colour of the water does not show it. The writer knows of two tourists, who, being thirsty with walking, tried to drink, and were foiled only by the steepness of the bank and want of a cup. They afterwards learned what danger they had escaped.

At the moment of writing, a notice turns up concerning the state of the Scotch rivers—viz., in the *Daily News* of May 5th. For drinking or for washing the water in many streams gives the people much anxiety. Creosote is used in sheep-washing. A tank of creosote was kept near to a small river of Kinross-shire named the Devon, in which the trout still retained a home. But the tank leaked, the stream became muddy with it, the trout sickened, died, and floated on the top; the neighbours dreaded to use the water. "Meanwhile," says the Editor of the *Daily News*, "the Tweed salmon are dying of the disease which has done so much mischief in the Eden; which, as *Science has probably caused it*, Science may be asked to cure." Is science in sheep-washing intended?

or science of health? or science of national economy? It was quite notorious forty years ago that the refuse of the animal was the food of the vegetable, and ought to be saved for use, not wasted in poisoning the waters. How could well-informed men delude themselves into an approval of this course? Only one explanation occurs: *they despaired of returning to Nature*. They assumed that we must live by artifice, and they entitled artifice "*Science*."

When once manufacturers have been accustomed to use a river as a drain it is necessarily hard upon them to forbid the practice; yet even here we have encouragement in returning to the only natural and right path. The greatest manufacturers of alum, perhaps in all the world, have their works in Manchester, and when forbidden to continue throwing their refuse into the adjoining stream, a tributary of the Mersey, were at first stunned by perplexity; but they called in the aid of science, in a right, not in the wrong way. They propounded to skilful chemists the problem how to dispose of their refuse, and before long (to use the phrase of one of the partners) they discovered that they had been throwing away gold. Modes were suggested of turning it to service, by which an actual gain was achieved, where they had expected heavy loss. The same gentleman attested that he had heard similar results to neighbours whose trade was of a different character from his.

It is evident that the avarice of trade needs many checks, both from political enactment and from moral teaching; yet neither check is duly applied. The wastefulness of military action is proverbial, yet the trader, who aims only at his own immediate enrichment, is as reckless of the future as the soldier, who plans only for victory. How painful is the record of successive destruction or extermination of animal races. If a huge creature like the elephant can only exist by occupying large areas of forest and plain which are needed for human habitation, no doubt the brute, however generous, must at length give place to the man. We do not know certainly how the elephant was exterminated from Northern Africa, but the eager demand for *ivory* under the Roman emperors is the probable cause. The entire race was driven out of existence for the pride or fantasy of rich men, whose money the hunters coveted. It is believed that in India also this noble animal, under English rule, is rapidly diminishing, and likely soon to vanish, though there exist jungles innumerable in which men cannot live and elephants might multiply. In Africa, south of the equator, the elephant is still found, but the pursuit of him for his tusks is incessant; chiefly to satisfy the craving of the civilized!* Much the same may be said of the American bison, who is sometimes slaughtered for his *tongue* alone, which is easier to carry off than his hide or his horns. In like manner the beavers have

* An enterprising American, who bought up from President Lincoln's Government the carcasses of all horses slain in battle, found that the shankbone of a good horse is so dense as to furnish no bad substitute for ivory. Are such bones duly esteemed and economized?

been hunted away, perhaps extirpated; not because their works are noxious to the streams, but simply because their furs fetch a steady price in our markets. The destruction of salmon and other fish by avaricious and reckless fishing has never been quite overlooked, and of late has been more seriously provided against by preventive legislation. The seals, walruses, and whales have not (we may presume) in any case wholly perished under the attacks of our pitiless hunters; but these innocent, kind-hearted animals—some of them very intelligent—have been largely driven away from the habitats most suited to their comfort; and probably the young ones perish through want of the fostering care of parents. To pass from the great to the little: it is reported that the exquisitely beautiful humming birds are disappearing at an alarming rate, owing to a new fashion which decks ladies' bonnets or heads with their feathers.

Divines and moralists have very little busied themselves with inquiries into the duties of men to other animals, and the limits to man's right over the various animal races. Hitherto, if in the recklessness of trade any animal be extirpated—say a beaver or a species of seal—it is lamented, not because the animal had any right to live, but because posterity will be poorer for his destruction; just as, if we deplore the using up of our coal-mines, which does but enrich one class of richer men, we deplore it not because the coal has a right to exist, but because the coming generations will have to go deeper and search further for their coal—perhaps may find it too dear to use. Yet is there not another side to this question? When the extreme case is put—"Shall man die, or shall animals die, that man may live?" there is no difference of judgment among men; but only in the exceptional case, only where wild game is essential for human food, is the absolute right of man over the life of gentle and harmless brutes universally conceded. A strong distinction is maintained by some between the wild animals which owe nothing whatever to mankind and the half-domesticated which men feed and protect from their natural enemies, so that in some sense we cause them to exist. Suppose it to be conceded that the fowls which we have defended and nourished may be claimed as lives over which we have discretionary control, surely with much less plausibility can we claim the like control over wild animals. The English law which pronounces those that we feed and protect to be private property, while it refuses all right of property in the wild animal, was based upon a sense of the sharp distinction. There is, apart from the moral question, an underlying economical one, in the fact that the grazier who rears cattle for the butcher's knife is never likely to exterminate the race; on the contrary, he seeks to multiply it, though by his artificial treatment he propagates a far weaker and more fragile breed. Still, he has demonstrably *some* right in his cattle, and a farmer in his fowls; but a hunter has absolutely none in the wild animals he pursues; unless might be right. To kill some, to mangle more, to cause numbers of young to perish, to drive

whole flocks from their natural abodes, perhaps to extirpate entire species for no other reason but pecuniary gain, is apt to be an injury to the human race on the one hand, and on the other is hard to justify by any moral reasoning if a court be held where an advocate is heard on the side of the brute. This is a topic which will be more fully discussed in the near future.

In considering our national state, the character of our laws, and the temper of our immediate rulers, it is often hard to judge what is the ideal at which legislators aim. Perhaps we must conclude that there are half a dozen different ideals alternately in the ascendant. Very careless we have been, and are, as to the extirpation of wild animals and of savage tribes; but how about the British and Irish races? Do we wish them to multiply or to dwindle, or do we think their present number precisely the right thing? Early in this century if a nobleman chose to unpeople his estate few voices were raised to censure it, and those were not heard in Parliament. Nearly the same state of things still exists. Where a faint defence was regarded as necessary by some professed economist, it was thought a good argument to insist that the population was still in existence, indeed was probably better housed than before, being now in some fishing town or some great metropolis. If population multiply in some rural area, the economists call it a *warren*, comparing men to the rabbits, whom farmers style "vermin;" but if they multiply in the slums of a town, where they are sure to grow up largely deficient in vital force, and perhaps with inferior moral character, this is approved of, as a sufficient compensation for driving them out from the fields and mountains where they were vigorous parents of a vigorous posterity. Barbarians know how to value a tall, muscular, and active population: have we entirely lost pride in the *rusticorum mascula militum proles*, whose large extermination in imperial Italy the poet Horace deplored? So it might seem; for the condition imposed on the old English baron of maintaining soldiers for the king's service has been for ages set at nought with impunity. Œdipus in Sophocles avows that neither towers nor ships are of avail if they are not well manned. Do we now really think that industrious slaves, paying rich tribute to the exchequer, sustain a nation in strength and honour without stalwart peasants? Or, when other nations compute their population at eighty millions or forty millions, *ever increasing*, that we can long continue in rival equality if our millions cease to multiply? During the advance of national greatness the increase of population is coveted and applauded; barrenness of women is esteemed a curse of God; blessing and joy attend every increase of families. When misanthropy and avarice deprecate increase, Nature is dethroned: the nation must decay if this be acquiesced in, and we may generally infer that its institutions are unjust. Certainly every nation has an intrinsic right to increase its numbers; a right earlier than, and more sacred than, any right which an individual can have to the luxury of romantic solitudes. To forbid such increase is a deeper

barbarism than that of savages. Institutions and laws, if they hinder it, need to be severely reformed. As the elephant or the wild Indian must give way to the pressure of human population, so must the rich proprietor; and if we value the English race as not inferior to any human family and superior to most, it is inevitable for us to desire not to be outnumbered by others, on whom perhaps we look down. The talk about superfluous population is about as gratuitous as that about the lost ten tribes. The ten tribes are no more lost than the two tribes; Ephraim and Judah have for near two millenniums been inextricably mingled; no one tribe is lost more than another, unless you go back to Simeon or Dan. So too, no one has ever yet shown that we have any superfluity of population. We have great superfluity of vice, great superfluity of bad law: remove evil habits and evil institutions, and it will presently appear that never was it easier for a people to feed and support itself. Too many political economists (unhappily) have to learn that vice is of all things most wasteful. Only a *vicious* population ought to be regarded as superfluous. Institutions which forbid industrious men to raise food out of the soil are something worse than superfluous. At the close of the American civil war, when freedom had been proclaimed to the slaves, those red men who live in the Indian territory—who, in imitation of the Southerners, had introduced a system of slavery—concluded that they must now reverse their course. *They*, too, proclaimed freedom to their slaves. But they did not scold at them as vermin, or as a superfluous population; no, but they re-divided their own lands, and gave to the freed men portions equal to their own. Which doctrine or practice is more barbarous—that of English land-tenure and population-fearing economists, or that of these American children of Nature?

The physicians and physiologists who had so cleverly persuaded Parliament in 1848 to make the pollution of rivers compulsory were so elated with their success that very soon their ambition assumed new audacity. Sir Robert Peel died in 1850 by a fall from his horse; but they had already beset him with the project of making vaccination compulsory: a thing which he protested the English public would never endure. He did not know how cleverly a devoted clique would manage the midnight hours of a wearied Parliament, nor what energy a united faculty could put forth when it had attained permanent office for ambitious schemers. The analogy was so beautiful between defiling the natural streams with a view to the public health and defiling the blood in the arteries with a view to the health of the individual, that those who had been bitten and infected with rabies for the one scheme took naturally and kindly to the other. No public debate took place on the topic, even among medical men; much less was any notoriety given to the debates in Parliament, if there were any, concerning compulsory vaccination. Apparently the thing was managed in the mode now esteemed orthodox. Various esteemed medical men talked over the editors of London "*Dailies*:" it would seem that a "conspiracy of

silence" was achieved in that early day; and, to use a very modern phrase, the whole thing "was sprung upon us" unawares, in 1853, just when our heads were getting full of Menchikoff and the Sultan, of Hungary and Austria, and much beside of foreign affairs. The Crimean War came, and was fought out, and departed, without one man in a hundred, out of those who were too old to have infant children, being aware of any change concerning vaccination. But in the medical profession itself there had always been avowed and pertinacious enemies of the practice. A small section of the nation knew and abhorred the law of compulsion. Out of this small but resolute school came stern remonstrances and solemn warning to the medical officials that vaccination, especially from arm to arm, was apt to convey any or every blood disease. But the officials spurned them as mere "quacks." Within twenty years, however, the confessions of able pro-vaccinators were overpowering. Mr. Simon, medical officer to the Privy Council, could not deny the fact, but alleged that the operator *must have* dipped his lancet too deep, and taken a drop of blood. He did not, and does not, guarantee any one against a like misadventure in the future. The pro-vaccinators have not learned to blush at their persistent and rude denial of what is now a confessed danger. Sir Thomas Watson, an aged and leading physician, only last year (June No. of the *Nineteenth Century*) calls the chance of foul disease from the vaccination now orthodox "a ghastly risk," and praises the father who will go to prison rather than permit it. Yet Sir Thomas Watson so hugs vaccination that he advocates the infusion of disease into calves in order to get cow-pox *at first hand*.

This is no place for nice medical argument, if the writer had tenfold knowledge: but many broad facts glare upon every one who has open eyes. In history, in theology, and equally in medicine, we have often to remember that there are some assertions, some doctrines, so paradoxical, so opposed to common sense, that when it is asked, what sort of evidence would avail to prove them? we are driven to reply, that we cannot imagine any: they are intrinsically incredible. Such to us is the doctrine that the Supreme God became a bull and a swan, and much beside which might be named. It generally happens that precisely those doctrines which thus startle us as incredible are eminently devoid of any proof that deserves regard. Just so is it here. *A priori*,—that is, from all the light of received physiology and ordinary common information,—we believe that the stronger is vitality, the sturdier is the resistance to contagion; and the purer the blood, the stronger is vitality. That corruption infused into the blood can secure us from contagion is certainly most unpalatable,—scarcely credible,—a doctrine not to be received without overwhelming proof. Yet no proof from science is even pretended, but only a proof from perfectly ridiculous statistics,—ridiculous, because ill imagined from the beginning, and variously self-refuting. As an eminent Austrian physician has lately argued:—If tables were now drawn up to show how many of the vaccinated, and

how many of the unvaccinated, die of *diphtheria*, the figures, if applied with the most perfect skill and fairness imaginable, must end in making out either the one side or other to have more deaths: thus (if the logic used concerning small-pox be admitted) it will be made out that either vaccination or non-vaccination tends to secure from diphtheria. Of course that would be nonsense; and why not equal nonsense to infer from statistics that vaccination saves from small-pox? Meanwhile, the awful fact on a great scale confronts us, that small-pox has become more and more prevalent, more and more fatal, since vaccination has been made compulsory. Now at last the cause comes out without a blush of shame from our orthodox school. The Government vaccinators have for many years obtained a large part of what they call *lymph* (a fraudulent name—*pus*, or matter, is the only right word) by inoculating calves or bullocks with *small-pox*. The result in the animals they are pleased to call *cow-pox*, and when the poisonous matter is transferred back to human infants they assume that it will *not* reproduce small-pox!! But while this doctrine is orthodox in London, the Local Government Board in Dublin allows no such dealing; for on February 10th last it warned all vaccinators that such proceeding spreads small-pox by inoculation, and is a crime against the law. Another broad fact is, the widespread suffering, disease, and death which vaccination causes in infants. A third is, the utter failure of vaccination to prevent small-pox, and the zeal of doctors for re-vaccination. Numbers of the re-vaccinated have caught small-pox within *a year* or *a month* after. The medical men who pretend (to the vulgar and to the ignorant) that vaccination is “a real and easy preventive” of small-pox often reply, when confronted with the fact of failure, either that the vaccination *cannot have been* (!) well performed; others pretend (without a particle of proof) that the force of vaccination lasts for seven years only; a figment which, if true, would not be to the purpose, would not relieve the facts. Finally (what to the present writer is by itself decisive), unless the *causes* of small-pox be removed (generally some impurity in the air or in the food), those causes will work mischief somehow. To throw an eruptive disease back into the system is proverbially dangerous. If vaccination had this tendency, so much the more dangerous must it be; for it cannot remove the causes of small-pox. Moreover, what right has any physician to neglect the cures of small-pox, by which herbalists, hydropaths, and Turkish bath-keepers find it a most tractable disease? Some barbarians bastinado an unfortunate patient when he is seized by ague: is it less barbarous to infuse corruption into the blood of a healthy man, as precaution against a disease which may not occur at all? The last sentence touches on a great and critical fact. No doctor, no legislator has any right to assault the body of a *healthy* child or man under pretence of providing for the public health. A medical man, whatever his celebrity, proclaims his own folly when he entitles a healthy child a fountain of disease. These doctors,

when they consent to stick by their own logic, avow, that as fast as a man or child throws off the effects of cow-pox, he becomes liable to small-pox, and *therefore* ought to be cow-poxed again. (It is not really cow-pox, but it is certainly disease.) Thus they confess that *they dread perfect health*: (must we add, of course a healthy person pays them no fees?) they want to keep us in permanent cow-pox: yes, and they know not what more beside they may infuse into the blood. But, what is here urged mainly, a *legislator* usurps, if he *forbid perfect health*; he might as well command vice. Legislators who do not despise the physician who weeps over healthy children as dangerous have less good sense than most barbarians.

Is the sum of our barbarisms as yet completed in this rapid sketch? By no means. The same medical clique, which has installed itself in power, and has got the ear of over-worked legislators, became more audacious still after the Prince Consort's death. They resumed an old plot, which had been all but "sprung upon" the nation under Lord Melbourne, but had been defeated by the Queen's accession. Lord Melbourne declared it impossible to ask the signature of a virgin Queen to such a law. Whether there was any real connection between the death of the Prince and the resuming of this plot is not certain; however, about a year after his death they did resume the scheme of providing safe harlots for profligate men. Once more we find the same fatuous logic, *which seeks for health through artificial impurity*, and with brazen front avows that marriage is inconvenient to many men, and chastity is unhealthful. The laws were made and carried stealthily, in thin Houses and at midnight; penal legislation was passed without public notice or discussion; the common rights of the female sex were ruthlessly sacrificed, and an iniquitous system chained on to the neck of extensive districts, with an ingenious cruelty to girls and poor women which may seem a mongrel between the Paris police and the Spanish Inquisition. The first step to civilization, according to the ancients, was to enact, to honour, to uphold marriage: of all steps back into barbarism none is more marked than that of maintaining State slaves as harlots. This foul and disgusting despotism must soon be swept away by public indignation, unless family life and youthful purity are to be undermined, and a secret police in plain clothes, responsible to a central functionary, is to trample us down permanently. Moral despair of virtue and a resolve to indulge the profligacy of idle and drunken soldiers lie at the bottom of this odious and disgraceful legislation. Stop the soldiers' drink, and you will stop nine-tenths both of their unchastity and of their other offences.

The medical faculty (not all, for there are glorious exceptions—yet only too many) have been the upholders of artificial factitious remedies of ill-health, real or pretended. It is pleasant to be able to say that, however monstrous have been the cruelties of the faculty towards animals in some other countries, the horrors of vivisection here found their earliest

and most active advocates, not among actual practitioners of medicine, but among theorists, "biologists," and professors. It would be better still if we could avoid adding, that, as months and years go on, medical students, with the approbation or connivance of professors, more and more display zeal on the side of animal torture. In slight illness we do not need any very refined medical science: in dangerous and severe cases medical treatment is not so splendidly successful (if we may believe the testimony of a whole chorus of eminent practitioners and professors) that it can vaunt very high of the advantages it has obtained from the prolonged agonies of dogs, cats, and rabbits. Whether by such horrible cruelties human physiology has obtained, as a theory, any important enlargement, physiologists and students of the history may discuss. But the vivisectionists are obstinately silent on the question whence they get a right to torture a *dog* any more than to torture a *man*. Some of them are avowed Atheists; and of them it has been remarked that having cast off reverence for a superior, they with it have lost mercy for an inferior. But if any profess to obey a moral law, they have to explain how they justify *animal* torture without justifying *human* torture, especially when the latter would much better promote science. The ground of condemning the torture of men is not because the man is intelligent, because he is religious, because he has a soul, because he is immortal; but because he has a sensitive nervous system. If a dog, a horse, a rabbit—as most vertebrated animals—have a body equally susceptible of pain, the moral offence of torturing it merely to increase our knowledge is identical with that of torturing a man for the same purpose. As one class of doctors insolently tell ladies that they invade the rights of poor women in order to save innocent wives from pollution by profligate husbands, so do vivisectionists insolently declare that we, the public, desire to get the advantage of medical treatment, while we censure the only means of attaining it. In each case, ladies not a few reply that they would scorn to accept such an advantage, whatever its amount, if bought at such a price. The whole matter is, not barbarous, but ghastly; and we have a new portentous example of imbecile legislation. A law was made nominally to restrict this torture of animals, but practically it has for the first time legalized it. The torturers are triumphant. The names of those who have licences to torture are carefully concealed, so that no torturer can be prosecuted, for it is always uncertain whether he may not have a secret licence. When law is thus perverted how can reverence for it be sustained? Dr. Charles Bell Taylor of Nottingham, in a meeting of a local society, after recounting a number of dreadful heartrending facts, remarks: "No man can do such things without suppressing his conscience, and the man who habitually suppresses his conscience is on the way to become a devil. . . . Young men are necessarily demoralized and spoiled by such an education."

This brings us back to the original question—Who is a good citizen?

in other words, What is it to be civilized? Let those believe, who can, that the habit of inflicting prolonged agony on innocent animals does not harden the heart, does not make a man a worse citizen. Yet no one, not even a drunkard, will deny that a sot is a bad citizen. A bad man, says Aristotle, is more dangerous than a wild beast; a man without a conscience is unfit for human society; and when drink disorders the brain, a man has no conscience, and differs little from a lunatic. Precisely because a beast cannot be a citizen of a human community, drunkenness, which makes a man more dangerous than a beast, suspends his rights as a citizen. The same infatuation which acquiesces in chronic pauperism, and does not know that it is a plague spot, complacently endures an army of drunkards counted by myriads, with orphanhood, disease, insanity, and pauperism marching in its wake. Nothing could be a milder punishment, if not rather called *remedy*, for drunkenness, than when once a person had been convicted of it, to forbid others in future to sell or give to him any intoxicating liquor. Our ancestors long ago saw that the trade in such drink must be kept under special restrictions. The kings, the parliaments, the ministries, the magistrates, have long since claimed, used, and acknowledged the right and duty of repressing a trade which thrives most when it does most vital mischief to the community. Therefore, for centuries back local magistrates received the power of severely cutting down the trade to its narrowest limits. When merchandise became more enterprising and capital increased, during the long reign of Elizabeth, this trade (here, as everywhere else) became dangerous and mischievous in proportion to its increased energy. Hence, under the two first Stuarts the ministers of the Crown were active and severe against it: the Parliament also was indignant at the ever-increasing vice. But against the attempted despotism of the first James and Charles, freedom and the Parliament triumphed. Under the second Charles,—a man not more drunken than his grandfather,—things turned for the worse, and the English nation became more and more despicably sottish, until the great religious revival under Wesley, Whitfield, and the Evangelicals made a change for the better. It is thought that we are not at present in quite so bad a state as in the reigns of the early Georges, down to the close of our American War. But how is it that the successive ministries, ever since Charles II., have shown none of the zeal against drunkenness which was so active before the Commonwealth? How is it that since Lord Grey's Reform Act a series of ministries, Whig and Tory, have been callous, cold, and practically unconcerned at the steady and formidable increase of an evil which a Parliamentary Committee of 1834 denounced in terms of burning indignation; and that, while unable to deny the enormous magnitude of the mischief,—while perfectly aware that the magistrates in nearly every great town scandalously neglected the duty of repressing the dangerous trade,—yet not on one occasion for two hundred years past has a Lord Chancellor been known to

reprove a magistrate for this neglect of duty, much less to displace, or threaten to displace him? Why did the ministries under James I. and Charles I. show a spirit so different from that of later ministries? Is there possibly any connection between this notable fact and another notorious fact, namely, that under Charles II. the Parliament gave to the king's Exchequer a new revenue from the Excise, which became more and more profitable, as did the duties on wine which are called Customs? So great has this source of revenue become, that it now exceeds thirty-three millions sterling in the year. But we are suddenly checked: we are reproved. No one ought to impute motives! It is outrageous to suggest that ministries connive at drunkenness in order to get revenue! Well; no doubt, to impute bad motives *gratuitously* is very wrong; yet if we may not speculate on motives, there can be no moral criticism. We are told that we ought to be charitable; but blindness is not charity. The charity here entreated or required of us is unhappily superfluous; for the ministries, and Parliament too, knew officially, from about 1826 onward, that, by the unlawful connivance of our Indian authorities, opium was smuggled into China for the sake of revenue to the Company. The ministries also connived, and hereby implicated themselves in war with China. Three wars with that injured country they fought, caused mainly by this opium traffic, which by dint of war they have compelled the Emperor of China to legalize. When challenged in Parliament by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the late ministry did not dare to defend the morality of the opium traffic: all they could say for it amounted to this, that they could not afford to lose the revenue from it! Moreover, spirit shops have been introduced into India, to the disgust of Moslems and Gentoos, for no possible reason but to swell the revenue. It is therefore not charity, but mere simplicity, to doubt that from desire of revenue the successive ministers for two centuries back have connived at the magistrates' neglect of duty. If a Lord Chancellor were now as energetic as a Lord Keeper under Charles I.,—if he were to threaten whole benches of magistrates with removal unless scandalous drunkenness vanished,—we should need no new legislation; the existing laws are quite severe enough, if only there were the heart to execute them. No barbarism in England has been longer assailed than this uncivilizing vice. None has been cherished more obstinately by those whose duty was to control it. Unless the English nation brace up serious determination to extirpate both this and our other deadly barbarisms, good intentions and pious wishes will be unavailing to avert the natural results of vice in the people and folly in the governors.

FRANCIS W. NEWMAN.

ORIGEN AND THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY.

II.

IN the last paper I endeavoured to indicate some characteristic features in the position, the life, the works, the method, the influence of Origen. I wish now to give a general idea of his chief philosophic work—the treatise *On First Principles*—of its contents and of its spirit, in connection with the history of Christian thought. Origen was in the full course of his work at Alexandria when the work on First Principles was written. He was probably at the time not much more than thirty years old, and still a layman ; but there is no reason to think that he modified in any important respects the opinions which he has expressed in it. It must, however, be remembered that the book was not written for simple believers, but for scholars—for those who were familiar with the teaching of Gnosticism and Platonism ; and with a view to questions which then first become urgent when men have risen to a wide view of Nature and life. Non-Christian philosophies moved in a region of sublime abstractions, “ideas.” Origen felt that Christianity converts these abstractions into realities, the personal facts of a complete life ; and he strove to express what he felt in the modes of thought and language of his age. He aimed at presenting the higher “knowledge” (γνώσις) as an objective system. But in doing this he had no intention of fashioning two Christianities—a Christianity for the learned and a Christianity for the simple. The Faith was one, one essentially and unalterably, but infinite in fulness, so that the trained eye could see more of its harmonies, as it necessarily looked for more. Fresh wants made fresh truths visible. He who found much had nothing over ; he who found little had no lack.

The book is, as has been already said, the earliest attempt to form a system of Christian doctrine, or rather a philosophy of the Christian faith. In this respect it marks an epoch in Christian thought, but no

change in the contents of the Christian creed. The elements of the dogmatic basis are assumed on the authority of the Church. The author's object is, as he says, to show how they can be arranged as a whole, by the help either of the statements of Scripture or of the methods of exact reasoning. And, however strange or startling the teaching of Origen may seem to us, it is necessary to bear in mind that this is the account which he gives of it. He takes for granted that all that he brings forward is in harmony with received teaching. He professes to accept as final the same authorities as ourselves.*

The treatise consists of four books. It has been preserved for the most part only in an inexact Latin translation, but sufficient evidence remains to show that the translation gives the main thoughts correctly. The composition is not strictly methodical. Digressions and repetitions interfere with the symmetry of the plan. But, to speak generally, the first book deals with God and Creation (religious statics, if I may use the phrase); the second and third books with Creation and Providence, with Man and Redemption (religious dynamics); and the fourth book with Holy Scripture. Or, to put the facts somewhat differently, the first three books contain the exposition of a Christian philosophy, gathered round the three ideas of God, the world, and the rational soul; and the last gives the basis of it. Even in the repetitions (as on "the restoration of things") it is not difficult to see that each successive treatment corresponds with a new point of sight.

Bearing these broad divisions in mind, we can enter a little further into detail. In the first book, then, Origen brings before us the final elements of all religious philosophy—God, the world, rational creatures. After dwelling on the essential nature of God as incorporeal, invisible, incomprehensible, and on the characteristic relations of the Persons of the Holy Trinity to man, as the Authors of being and reason and holiness, he gives a summary view of the end of human life; for the elements of a problem cannot be really understood until we have comprehended its scope. The end of life, then, according to Origen, is the progressive assimilation of man to God by the voluntary appropriation of His gifts. Gentile philosophers had proposed to themselves the idea of assimilation to God, but Origen adds the means. "By the unceasing action of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit towards us, renewed at each successive stage of our advance, we shall be able," he says, "with difficulty perchance at some future time to look on the holy and blessed life; and, when once we have been enabled to reach that, after many struggles, we ought so to continue in it that no weariness may take hold on us. Each fresh enjoyment of that bliss ought to enlarge or deepen our desire for it; while we are ever receiving or holding with more ardent love and larger grasp the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."†

But it will be said that this condition of progress, effort, assimilation, involves the possibility of declension, indolence, the obliteration of the

* *De Princ.* Præf.

† *Id.* i. 3, 8.

Divine image. If man can go forward he can go backward. Origen accepts the consequence, and finds in it an explanation of the actual state of men and angels. The present position of each rational being corresponds, in his judgment, with the use which he has hitherto made of the revelations and gifts of God. No beings were created originally immutable in character. Some by diligent obedience have been raised to the loftiest places in the celestial hierarchy; others by perverse self-will and rebellion have sunk into the condition of demons. Others occupy an intermediate place, and are capable of being raised again to their first state, and so upwards, if they avail themselves of the helps which are provided by the love of God. "Of these," he adds, "I think, as far as I can form an opinion, that this order of the human race was formed, which in the future age, or in the ages which succeed, when there shall be a new heaven and a new earth, shall be restored to that unity which the Lord promises in His intercessory prayer." "Meanwhile," he continues, "both in the ages which are seen and temporal, and in those which are not seen and eternal, all rational beings who have fallen are dealt with according to the order, the character, the measure of their deserts. Some in the first, others in the second, some again even in the last times, through greater and heavier sufferings, borne through many ages, reformed by sharper discipline, and restored . . . stage by stage . . . reach that which is invisible and eternal. . . ."* Only one kind of change is impossible. There is no such transmigration of souls as Plato pictured after the fashion of the Hindus in the legend of "Er the son of Armenius." No rational being can sink into the nature of a brute.†

The progress of this discussion is interrupted by one singular episode, which is characteristic of the time. How, Origen asks, are we to regard the heavenly bodies—the sun and moon and stars? Are they animated and rational? Are they the temporary abodes of souls which shall hereafter be released from them? Are they finally to be brought into the great unity, when "God shall be all in all?" The questions, he admits, are bold; but he answers all in the affirmative, on what he holds to be the authority of Scripture.‡

In the second book Origen pursues at greater length that view of the visible world as a place of discipline and preparation, which has been already indicated. He follows out as a movement what he had before regarded as a condition. The endless variety in the situations of men, the inequality of their material and moral circumstances, their critical spiritual differences, all tend to show, so he argues, that the position of each has been determined in accordance with previous conduct. And God in His ineffable wisdom has united all together with absolute justice, so that all these creatures, most diverse in themselves, combine to work out His purpose, while "their very variety tends to the one end of perfection."

* *De Princ.* i. 6. 2, f.† *Id.* i. 8, 4.‡ *Id.* i. 7; cf. *c. Cels.* v. 10, 11.

All things were made for the sake of man and rational beings.* It is through man therefore that this world, as God's work, becomes complete and perfect. The individual is never isolated, though he is never irresponsible. At every moment he is acting and acted upon, adding something to the sum of the moral forces of the world, furnishing that out of which God is fulfilling His purpose. The difficulties of life, as Origen regards them, give scope for heroic effort and loving service. The fruits of a moral victory become more permanent as they are gained through harder toil. The obstacles and hindrances by which man is hemmed in are incentives to exertion. His body is not a "prison" in the sense of a place of punishment only; it is a beneficent provision for the discipline of beings to whom it furnishes such salutary restraints as are best fitted to further their moral growth.†

S. Mill. This view of the dependence of the present on the past—to use the forms of human speech—seemed to Origen to remove a difficulty which weighed heavily upon thoughtful men in the first age as it has weighed heavily upon thoughtful men in our own generation. Very many said then, what one of the most influential and rigorous philosophers of modern times said not long ago with a voice from the grave, that the sufferings and disparities of life, the contrasts of the Law and the Gospel, point to the action of rival spiritual powers or to a Creator limited by something external to Himself. Not so, was Origen's reply: they simply reveal that what we see is a fragment of a vast system in which we can do no more than trace tendencies, convergences, signs, and rest upon the historic fact of the Incarnation. In this respect he ventured to regard the entire range of being as "one thought" answering to the absolutely perfect will of God, while "we that are not all, as parts can see but parts—now this, now that."‡

And this seems to me to be the true meaning of his famous assertion that the power of God in creation was finite, and not infinite. It would, that is, be inconsistent with our ideas of perfect order, and therefore with our idea of the Divine Being, that the sum of finite existence should not form one whole. "God made all things in number and measure." The Omnipotence of God is defined (as we are forced to conceive) by the absolute Perfections of His Nature. "He cannot deny Himself."§

But it may be objected more definitely that our difficulties do not lie only in the circumstances of the present: that the issues of the present, so far as we can see them, bring difficulties no less overwhelming: that even if we allow that this world is fitted to be a place of discipline for fallen beings who are capable of recovery, it is only too evident that the discipline does not always work amendment. Origen admits the fact, and draws from it the conclusion that other systems of penal purification and moral advance follow. According to

* *De Princ.* ii. 1; cf. *c. Cels.* iv. 99.

† *Id.* ii. 5; 9. 5.

‡ *Id.* ii. 2.

§ *Id.* ii. 9. 1; iv. 35.

him, world grows out of world, so to speak, till the consummation is reached. What is the nature, or position, or constitution of the world to come he does not attempt to define. It is enough to believe that from first to last the will of Him who is most righteous and most loving is fulfilled; and that each loftier region gained is the entrance to some still more glorious abode above, so that all being becomes, as it were, in the highest sense a journey of the saints from mansion to mansion up to the very throne of God.*

In order to give clearness to this view, Origen follows out in imagination the normal course of the progressive training, purifying, and illumination of men in the future. He pictures them passing from sphere to sphere, and resting in each so as to receive such revelations of the providence of God as they can grasp; lower phenomena are successively explained to them, and higher phenomena are indicated. As they look backward old mysteries are illuminated; as they look forward unimagined mysteries stir their souls with divine desire. Everywhere their Lord is with them, and they advance from strength to strength, through the perpetual supply of spiritual food. This food, he says, is the contemplation and understanding of God, according to its proper measure in each case and as suits a nature which is made and created. And this measure—this due harmony and proportion between aim and power (would that we could remember the truth!)—it is right that every one should regard even now who is beginning to see God, that is, to understand Him in purity of heart.†

But while Origen opens this infinite prospect of scene upon scene to faith, or hope, or imagination—call it as we may—he goes on to show that Scripture concentrates our attention upon the next scene, summed up in the words, Resurrection, Judgment, Retribution. Nowhere is he more studiously anxious to keep to the teaching of the Word than in dealing with these cardinal ideas. For him the Resurrection is not the reproduction of any particular organism, but the preservation of complete identity of person, an identity maintained under new conditions, which he presents under the Apostolic figure of the growth of the plant from the seed: the seed is committed to the earth and perishes, and yet the vital power which it contains gathers a new frame answering to its proper nature. Judgment is no limited and local act, but the unimpeded execution of the absolute divine law by which the man is made to feel what he is and what he has become, and to bear the inexorable consequences of the revelation. Punishment is no vengeance, but the just severity of a righteous King by which the soul is placed at least on the way of purification. Blessedness is no sensuous joy or indolent repose, but the opening vision of the divine glory, the growing insight into the mysteries of the fulfilment of the divine counsels.‡

In the third book Origen discusses the moral basis of his system. This lies in the recognition of free-will as the inalienable endowment

* *De Princ.* ii. 10.

† *Id.* ii. 11. 6 f.

‡ *Id.* ii. 10.

of rational beings. But this free-will does not carry with it the power of independent action, but only the power of receiving the help which is extended to each according to his capacity and needs, and therefore just responsibility for the consequences of action. Such free-will offers a sufficient explanation, in Origen's judgment, for what we see, and gives a stable foundation for what we hope. It places sin definitely within the man himself, and not without him. It preserves the possibility of restoration while it enforces the penalty of failure. "God said," so he writes, "'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.' Then the sacred writer adds, 'And God made man: in the image of God made he him.' This therefore that he says, 'In the image of God made he him,' while he is silent as to the likeness, has no other meaning than this, that man received the dignity of the image at his first creation; while the perfection of this likeness is kept in the consummation (of all things); that is, that he should himself gain it by the efforts of his own endeavour, since the possibility of perfection had been given him at the first. . . .'"*

Such a doctrine, he shows, gives a deep solemnity to the moral conflicts of life. We cannot even to the last plead that we are the victims of circumstances or of the evil spirits. The decision in each case, this way or that, rests with ourselves, yet so that all we have and are truly is the gift of God. Each soul obtains from the object of its love the power to fulfil His will. "It draws and takes to itself," he says, "the Word of God in proportion to its capacity and faith. And when souls have drawn to themselves the Word of God, and have let Him penetrate their senses and their understandings, and have perceived the sweetness of His fragrance, . . . filled with vigour and cheerfulness, they speed after Him. . . ."

† Nor can I forbear to add that such a doctrine, so far from tending to Pelagianism, is the very refutation of it. It lays down that the essence of freedom is absolute self-surrender; that the power of right action is nothing but the power of God. Every act of man is the act of a free being, but not an exercise of freedom; if done without dependence upon God, it is done in despite of freedom, responsibly indeed, but under adverse constraint.

The decision from moment to moment, Origen maintains, rests with us, but not the end. That is determined from the first, though the conduct of creatures can delay through untold ages the consummation of all things. The gift of being, once given, abides for ever. The rational creature is capable of change, of better and worse, but it can never cease to be. What mysteries, however, lie behind, what is the nature of the spiritual body in which we shall be clothed, whether all that is finite shall be gathered up in some unspeakable way into the Absolute, that Origen holds to be beyond our minds to conceive.‡

As the third book deals with the moral basis of Origen's system, so the fourth and last deals with its dogmatic basis. This order of

* *De Princ.* iii. 6. 1.

† *In Cant.* i., t. iii. p. 41 R.

‡ *De Princ.* iii. 6.

succession in the treatise is unusual, and yet it is intelligible. It moves from the universal to the special; from that which is most abstract to that which is most concrete; from the heights of speculation to the rule of authority. "In investigating such great subjects as these," Origen writes, "we are not content with common ideas, and the clear evidence of what we see, but we take testimonies to prove what we state, even those which are drawn from the Scriptures, which we believe to be Divine."^{*} Therefore, in conclusion, he examines with a reverence, an insight, a humility, a grandeur of feeling never surpassed, the questions of the inspiration and the interpretation of the Bible. The intellectual value of the work may best be characterized by one fact: a single sentence taken from it was quoted by Butler as containing the germ of his "Analogy."

Such is the main outline, as far as I am able to trace it, of Origen's philosophical work. It will be obvious at first sight how widely it differs from mediæval and modern expositions of the "first principles" of the Christian Faith. It contains very little technical teaching. It is silent as to the Sacraments. It contains no theory of the Atonement; no teaching on Justification. Yet it does deal with questions which are felt to be momentous, and which everything at present tends to bring again into prominence.

In this aspect there are several points of great interest in the sketch which can hardly fail to have been noticed. But before touching on these it will be well to mark once again the answers which Origen gave to the questions which (as we have seen) were uppermost in the contemporary Schools as to the origin of finite existences and of evil.

"In the beginning," he writes, "when God created what He pleased to create—that is, rational natures—He had no other cause of creation beside Himself—that is, His own goodness."[†] And the rational creatures which He made were all alike, for there was no cause for difference, but they were inalienably endowed with freedom of will; and this freedom of will led either to their advance through imitation of God or to their declension through neglect of Him; and hence came the present order, which in all its diversities is still guided by Infinite Righteousness.[‡]

Evil, it follows, is negative, the loss of good which was attainable: the shadow which marks the absence, or rather the exclusion, of light. The creation of finite rational beings by the free act of God involved the creation of a medium through which they could give expression to their character. Such a medium is matter in its boundless subtle modifications. While, therefore, the expression of character will be dependent upon matter within certain limits, yet man, for example, is still capable of receiving and giving utterance to a divine revelation as a spiritual being, in accordance with the laws of his present organization.

Briefly, therefore, Origen aims at giving shape to two great thoughts

^{*} *De Princ.* iv. 1. init.

[†] *Id.* ii. 9. 6; comp. iv. 35.

[‡] *Id.* ii. 9. 6.

—(1) that the whole world is a manifestation of the goodness and righteousness of God in every detail; and (2) that the moral determination of each individual is a decisive element in the working out of the divine counsel.

This compound conception of the sum of finite being as a unity, consistent with, or rather dependent upon, the free and responsible action of each individual, is evidently of the utmost significance. There can be none greater. Nor does it lose in grandeur when we go on to consider some particular points in Origen's treatment of it.

The first which I desire to mark is the stress which Origen lays upon the moral end of philosophy, and of religion as the supreme philosophy. No teacher of the present day could insist with greater earnestness upon the importance of conduct than he does. There is absolutely nothing in which he does not see ethical influences. His thought wears itself in following out the efforts of action. Without perpetuating the associations of the present he strives to give definiteness to our conceptions of the continuity of the spiritual life. He carries the sense of responsibility up to the highest orders of finite existence. His system is a system of absolute idealism, but of idealism as a spring for action. "God cares," he says,* "not only for the whole, as Celsus thinks, but beyond the whole in an especial manner for each rational being." Thus in his doctrine of the re-incorporation of souls there is nothing accidental, nothing capricious, as in Plato's famous Myth. The belief, according to him, represents to human apprehension a judgment of Infinite Righteousness executed by Infinite Love. It is an embodiment, if I may so express it, of two principles which he assumes as axioms—the first that every gift of God is perfect, and the second that God's gift to His rational creatures was not virtue, which it could not be by the nature of the case, but the capacity for virtue.

In the next place, Origen distinctly claims for Christianity that it is a philosophy, that it has for its domain every human interest and power, that it is capable of co-ordinating all thought and all experience. Faith is the foundation of knowledge. The fact that our results on earth will be to the last fragmentary and tentative, does not interfere with the reality of the spirit which quickens the Gospel. "Now," he says, "we seek for a while, *then* we shall see clearly."† But both in the search and in the fruition the object is the same. The fulness of Truth, which is finally nothing less than a manifold revelation of God leading up to absolute fellowship with Him, is that towards which the believer is led by the Spirit alike through thought and feeling and action.

As a necessary consequence he insists, in the third place, on the new data which are given by revelation for the solution of the problems of philosophy. Again and again he points out the insufficiency of reason, of the independent faculties of man, to attain to that towards which it

* *c. Cels.* iv. 90.

† *De Princ.* ii. 11. 5.

is turned. Reason enables man to recognise God when He makes Himself known, to receive a revelation from Him in virtue of his affinity with the Divine Word, but it does not enable the creature to derive from within the knowledge for which it longs. It follows that the capacity for knowing God belongs to man as man, and not to man as a philosopher. Origen therefore acknowledges the nobility of Plato's words when he said that "it is a hard matter to find out the Maker and Father of the universe, and impossible for one who has found Him to declare Him to all men."* But he adds that Plato affirms too much and too little. As Christians "we declare that human nature is not in itself competent in any way to seek God and find Him purely without the help of Him who is sought, nay, of Him who is found by those who confess, after they have done all in their power, that they have yet need of Him. . . ."

The Platonic passage here quoted was indeed one in which the Christian Apologist rightly felt that an essential contrast between Gentile and Christian philosophy was expressed;† and I cannot but add Clement's comment on the words. "Well said, Plato, you have touched the truth; but do not faint in thy efforts: join with me in the search for the good; for in all men absolutely, and in a special way in those who occupy themselves with the discussion of great questions (*περὶ λόγους*), a divine effluence hath been instilled. . . ." "Philosophy," he says elsewhere, "seeks for the truth and the nature of things; and this is the Truth, of which the Lord said, I am the Truth."‡

Such is the true position of the Christian philosopher. He accepts gladly all the consequences which can be deduced from the intellectual constitution of man, and from man's observation of nature; but he affirms beside that God has made known something of Himself. And in this affirmation there is nothing at variance with the principles of philosophy. If it be true that there are three ultimate existences of which the reality is equally incapable of proof and disproof,—self, the world, and God,—we may expect that we shall gain knowledge as to each, not in the same way, but in different and corresponding ways. It is just as much in harmony with the spiritual faculty that man should be able to receive communications from God, as it is in harmony with his sensuous faculties that he should receive impressions from the world without. "The soul has its sense no less than the body." And if this be so, the sense of the soul must be trained that it may receive right impressions from the objects to which it is directed. Aristotle spoke of "an eye of experience," which is sharpened by the practical conduct of affairs. Origen may be said to require "an eye of holiness" for the vision of the purest Truth.

This characteristic of Origen's teaching places his views on conduct in a new light. Right action is not only a necessity for the moulding of the character after the Divine likeness; it is also a necessity for the

* c. *Cels.* vii. 43. † Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* § 68, p. 59. ‡ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 5, p. 335

progressive reception of the Divine revelation. Morality, in the largest sense of the word, is bound to Theology as a condition of knowledge. "The pure in heart see God," and see Him with a clearness answering to their growth in purity.*

A fourth point in Origen's treatise is the intense reality with which he invests the spiritual world. He already lives and moves in it. External objects, peoples, cities, are to him veils and symbols of invisible things. Phenomena are shadows, and he looks upon the substances by which they are cast. He cheerfully admits every hindrance which besets us now, but reaches out to the state when they will exist no longer. Hence comes the earnestness with which he combats every tendency to unite indissolubly present conditions with the future, or to trust to deductions drawn from the temporal and local limitations of human observation. The grossness of Millenarianism filled him with alarm. And those who are familiar with the writings and influence of Tertullian will know that Origen's opposition to materialism in every form was called for by pressing dangers. Perhaps we have even yet hardly realised what a heavy burden of materialistic conceptions we have ourselves inherited from African theology which Origen set aside by anticipation.

But while Origen affirms with the utmost force the spirituality of the unseen world, and contends against the popular transference of the thoughts which belong to this order of being to another, he affirms with equal distinctness that we have to do there with a world of persons and not of abstractions. Where he is in one sense most Platonic, he is in another sense most opposed to Plato and the Neo-Platonists. He preserves and intensifies every moral relation in that loftier sphere. Nothing is lost there, but all is ennobled. A single illustration will show the wisdom of his judgment.

No one of his opinions was more vehemently assailed than his teaching on the Resurrection. Even his early and later apologists were perplexed in their defence of him. Yet there is no point on which his insight was more conspicuous. By keeping strictly to the Apostolic language he anticipated results which we have hardly yet secured. He saw that it is "the spirit" which moulds the frame through which it is manifested: that the body is the same, not by any material continuity, but by the permanence of that which gives the law, the "ratio" as he calls it, of its constitution.† Our opponents say now that this idea is a late refinement of doctrine forced upon us by the exigencies of controversy. The answer is that no exigencies of controversy brought Origen to his conclusion. It was, in his judgment, the clear teaching of St. Paul.

I will notice only one point more. He held, as we have just seen, that age is linked with age under the laws of a divine growth. As a necessary consequence the secular periods which he imagines are not like the "great ages" of the Stoics, fated periods of recurrence, in which the

* *Comp. c. Cels.* iv. 30; v. 43; vi. 2.

† *Comp. Fragm. de Resurr.* lib. ii. t. i. p. 34 R.

old drama of existence is played out again;* or the still stranger repetitions of the past in a reversed order, such as Plato imagined in his "Politicus;" but stages in a majestic progress. This vast movement, this magnificent and sure growth, seemed to him not only to be consistent with, but to answer to, the action of Providence, and the fact of freedom in every particular life. "God cares for each," he says, to continue a passage which I began to quote before, "nor will He ever abandon the whole. For even if it should become worse through the sin of rational beings, who are a part of it, He administers it so as to purify it, and after a time to turn it to Himself."† Such a unity, which he cannot distinctly shape, extends, as he believed, to the whole man, to the whole world, to the whole order of finite beings. "The end," he says, "is always like the beginning. . . . From one beginning arose many differences and varieties, which again, through the goodness of God, and subjection to Christ and unity of the Holy Spirit, are recalled to one end. . . ."‡ That beginning and that end can be, he allows, apprehended by no created nature, neither by man nor by angels. Yet he yearns towards the thought which cannot be made distinct. And when difficulties crowd in upon him which he cannot solve, he falls back upon the words of St. Paul, which appear to him to crown hope with the assurance of a fulfilment: "God shall be all in all."

Those who have followed so far the opinions which I have tried to summarize, will have felt, I believe, that if there is much in them to startle, there is much also in them to move and to humble and to elevate. It does not fall within my scope to discuss the opinions or to point out the inconsistencies and want of proportion which mar the treatise from which they have been drawn. I cannot even touch, as I could have wished to do, on Origen's central error of excessive Transcendentalism; but such errors are not likely to be underrated at present. It seems to me that we have more to learn than to fear from the study of Origen's writings. With all his faults and shortcomings, he is the greatest representative of a type of Greek Christian thought which has not yet done its work in the West. By his sympathy with all effort, by his largeness of view, by his combination of a noble morality with a deep mysticism, he indicates, if he does not bring, the true remedy for the evils of that Africanism which has been dominant in Europe since the time of Augustine.

No fact, I think, is sadder in the history of religious thought than that Augustine had no real knowledge of Greek. He remarks in his "Confessions" that he can hardly tell why he shrank from the study of the language.§ The reason probably was in the very constitution of his nature. Augustine was a Latin thinker, and more than a Latin—an African. He looked at everything from the side of law and not of freedom; from the side of God, as an irresponsible Sovereign, and not of

* *c. Cels.* v. 20, f. † *c. Cels.* iv. 99; cf. *De Princ.* ii. 1. 2; i. 6. 2.

‡ *De Princ.* i. 6. 2.

§ *Lib.* i. 14.

man, as a loving servant. In spite of his admiration for Plato he was driven by a passion for system to fix, to externalize, to freeze every idea into a rigid shape. In spite of his genius he could not shake off the influence of a legal and rhetorical training, which controversy called into active exercise. The successive forms of his belief were a manifestation of his essential character. To the last he bore within him that which once had made him a Manichæan. The argument by which he trusted to win men for the Church was a coarse representation of future rewards and punishments. The centre of his whole dogmatic theory is sin. In his greatest work he writes "Of the City of God," and he draws at the same time the portraiture of a rival "city of the devil," equally stable and enduring.

Few contrasts indeed can be more striking than that offered by the two philosophies of Christianity (as they may be called) of Origen and Augustine, of the East and West, of Alexandria and Hippo. The treatise "On First Principles," and the treatise "On the City of God," were both written by men of commanding power and of unquestioning faith. Both reach back to an ideal beginning which expresses a conception of the innermost law of the present order, and forward to an ideal end which expresses the fulness of hope. Both extend over the whole range of history. Both claim the authority of Scripture for their foundation. But here the resemblance ends. The two are profoundly different in form and in spirit. The treatise of Origen deals with truths so that they are in danger of being lost in thoughts: the treatise of Augustine deals with truths so that they are bound by the limiting form of facts. Here awe prevails, and there assertion. Over the one there hangs a strange mystery, half light and half darkness; and sight is lost in the endeavour to follow the long-drawn vista of successive scenes faintly indicated before and behind. In the other every image is fixed with a firm, sharp pencil; the picture is bounded on this side and that: the divine symbolism of Genesis and of the Apocalypse is converted into a most literal description of that which has been and which shall be. In Origen there is a feeling, not very clearly defined, that the history both "of the nations" and of "the people" is charged with moral lessons of permanent meaning;* that there is carried forward from age to age an education of the world for eternity. In Augustine history is a mere succession of external events; the Divine teaching through heathendom lies in the utterances of the Sibyls and not in the course of Empires. For Origen, in spite of his idealism, life has a moral significance of incalculable value: for Augustine, in spite of his realism, life is a mere show, in which actors fulfil the parts irrevocably assigned to them. The Alexandrine cannot rest without looking forward to a final unity which still he confesses more than once that he is unable to grasp: the African acquiesces without a difficulty in an abiding dualism in the future, which must seem to other minds not less oppressive to the moral sense than the absolute dualism of Mani.

* Cf. c. *Cels.* v. 30.

In indicating these contrasts, I am far from wishing to exalt Origen at the cost of Augustine. In spite of popular judgment I cannot think that the book "*On the City of God*" presents Augustine under his noblest aspect. Isolated passages of singular beauty seem to me to be insufficient to counteract the general want of sympathy which it displays for the progress and the destiny of mankind. On the other hand, the very grandeur of the hope which inspires Origen's essay "*On First Principles*" perhaps blinds the reader to the errors which accompany it. And in judging the works of the two great Fathers we must not forget the positions which they occupied. They were the representatives of two ages, of two crises.

Origen, standing in the meeting-place of struggling thoughts, knew that he had that to speak which could harmonize and satisfy every spiritual aspiration of man: an answer to the despair of the West, which saw in man's good an unattainable ideal; an answer to the despair of the East, which saw in man's way a vain delusion. Augustine, under the cruel pressure of barbarian invasion, was called upon to pronounce sentence on the old world, and to vindicate Christianity from the charge of social disorganization. The one was the interpreter of a universal hope; the other was the interpreter of a secular overthrow.

We may go further, and venture to say that the Africanism of Augustine was, in the order of Providence, a salutary preparation for the discipline of the Middle Ages. It was fitted by its partial truths to deal effectively with the problems which then came to the front. But it is partial, and its defects lie in those regions of physical and moral speculation which now attract the most devout minds. Over the questions with which we have now to deal Augustine can no longer hold dominion, and the shadow of his power is perilous to the growth of Truth. But in saying this I am too sensible of the faults of Origen to wish to raise him to the vacant throne. None the less it will be well for us to remember what he found in the Bible, and how he interpreted the message of the Faith, when as yet there was no pressure from the forces which bear most heavily upon ourselves. In this respect both as a theologian and as a philosopher he has still a work to do.

I do not, however, as I said before, dwell upon his opinions. I do desire to insist upon his principles and his spirit. To this end, we must regard his teaching as not so much a system as an aspiration. Welcomed as an aspiration, it can, I believe, do us good service. We are inclined to underrate the practical effect of wide thoughts and of great ideals. But life is impoverished and action is enfeebled for the lack of them. And I can hardly imagine that any one can picture to himself what Origen meant when he offered his spectacle of the moral continuity and destination of being; when he imaged the spiritual antitypes of outward things; when he interpreted the sorrows and sadnesses of the world as part of a vast scheme of purificatory chastisement; when he concentrated every line of study upon the interpretation of the Divine oracles; when

he reckoned the fuller insight into the mysteries of Nature as one of the joys of a future state; when he made the love of truth, in all its amplitude and in all its depth, the last passion of rational creatures, and affirmed that the instinct could not for ever want its satisfaction; without feeling that there is in worship a personal Divine communion, which he fails too often to realize; that there is in the Bible a significance which he is apt to overlook; that there is in life a majesty and a promise which he cannot see till he rises above the confused turmoil of the day.

The end of Philosophy is Truth; not in one region but in all; Truth apprehended, if it may be, in its highest unity. The name of Christianity is Truth; and I think that I have shown that the first great writer who endeavoured to face the question affirmed, with unquestioning belief, that Christianity is the fulfilment of Philosophy.* Human wisdom, he says, is the school of the soul: Divine wisdom is the end. Faith, knowledge, wisdom—that, in his judgment, is the order of spiritual growth. The immediate issue was not in the direction to which he pointed. But he expressed and preserved the thoughts of an age which was to pass away under new forces. We now seem to be entering again upon the controversy which he supported. We are his heirs. He has left us the duty of maintaining his conclusions in a later age, and with richer materials at our command. He has left us also the example of a life great, I will dare to say, by unsurpassed self-sacrifice. He has left us the encouragement of a faith which carried him through a life of martyrdom—a faith that all things are ours, because all things are Christ's.

Origen may have erred, I think he did err, on many points; but he never lost sight of the true ground and method and end of the Christian revelation, and so of Christian thought. His view of life was imperfect, but not his view of the relation of religion to life. He strove, with however many failures, to recognise all the facts of reflection and experience, and to present in an intelligible union man, the world, and God. In an age of conflict and weariness he was animated by the strain of unremitting labour, and the consciousness of an approaching victory. His faith was catholic, and therefore he welcomed every kind of knowledge as tributary to its fulness. His faith was living, and therefore he was assured that no age could seal any expression of doctrine as complete. From his time the best thought and the best literature of the West has been Christian, or profoundly influenced by Christianity. And still, after sixteen hundred years, we have not yet made good the positions which he marked out as belonging to the domain of Christian philosophy.

BROOKE F. WESTCOTT.

* *c. Cels.* vi. 13.

THE NEW BULGARIA.

THE principle of the divine right of Kings has given way of late years to that of the divine right of Nationalities ; and the attention of the world has been drawn to facts of history which had long escaped the notice of philosophers. It is no longer an accepted truth that nations, like individuals, are born, attain maturity, grow old, and die. This may be true of empires, but distinctions of race and nationality survive the overthrow of kingdoms. The Jews are not the only people who have maintained a separate national existence under the most unfavourable circumstances. The case of the Armenians is almost as remarkable ; and the Greeks have survived the Persian, Macedonian, Roman, and Ottoman Empires to reappear in the nineteenth century, very little changed from what they were when Homer sang the legend of the Trojan war. And now another nation, whose very name had been almost forgotten, is rousing itself from the sleep of centuries to assert its returning vitality. The facts in regard to this national awakening have been obscured by the political interests involved in the events of the past few years, and have been strangely misrepresented by interested parties. The telegraph, the correspondent, and the consul have combined to fix the attention of the world upon atrocities—suffered or committed—rather than upon the essential facts of history. But the time has come when the politician as well as the philosopher should understand the origin and development of this national movement. The latter may find new facts upon which to base a theory in regard to the survival of nations ; and possibly the former may see that diplomatic intrigue is not the only cause of political changes.

Some fifteen hundred years ago there existed a Bulgarian kingdom on the banks of the Volga. Whence these Bulgarians came, who they were, and why they were called by this name, cannot be certainly known :

but there is reason to believe that they were of Finnish origin. Their kingdom lasted up to the time of the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century. The ruins of the ancient city of Bulgar still exist, and the Czar of Russia still bears the title of Prince of Bulgaria. Nothing is certainly known of their language, except that a document exists, of the eighth century, in which a Bulgarian king demands interpreters who can speak both Bulgarian and Slavic. This would seem to prove that the languages were not the same.

During the latter half of the seventh century a portion of the Bulgarians of the Volga left their homes, under the leadership of the Kral Asparuch, and emigrated to the West. They crossed the Danube about 680 A.D., and occupied the country as far as the Balkans. It was at that time nominally under the rule of Constantinople, and was peopled by Slavic tribes. It does not appear that any serious effort was made by the Greeks to repel these invaders, and the people submitted to the rule of Asparuch; but, as has often happened in these national migrations, the native element proved to be the stronger; the Bulgarian language disappeared, and the people were amalgamated into a single nation; retaining the name of the conquerors, and but little else. This new Bulgarian nation was converted to Christianity about the year 860 by the two Slavic apostles, Cyril the theologian, and Methodius the painter, who afterwards converted the Slaves of Bohemia. These monks were natives of Salonica, and the story of their mission to King Boris is too well known to be repeated here. It was the skill of the painter, who pictured the Day of Judgment, rather than the arguments of the theologian, which converted the king, and through him the nation.

The capital of the kingdom at that time was Preslava, a city near Shumla. There is no connected history of the Bulgarian Kingdom, a fact which is less surprising when we reflect how little is known of the Byzantine Empire, even of events like the sieges of Constantinople by the Saracens, whose defeat saved Europe from Mohammedanism; but many important facts in regard to the Bulgarians may be gleaned from Byzantine history and from Slavic writers. The first Bulgarian Kral who assumed the title of King was Terbel, who was rewarded by the Emperor of Constantinople with the title of Cæsar, about the year 715, for the service which he had rendered in defeating the Saracens. The Emperor Nicephorus invaded Bulgaria in 811, but was defeated near Shumla by King Krum and slain, with many of his nobles. Two years later Krum appeared before the walls of Constantinople and ravaged the surrounding country. In 913, Simeon, the greatest of the Bulgarian kings, besieged Constantinople, and compelled the Greeks to submit to the terms of peace which he imposed. He ruled over Bulgaria, Thrace, Servia, and Croatia. In the latter part of the century the Greeks conquered the country, but it was almost immediately freed by King Samuel, whose capital was at Ochrida in Macedonia, and who waged a fierce war with the Empire for nearly forty years. The Greeks

finally triumphed in 1019 under the Emperor Basil, who was surnamed the "Slayer of the Bulgarians." It was he who put out the eyes of 15,000 Bulgarian prisoners, leaving one in each hundred with a single eye to conduct his blind companions home. For nearly a hundred and seventy years the Bulgarian Kingdom was more or less under the control of the Empire, but no effectual measures were taken to bring the people under the yoke of the law, and it became independent again in 1186 under King Assen, whose capital was Tirnova. This king utterly routed the armies of the Emperor Isaac Angelus, and compelled him to recognize his independence. The kingdom was consolidated by the skill and power of Ivan, the successor of Assen, who is known in European history as Calo-John, or John the Handsome. He determined to cut every link which bound him to Constantinople, and sent an embassy to Pope Innocent III., from whom he received a royal title and a Latin archbishop; but in 1205, disgusted at the pretensions of Baldwin, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, he allied himself with the Greeks, defeated the Latins, took Baldwin prisoner, and held him until his death, in spite of the orders and prayers of the Pope. He also defeated and killed Boniface, King of Salonica.

His successor, Ivan Assen II., besieged Constantinople and carried on incessant wars, now with the Greeks and now with the Latins, seeking to weaken both and seize the Empire of the East for himself; but his sudden death in 1241 put an end to his ambitious schemes; and a stronger than Greek or Bulgarian was soon to appear and subdue them both. The last of the Bulgarian kings was Ivan Shishman (Shishman is a Turkish word, meaning "fat"), who, after resisting the Turks, sometimes by craft and sometimes on the battle-field, was finally captured in his last stronghold on the Danube in 1393. His kingdom was annexed to the new Ottoman Empire.

No nation was ever more thoroughly conquered. For almost 500 years they submitted quietly to the Turkish rule, and there is no record of any effort on their part to throw it off and regain their independence. Many of them became Mohammedans, and are now known as Pomaks, but most of them submitted to every indignity rather than give up their Christian faith. At the time of the Greek revolution some efforts were made by the Bulgarians to aid the Greeks, and when the Russians occupied the country, some "atrocities" were committed upon the Turks in several towns, but there was nothing which could be called a rebellion. There was not even an inclination to aid the Russians. All life and hope had been crushed out of the people by the weight of the Turkish yoke.

The ecclesiastical history of these centuries may be told in a few words. King Boris, after his conversion, negotiated with Rome and Constantinople, but finally accepted an archbishop from the Patriarch. In the time of Simeon there was a Bulgarian Patriarch at Preslava, independent of Constantinople. Samuel transferred the Patriarch to

Ochrida. Assen recognized the Pope, and received a Latin archbishop at Tirnova. At the time of the Turkish conquest, the Patriarch, who was again of the Orthodox Church, was transferred to Ochrida, where he continued until 1777, when the Patriarch of Constantinople succeeded, by intrigues with the Turks, in securing the abolition of this see, annexing it to his own jurisdiction. This was the end of the Bulgarian Church, which survived the Kingdom almost four hundred years, and was no doubt the means of preserving the Bulgarian nation from destruction. It is believed by many that the absorption of the Bulgarian Church was a part of a grand scheme for Hellenizing all the Christians of European Turkey, to prepare the way for a restoration of the Greek Empire. This is possible, for this idea has been cherished by the Greeks ever since the fall of Constantinople; but those who are acquainted with the history of the Patriarchate will be more inclined to believe that the immediate motive was a desire to increase the revenue of the Patriarch.

This brief sketch of the history of the Bulgarian Church and Kingdom has been given here simply as a necessary introduction to the history of the national awakening, which first attracted the attention of Europe in 1859, but which had really commenced many years before.

It was supposed for some years to be simply an ecclesiastical contest with the Greek Patriarch, and to some extent it was so. It was inevitable, from the very constitution of the Ottoman Empire, which recognizes the Patriarch as the civil as well as the ecclesiastical head of a National Church, that the first return of national consciousness should bring the people into conflict with their bishops, who were appointed by the Patriarch, not on account of their piety, but for their supposed skill in political intrigue. Whatever may have been the motive for suppressing the Bulgarian Patriarchate, there is no question about the aim of the Greeks since the revolution. They have sought by every possible means to destroy the Bulgarian nationality, and have made use of the Church for this purpose. Greek bishops were appointed everywhere, whose chief work was to Hellenize the Bulgarians, to substitute Greek books, schools, and religious rites for Bulgarian; and, so far as possible, to make the people believe that they were Greeks. There was at first but little opposition to this attempt; and the unimportant conspiracies at Tirnova in 1840, and at Sofia in 1844, were more Greek than Bulgarian. Had the bishops been better or wiser men it is possible that they might have brought about a hearty alliance between the two nationalities. There were, of course, always some ecclesiastics of the Bulgarian race, and among them men who remembered their nationality and protested against the Greeks. The Bishop of Vratza was one, and he was exiled in 1800. Neophyte Bosveli, of Kotel, was exiled for the same reason in 1845, and in 1846 Hilarion, who afterwards became the leader of the Bulgarian movement. There appears to have been no general dissatisfaction among the people before 1840; but from that

time petitions were constantly coming to the Porte and the Patriarchate for the removal of bishops. It is unnecessary to add that very little attention was paid to them. About this time a determined effort was made by a Bulgarian named Rakovsky, of Kotel, to awaken the national spirit of the people. He was educated at Athens and Paris, and was in the Turkish service at Constantinople. About 1845 he went to Austria, and, after some years, established a newspaper at Novisat, in Croatia, which was printed in French and Bulgarian, and designed to rouse the Bulgarians to action. It was secretly circulated all through the provinces, and widely read. It was no doubt one of the influences which led the Bulgarians to establish schools and cultivate their own language, and ultimately it led to the establishment of a revolutionary committee at Bucharest; but this was in 1865.

It was the Crimean war which finally brought the Bulgarian movement to a head. Its influence upon the people themselves was very great. It roused their hopes, quickened their intellectual life, excited their interest in the nations of Europe, and directed attention to their own inferiority. But it had a still more important influence upon their destiny. The Turkish Government, during the war, had found the Bulgarians thoroughly loyal, while the Greeks had made no secret of their sympathy with Russia. At the close of the war the Patriarch was ordered to call an assembly to reform the Church and satisfy the complaints of the Bulgarians against their bishops. The Porte was anxious to reward the Bulgarians for their loyalty, and increase their influence in the Holy Synod, as the best means of checking the revolutionary influence of the Church. After many difficulties and delays, this assembly finally met in 1858; but the Patriarch managed to have Bulgaria represented almost exclusively by Greeks. There were but three Bulgarian members, and one of these was the servant of the Greek Bishop of Widin. They were refused a hearing, and their demand for an adequate representation in the Synod treated with contempt, although they constituted a majority of the Orthodox Church in Turkey. This refusal to listen to the legitimate demands of the Bulgarians not only roused the nation to defend its rights, but also offended the Sublime Porte, and led the Turks to support the Bulgarians. This was the origin of the Bulgarian Question. The Greeks were warmly supported by Russia, and felt strong enough to refuse all compromise. The Bulgarians had but little faith in the friendship of the Porte, or in their own strength, and would have been very glad to accept a small part of what they demanded. A conciliatory policy on the part of the Patriarch would have quieted the agitation, and settled the question at once; but he chose the opposite course, and the breach grew wider every day.

An important influence was exerted upon the Bulgarians at this time by the establishment of American missionaries in Bulgaria. They opened schools, circulated the Scriptures and other books in the Bulgarian

language, and did all in their power to rouse the intellectual life of the people. The Evangelical Alliance also interested itself to prevent the exile of the three bishops who were the leaders of the Bulgarians in this controversy.

At this crisis these bishops showed more than ordinary courage, virtue, and honesty. When they appealed to the foreign Ambassadors for support they were informed that they might secure not only their personal liberty, but the complete emancipation of their people, by declaring themselves Protestants or Catholics. The most tempting offers were made to them on behalf of the Pope and the Emperor Napoleon, but they had the courage to refuse and suffer persecution. They knew that their people were Orthodox, and that a nominal adhesion to any other Church would only divide the nation and prevent the real reform which they desired. So they were imprisoned and exiled. The Porte could not protect them without infringing upon the recognized rights of the Church. This at once roused and united the Bulgarian people, who drove off the Greek ecclesiastics and went without bishops for ten years.

The combat went on slowly at Constantinople with varying fortune, but throughout Bulgaria the people seemed to be inspired with the single thought of educating their young men. Schools of a high order were established and maintained by voluntary contributions in all the principal towns. Literary societies were formed. Young men were sent to Russia, where they were generally supported by charitable individuals, also to Constantinople, especially to the American Robert College, and to the principal cities of Europe, to secure a higher education than could be given in Bulgaria. Newspapers were established, and every effort was made to provide the people with books. It is doubtful whether any nation ever made such rapid progress as did the Bulgarians during these years of conflict with the Patriarch. It finally became evident to the Patriarch and to the Porte that something must be done. A Commission was appointed by the Turkish Government to settle the question. Fuad Pacha, the Grand Vizier, was President, and Greeks and Bulgarians were both represented. On the removal of Fuad Pacha, Aali Pacha took his place. The negotiations were long and complicated, but Aali Pacha finally presented two projects, and invited the parties to choose between them. The Greeks rejected both, but the Bulgarians accepted one, which had been originally suggested by the Greek Patriarch Gregorius, but had been rejected by the Synod. After some delay Aali Pacha issued a Firman for the execution of the project accepted by the Bulgarians. But the opposition of the Greeks, supported by Russia, was so vigorous, that it remained a dead letter. No attempt was made to carry it out, and negotiations between the parties continued. The excitement throughout the country meanwhile increased, and a serious riot took place in Constantinople, when the Bulgarians attempted to celebrate Epiphany in their own church in opposition to the orders of the Patriarch.

Mahmoud Neddin Pacha was then Grand Vizier, and, under the influence of Achmet Vefik Effendi, his Musteshar, he gave orders for the execution of the Firman and the appointment of a Bulgarian Exarch. The Firman did not contemplate anything more than a partial separation of the Bulgarians from the immediate jurisdiction of the Patriarch, to whom the Exarch was subordinate; but the Greeks responded to the Firman by excommunicating the Exarch and all those Bulgarians who should recognize his authority, and declaring them schismatics. No reply to the notification of this action has ever been received by the Patriarch from the other branches of the Orthodox Church; but, so far as is known, it was generally regarded as a serious blunder. But it had its designed effect. It made it impossible for the Turks to execute the Firman, and carried the conflict between Greek and Bulgarian into every town and village where both nationalities were represented. It was a delicate situation for the Turks. They had encouraged the Bulgarians and led them on to this point. Now they had to decide whether they would recognize the action of the Greeks and treat the Bulgarians as schismatics, or whether they would ignore that action and execute the Firman, which was based upon the theory that the Bulgarians were still a part of the Orthodox Church. If they took the former course, then they must allow both Greek and Bulgarian bishops in every city and in every Government Council in Bulgaria. If the latter, then the Firman decreed that the bishops must be Greek or Bulgarian, as the majority of the population was of one or the other nationality. This was what the Bulgarians demanded, but the Greeks protested against delivering Orthodox Greeks over to the jurisdiction of an excommunicated Bulgarian bishop.

The Turks followed their usual policy. They decided nothing. They encouraged negotiations between the parties, and trusted to *Kismet* to find some solution for the difficulty. But meanwhile the excitement in the provinces was daily increasing. The partial execution of the Firman had sent Bulgarian bishops to a number of important sees; the Exarch had been recognized; the Patriarch no longer exercised any control over the Bulgarians; but still nothing was settled.

Just at this time Mahmoud Neddin Pacha was exiled and Mithad came into power. Soon after, the Sultan was deposed, and all was confusion, but Mithad refused to execute the Firman, and used all his influence to excite the animosity of the Greeks against the Bulgarians. At the time of the Conference of Constantinople the Bulgarian Exarch was the only ecclesiastic who had the courage to brave the Turkish Government and refuse to protest against the action of the European Powers. He was exiled and deposed by the Porte, and there was some question of abolishing the Church, but another Exarch was chosen, and the question of the status of the Bulgarian Church remains unsettled to this day.

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1875, the insurrection broke out in

Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was chiefly the result of Austrian intrigue, and was supported by Austrian money and sympathy. The Bulgarians had nothing to do with it, either directly or indirectly. The Church question, which originated with the Turks themselves, was in no sense political, and the Bulgarians had no thought of rebellion. A revolutionary committee was organized at Bucharest in 1865, composed of young men, who were in part disciples of Rakovsky and in part Socialists. This committee varied in numbers and in personality from year to year, but it was generally made up of criminals who had escaped from Turkey, of Bulgarian students who had been expelled from Russia for their Nihilist views, and occasionally of young men of good character who had fled from Bulgaria to escape punishment for political crimes which they had not committed. It was strictly a Bulgarian association, but was, for a time at least, affiliated to the "International." Its influence in Bulgaria was very limited, and the better class of Bulgarians at Bucharest had no sympathy with it; but it was very active, and its agents laboured incessantly to establish committees in the Bulgarian towns. A man called "the deacon," whose name was Lefsky, was their chief agent for many years, but he was finally caught and hung. He had some success in gaining over boys and young men who had nothing to lose, and committees were organized from this material in many towns; but the respectable classes had nothing to do with them, and the peasants knew nothing about them. The general plan of the committee was to send over a band from Roumania every year or two to create disturbance, rouse the suspicion of the Turks, cause the arrest and execution of innocent persons, and thus rouse the people to desperation and revolt. The first inroad was made in 1867, and their expectations were fully satisfied by the fierce and indiscriminate manner in which Mithad Pacha undertook to strike terror into the Bulgarians. Another raid was made in 1870, another still in 1875. In both these cases the utmost severity was exercised by the Turkish Government, and a great number of perfectly innocent persons were hung or exiled to the fortresses of Asia. Still there was no general excitement among the people and no thought of revolt, except among a few hot-headed young men, who were ready for anything, but who had neither money nor influence. The whole attention of the people was concentrated upon the pending ecclesiastical question.

But the revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina had excited the hopes of Serbia, and the Bucharest Committee was encouraged to make new efforts to organize an outbreak in Roumelia to support the Servians, as soon as they should declare war with Turkey. In the autumn of 1875, two Bulgarian spies, in the employ of the Turks, reported the existence of a conspiracy at Eski Zagraa; and many persons were imprisoned and exiled. It was true that agents of the Bucharest Committee were in the town, and that it was known to many Bulgarians that an effort would be made to organize an insurrection, but beyond this there was no con-

spiracy there. At this time all the plans of the Bucharest Committee became known to the Turkish Government, but nothing was done during the winter to interfere with them. They were allowed to go on and gain as many adherents as they could. The Turkish population however was greatly excited, and made every preparation for civil war. This reacted upon the Christians, and led many who had before opposed all such attempts, to sympathize with the preparations made by the committees; but still the mass of the people remained hostile to the movement.

In the early spring of 1876 the Governor of Philippopolis telegraphed to Constantinople that there would soon be trouble in his province, but that he would guarantee the peace if he could have a reinforcement of one battalion of cavalry. This demand was repeated several times, but no attention was paid to it. It would have been easy to prevent an outbreak, but, for some reason, it was rather encouraged than otherwise.

There has been much speculation as to the motives which led the Turkish Government to take this course, and those who see the hand of Russia in everything attribute it to the influence of General Ignatieff; but the probability is that the Turks foresaw that a war with Servia was inevitable, and feared that, when it broke out, it would be followed by a rebellion in Roumelia, which would cut the Turkish line of communication with the frontier. It was thought better to encourage a weak insurrection before the war, and then put it down in such a way as to strike terror into the hearts of the people and prevent any possibility of trouble afterwards.

If this was the plan, it was a success, but there was a recoil upon which the Turks had not counted. They had taken every precaution against publicity which was possible; all communication with the province was cut off; but it was not long before the whole civilized world was excited by the story of the Bulgarian massacres, and Turkey was irrevocably condemned. For her it was a fatal blunder for which nothing could atone. She lost the protection of England. She was condemned by Europe. She was left to contend alone with Russia. She was dismembered by the Congress of Berlin, because public opinion would not tolerate a Government which had deliberately planned and executed the Bulgarian massacres. England sought to save Turkey in the autumn of 1876, and again at the Conference. Even Sir Henry Elliot used all his influence in the summer to put an end to these atrocities; but all this friendly counsel was wasted, and, to this day, the Turks cannot understand how they lost the friendship and protection of the Western Powers.

The result astonished the Bulgarians almost as much as it did the Turks. There are many who seem to suppose that these people deliberately had themselves massacred in order to secure the sympathy of Europe. Nothing could be farther from the truth. They detested the

Turkish rule, as do all the Christian subjects of the Porte, but they had no hope of escaping from it. The insignificant insurrection in the province of Philippopolis was the work of the Bucharest Committee, and was led by an enthusiastic young Bulgarian who called himself Benkovski, a native of Koprivshitzza. No doubt he, and the boys and peasants who followed him, imagined that they could rouse the nation and drive out the Turks, or at least maintain themselves until war was declared by Servia; but the people generally had no sympathy with the rebellion, and no faith in the possibility of defending themselves against the Turks.

While the massacres were going on, the Bulgarians made no appeal to Europe, and had no idea that Europe had any interest in them. A single man in Philippopolis found means to communicate the facts secretly to a friend in Constantinople, who gave them to the correspondents of the *Times* and the *Daily News*, and at the same time communicated them to Sir Henry Elliot. From the commencement of the massacres in May until the arrival of Mr. Baring and Mr. Schuyler in Philippopolis in July, the feeling of the people was of utter hopelessness and helplessness. In September, when it became known that their sufferings had excited intense sympathy in England, then, for the first time, they began to hope that all this blood had not been shed in vain—that there was a possibility of securing some degree of self-government. In January, 1877, they would have accepted the plan of the Conference with grateful enthusiasm. It was not until the Russian armies had crossed the Danube that they began to hope for deliverance from Turkish rule. Then large numbers joined the Russian army as volunteers, and General Skobeloff testifies that he had no better or braver soldiers. But the horrors of that summer effaced all recollection of the massacres of the previous year. There was a reign of terror in Roumelia, after General Gourko's raid across the Balkans, which rivalled the most terrible scenes of the Greek Revolution.

There is no doubt but that Suleiman Pacha deliberately undertook to exterminate the Christian population and execute the oft-repeated threat, that when the Turks left Roumelia they would leave nothing but a desert behind them. How far he acted under orders from Constantinople is a disputed question, but he claims to have done nothing without the express approval of the Sultan.

When the war was over and the Treaty of St. Stephanos had been signed, the Bulgarians believed that their freedom from Turkish rule had been secured. They were not altogether satisfied, because a part of their territory had been given to Roumania, and another part to Servia, but they accepted their freedom as cheaply bought at this price. They had no fear of the Congress of Berlin, and took no pains to be represented there, for they had no idea that the Powers who had agreed to the protocol of Constantinople could have any desire to restore the Turkish rule in Bulgaria. When the treaty was published, their

surprise was almost as great as their disappointment. They saw at once that these decisions were due to the influence of Austria and England; and it was universally believed that these Powers intended to overwhelm the Bulgarian population of Roumelia by the importation, not only of the former Turkish population, who had fled at the approach of the Russian armies, but also of the whole Mussulman population from beyond the Balkans.

Then commenced an agitation, which has continued ever since, and which has given rise to many regrettable events. No Russian influence was needed to fan the flame, and, in fact, there has been no uniform Russian policy in Bulgaria. There has been no unity of opinion or of action among the Russian civil and military authorities. The most contradictory advice has been given by different men, and by the same men at different times. Not unfrequently the Bulgarians have been blamed and even punished for doing exactly what they had been advised to do. Russian influence has been diminishing rather than increasing since the signature of the Treaty of Berlin. The rivalries and jealousies of the leading generals have done much to produce this state of things. Still they have generally sympathized with the aspirations of the Bulgarians. They have encouraged them to resist the return of the Turks to Roumelia, and have done what they could to hasten and perfect the organization of a Bulgarian army. The agitation in Bulgaria is genuine, spontaneous, and, at least, excusable. The Bulgarians have been determined for months to resist the return of the Turkish troops to the Balkans. They regard this occupation as an attempt to separate Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia by force, and, moreover, they foresee the evils which must result from the permanent encampment of a large, hostile army in the midst of the quiet Christian villages of the Balkans. It is no sympathy with Russia, no desire to resist the will of Europe, no wish to threaten Constantinople, that moves the Bulgarians to resist the execution of the Treaty of Berlin. They feel as any other people would feel whose fate had been decided without consulting their interests or their wishes, who had been emancipated from a hated despotism and were about to be placed under it again by force, who had realized the hope of a united nationality and found themselves divided again to gratify the ambitious dreams of a kingdom like Austria. The Turks can never regain possession of the Balkans except by war, and no one can blame the Bulgarians for defending their country. On the part of the Turks the desire to do this is simply a matter of pride. They have no possible advantage to gain from it. They have not the means to build great fortresses and maintain a powerful army in the midst of a hostile population in the isolated passes of the Balkans. Such an occupation would be of little value with Shumla, Sofia, and the northern slopes of the Balkan in the hands of an enemy. It would be the worst possible position to occupy for the defence of Constantinople. The chief result of such an occupation would be to change the Bulgarians from

the most peaceable and unwarlike people in European Turkey into a nation of soldiers. This is as undesirable for Turkey as for Bulgaria.

The European Commission, which has been elaborating a Constitution for Eastern Roumelia, has no doubt done its best to give the people as good a government as the Treaty of Berlin would allow, but it complains that the Bulgarians are ungrateful. It is true that they have not manifested much sympathy for the Commission, and would probably have prevented its meeting at Philippopolis if it had not been protected by Russian bayonets, but their hostility has resulted simply from their desire to be united to Bulgaria. They had no other means of protesting against the Treaty of Berlin. They may have acted unwisely, but no Englishman would think of denying their right to protest, or of blaming them for not gratefully accepting a government imposed upon them by force.

Beyond the Balkans, in Tirnova, the ancient capital, an assembly met on February 22nd to adopt a Constitution and choose a prince. This assembly and its work have been so fully described by the correspondents of London papers that nothing more needs to be said of it. Mr. Palgrave, H.B.M. Consul-General, who has been in Tirnova during the session, reports most favourably of the intelligence, liberality, and good sense of the members, whose chief fault has been their inexperience.

Much has been written since the massacres of 1876 in regard to the *character of the Bulgarian people*. There has been some indiscriminate praise and much unqualified abuse. But few of these writers have had such personal knowledge of the people as could qualify them to express an opinion. Newspaper correspondents have visited the country during the war, and many, perhaps most of them, have expressed their opinions honestly on this subject; but these opinions are of little value, because they were necessarily based upon very imperfect knowledge of the people, under very unfavourable circumstances. Many books have been written by residents in different parts of the country, but in many cases they have drawn the most false and absurd conclusions from their local experience. In one case at least the author of a popular book has mistaken the language and nationality of the people among whom he lived. The most honest, impartial, and satisfactory book is that of Mrs. Blunt, the wife of H.B.M. Consul at Salonica, "*Twenty Years' Residence among the People of Turkey*;" but "a Consul's wife and daughter" is not always in a position to form a just estimate of the character of people whose language she does not understand, and of whom she sees but little.

There are special reasons why it is difficult to form a general estimate of the character of the Bulgarians. It must be remembered that they have been under the bondage of the Turks for five hundred years, and under that of the Patriarch for a hundred years. Forty years ago their condition was worse than that of the serfs of Russia, and it was almost an insult to

call a man a Bulgarian. The awakening of national life from this sleep of centuries has been one of the most remarkable events in the history of Europe, and the intellectual development of the people has gone on with unprecedented rapidity, but it had exerted only a limited influence upon the peasantry when the disturbances commenced in 1876. The progress of education and enlightenment had been confined to the towns and larger villages, where the people enjoyed a certain degree of liberty, and had learned how to secure protection for their lives, honour, and property by a judicious use of *backsheesh*.

There are certain national characteristics which may be mentioned as common to all Bulgarians, but in many respects there is a very marked difference between the peasants and the townspeople. As a whole, the Bulgarians are more decidedly Europeans than any other nationality in the Turkish Empire. They are not unlike the Germans. As a race they are both *industrious* and *frugal*—far more so than any other race in Turkey. The latter of these virtues is often carried to an unpleasant extreme, but the former is seen to advantage in all classes. The Bulgarian student, for example, applies himself to his books with a devotion and patient perseverance which more than compensate for any lack of brilliancy. He generally attains the highest rank in scholarship by means of hard work rather than from any natural love of learning; but this last will be developed with the growth of the nation. Thus far schools have been established chiefly from patriotic motives—from a feeling that it was only by education that the people could be elevated to the rank of a civilized nation.

Another national trait is *obstinacy*, which is perhaps nothing more than an excess of the virtue of perseverance, or possibly a development of conservatism. The Bulgarian is slow to accept new ideas, but when he has once adopted them no amount of persuasion, persecution, or suffering will move him to abandon them. This spirit of obstinacy has given the Bulgarians the reputation of being quarrelsome, and in one sense they are so: they are disputatious; but, as a general rule, not passionate or revengeful. This spirit naturally leads to an excessive development of individuality, which is at present a source of weakness in the nation, but which will probably disappear, in some measure, as the necessities of national life develop parties, and as certain men come to be recognized as leaders.

The Bulgarians are eminently *religious*, and are virtuous in their family relations; but their religion is, of course, tainted with the superstition which is always developed by ignorance, and their morality is perverted by the lack of honesty and truthfulness which is always found in a subject race. Still, in all these particulars, they compare very favourably with the other Christian races in Turkey. In all the Eastern Churches there is a lack of spiritual life, which results from the fact that the ecclesiastical organizations are rather political than religious in their character. This is especially true of the Greek and Bulgarian Churches,

but there is a very strong feeling among the Bulgarians that henceforth the Church must devote itself to spiritual affairs, and abstain from all interference with politics. The American missionaries in Bulgaria have been well received by the people, and have met with very little opposition. In the exclusively Bulgarian villages, where the character of the people is best seen, the tone of morality is high. Crime is almost unknown. Poverty and drunkenness are rare, and the family life is pure and civilized, though patriarchal in its character. The Bulgarians are essentially *Democratic* in their ideas, although there is no inclination towards a Republican form of Government as in Greece. It is rather the idea of social equality and equal rights. They not only have no aristocracy, but there are no servile expressions or elaborate titles in the Bulgarian language. These expressions have only been used in their relations with the Turks, and this intercourse has always been carried on in the Turkish language. Such titles and expressions are therefore associated in their minds with the hated despotism of their Mohammedan oppressors, and can never be applied to Bulgarians. This spirit has been manifested in the assembly at Tirnova in such a manner as to astonish the Russians, and it has attracted the attention of the Commission at Philippopolis. Three years ago a certain class of writers represented the Bulgarians as no better than sheep. The same writers now denounce them as wolves, always ready to devour meek and innocent Turks. The truth is simply this—the Bulgarian peasant has been for five hundred years in hopeless bondage. He has suffered from the Turks such indignities as have never been inflicted upon the Christians of Asia Minor. It has been no unusual thing for him to find himself suddenly deprived of his property by an edict of which he had never heard. It has been no rare occurrence for a Turk to mount upon his back and compel him to carry him to the next town. His daughters were often carried off by force to Turkish harems; and when a Moslem Bey entered his village, he ate up his provisions, ravished his wife or daughters, and often took his life. For all this there was no redress. The Turkish police were his worst enemies. Within five years they have inflicted the most horrible tortures upon peasants who had not the means to pay their taxes. It is no doubt true that in 1876, when these outrages were carried on upon a larger scale, the Bulgarians, in their hopelessness, submitted to their fate very much like sheep. It is also true that since the war these ignorant peasants have often revenged themselves upon the Turks, and have resisted their return to Eastern Roumelia. If this is not very Christian, it is at least very human. These Bulgarian peasants are in fact neither sheep nor wolves. They are simply men, possessing the good and the bad qualities of their race, debased by ignorance and oppression, brought too suddenly from bondage to comparative freedom, but naturally quiet, industrious, frugal, and capable of a higher civilization than any race in Turkey.

It was unfortunate for the Bulgarians that the great crisis in their history came when it did. They were not ready for it. Ten years longer

under Turkish rule, especially if this could have been modified as was proposed by the Conference of Constantinople, would have consolidated the nation, reconciled the Greeks to the idea of union with the Bulgarians, given time for the extension of the public schools from the towns to the villages, and for a more general elevation of the people. It would have given the people recognized and trusted leaders. There are now many well-educated, clever young men in the country, but they are not generally known, and they have not the age and experience which are necessary to command full respect and confidence. There are men who have local influence, but there is not one who is recognized as a leader of the nation. The plan agreed upon by the Conference of Constantinople was exactly adapted to the actual condition of the nation. It would, no doubt, have resulted in the ultimate dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, but this change would have come gradually, and possibly without any war. After the war this scheme was impracticable. Then the Bulgaria of the St. Stephanos Treaty, with some modifications perhaps, was the best solution possible, but it was replaced at Berlin by an arrangement which was very nearly the worst possible for every one concerned, except Russia and Austria. For them it has the advantage of securing continued anarchy and confusion in European Turkey.

Under this Berlin Treaty it is impossible to foresee what will be the political affinities of the Bulgarians in the future. Just now the European Powers seem to be vying with each other in the effort to force the Bulgarians to look to Russia as their only friend and possible ally. In the spring of 1875, before the outbreak in Herzegovina, I made a tour in Bulgaria, and made a special effort to ascertain the feeling of the people in regard to the different European Powers. I found an unexpected unanimity of opinion. The only Power universally feared and hated was Austria. In regard to Russia there were various shades of opinion; but there was a general feeling that Bulgaria had much to hope from her hostility to Turkey, and much to fear from her ambition to extend her territory. She would no doubt improve the first opportunity to deliver them from the Turks, but she might annex them to herself afterwards. They would rather take their chance, and wait for Turkey to fall to pieces, than be swallowed up in Russia; for it was the reality of a Bulgarian nation, and not the dream of Pan-slavism, in which they were interested. In regard to England, the question was always asked, how it was that a free Christian State could be the ally and defender of Moslem despotism? They would prefer the friendship of England to that of any other Power, but they saw no hope of ever securing it. After the massacres, and at the time of the Conference, there was a complete change of feeling. The people were filled with hope that, at last, they might count upon the friendship and protection of England; but the Congress at Berlin and the alliance with Austria have brought back the old feeling that English diplomacy is an

• inscrutable mystery. They manifested very little interest in Italy or Germany, but France was always spoken of with enthusiasm. This feeling in regard to France seemed to result in part from the vigour with which French Consuls defended the rights of the Christians, but still more from the conduct of France in the Italian war of 1859. The influence of this war upon the Christian nationalities in Turkey has not been noticed by European writers ; but, in fact, it marked the beginning of a new era. Up to that time the Christians of Turkey had no idea of nationality as distinct from religion. A man was Catholic, or Orthodox, or Armenian, or Protestant ; but no one ever thought of nationality as something distinct from this. The very word *millet*, which the Turks apply to the Christian communities, and which foreigners translate "nation," means only a religious sect. But the Franco-Austrian war taught the people of Turkey the new and startling fact that religion and nationality were not the same thing. From that day the Christians have been more inclined to tolerate religious differences and to seek for national unity and emancipation. This change has been very marked among the Armenians ; but it was in European Turkey that the influence of this idea was most apparent. It impressed upon the Bulgarians the fact that, although they were Orthodox, they were not Greeks, and it led them to look to France as the champion of this new idea of nationality. She had gone to war to rescue the Italians from a bondage like that under which the Bulgarians were groaning ; she might, at some time, do the same thing for them. Even now this feeling is prominent, and it would be easy for France to secure a controlling influence, not only in Bulgaria, but in all European Turkey. The present Government of France has turned its attention exclusively to the Greeks, and has shown no inclination to favour the Bulgarians ; but no Bulgarian would object to the annexation of Thessaly and Epirus to Greece, and, so long as there is no question of Macedonia, there is no reason why France should not exert an equal influence over both Greeks and Bulgarians.

Macedonia is the real battle-ground of these nationalities. Both claim it, and each hopes to secure it ; but each fears that it may be appropriated by Austria. If it is annexed to Bulgaria or occupied by Austria, Greece can never expand into a new Byzantine Empire or realize her "grand idea." In view of this fact, every effort has been made by the Greeks to prove that a majority of the population is Greek, and a very large amount of money is expended there annually to extend the use of the Greek language. The Bulgarians, on the other hand, claim that more than half of the population is Bulgarian, and that not more than half of the remainder is Greek. The American missionaries in Macedonia believe that this claim of the Bulgarians is well-founded, and base this judgment upon the language of the people, which is generally Bulgarian, and upon the fact that the people believe themselves to be Bulgarians. It is probable that, if it is not appropriated

by Austria, it will ultimately fall to Bulgaria; but, since the Treaty of Berlin, no part of the Turkish Empire has suffered so much as this unfortunate province. It was provided in the Treaty that reforms should be inaugurated there under the direction of the Eastern Roumelia Commission, and it was of the highest importance to the Turkish Government to make this province at once a model of good government; but thus far nothing has been done. The whole province has been given over to anarchy and confusion. Brigands and Bashi-bazouks have alternately plundered and massacred the people. And the infamous Chevket Pacha was the man chosen to restore order. He remained at Monastir until he was driven out of the city by the Mussulman Beys themselves. Whatever may be the ultimate fate of Macedonia—however it may be for the interest of Greece, Bulgaria, Austria, and Russia to prolong this state of anarchy—it is to be hoped that England and France will interest themselves in securing the execution of that part of the Treaty of Berlin which promises good government to Macedonia.

It is not easy to forecast the future of the Bulgarian nation. It depends almost equally upon the patience and good-will of the Great Powers of Europe and upon the patience and good sense of the Bulgarians themselves. They have risen suddenly to life from a sleep of centuries; they have no acknowledged leaders, and but little experience of self-government; they have unrealized hopes and ambitions, and are surrounded by watchful and hostile races; they are poor, and burdened with a debt for which they are not responsible; they have not been permitted by Europe to unite under a single Government, but have been divided into five sections to gratify the ambition or quiet the fears of other nations. But, on the other hand, they owe all that they have gained to the aid and protection of other nations rather than to their own efforts, and the opportunity is offered them of proving to the world that they are worthy of its confidence and support. They have all the advantages of a fertile country, protected from foreign invasion by a great European Treaty; they have all the good qualities of their race to work upon, and can devote themselves exclusively to its development; they have nothing to pull down—they have only to build up. It is not to be expected that they will be contented with the arrangements of the Treaty of Berlin, or cease to demand the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. Europe expects this, and will endure it patiently, but the Bulgarians also must patiently wait for the time when Europe can grant this boon without danger to herself. If the Bulgarians use their newly-acquired liberty wisely, the people of England will not be the last to sympathize with their aspirations.

AN EASTERN STATESMAN.

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION OF COMTE.

II.

IN a previous article I have given a sketch of Comte's system, and especially of that part of it which has attracted least attention in this country—the social philosophy of the “Politique Positive.” In this and a subsequent article I propose to make a few criticisms on the system, with the view of exhibiting the fundamental tendencies of thought which are manifested in it, and of contrasting the manifestation of those tendencies in Comte, with their manifestation in other writers, especially in the great German idealists of the beginning of this century. In these criticisms I shall observe the same relative limitation as in the previous article, and shall give most attention to the social and religious results of Comte's philosophy. As, however, it is impossible to separate these from the philosophical principles upon which they are based, it will be necessary, in the first place, to examine the ideas of Comte as to the development of human thought in general, and of science in particular.

Comte, like every great writer, was a son of his time; and his greatness is measured by the degree in which he brought to articulate expression the ideas which were unconsciously, or half consciously, working upon the minds of those around him. The great emancipating movement of thought in the eighteenth century, which found its clearest expression in the works of Hume and Voltaire, and which was kindled into revolutionary passion by Rousseau, awakened, by way of reaction, an equally extreme movement both in theory and practice, toward the reassertion of authority and social order. But in the midst of this flux and reflux of the popular consciousness, and still more after the extreme limits of each of these movements became clearly marked, a new idea was gradually taking possession of all minds that could rise above the atmosphere of party. Emancipation, pushed to the extent of isolating the individual from that general life through which alone he

can become a moral, or even a rational being—rebellion, pushed to the extent of severing the present from that past upon which it is necessarily based—had for their natural counterparts an equally exaggerated panic of reaction, and an equally indiscriminate admiration of past forms of thought and life. Even in Rousseau the ideal of savage isolation is crossed by longing reminiscences of the patriarchal state, and of the republics of antiquity; and the romantic spirit, with its revival of mediæval types and models, soon began to spread through the literature of Europe, and to affect its social and political life. Between these opposing tendencies the conception of society as a unity, yet not a mechanical but an organic unity, of living and independent members, presented itself as the reconciliation of socialism and individualism, or, in other words, of the opposing interests of unity and freedom. And with this came another kindred idea—the idea of development or organic evolution—which made it possible to admit men's obligations to the past without denying the claims of the present and the future. Condorcet, Kant, and Edmund Burke are three writers of very different temper and tendency, but in all of them we find this consciousness of the organic unity and evolution of the life of men and nations. All equally oppose the crude theory of a Social Contract and recognize that the unity of the State or of Society is something better "than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some other such low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties;"* that it is, on the contrary, "a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection." All equally recognize that the social State, to which they look forward as the ideal of the future, cannot be merely an historical accident, or a success achieved by the skilful contrivance of individuals; but that it must be the final realization of a principle, which has been working through all the past history of man, and which has underlain not only the old order of European civilization but also the movement of rebellion against it.† Finally, after Kant's suggestive application of it to history, the same idea, with a deeper metaphysical perception of its meaning, became the central thought in the philosophies of Schelling and Hegel as early as the first years of this century.

Comte, ignorant for the most part of the work of any except his French predecessors, was led to the same fundamental conception by the political experiences of France, as well as by the conflict of the opposite schools of Rousseau and St. Simon with each other and with the Catholic De Maistre. Yet, despite this independence, there is a certain parallelism between Comte's interpretation of the idea of development and that of the German idealists. That the first

* Burke's "Reflections on the Revolution in France," p. 184.

† This is not strictly accurate, for Condorcet seems to except from his list of the elements of progress the whole social and ecclesiastical system which existed previous to the Revolution, while Burke can see no element of growth or improvement in the Revolution itself.

"Synthesis," or system of doctrine upon which man's intellectual and moral life is based, was poetic or imaginative; that it was therefore disintegrated and destroyed by the critical understanding; and that it requires to be restored and reconstituted on a rational basis, a basis which shall satisfy the awakened intelligence, as well as the heart and the moral sympathies—all this was a commonplace of German philosophy long before the advent of positivism. The condemnation which Comte pronounced upon the individualistic and revolutionary theories of Rousseau is little more than an echo of the German attack upon the "Aufklärung." Even Comte's denunciation of the "metaphysical" explanation of the world by transcendent causes or "entities," which are not capable of empirical verification, and his assertion that man's knowledge is confined to the relative and phenomenal finds its exact parallel in the language of Kant. And Kant's idealistic followers, though they assert the possibility of a knowledge that goes beyond the phenomenal, do not assert it in the sense in which Comte denies it; for with them the negation of an absolute dualism between the noumenal and phenomenal is, as will afterwards be shown, only the necessary result of the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge itself. In all ways, therefore, the question between Comte and those whom he would have called metaphysicians is of a much more definite and specific kind than he or his followers generally have recognised. The general basis of thought—which belongs rather to the time than to any individual—is common to him and all the greater philosophical writers of his own, and even of the preceding generation. And the only point for controversy is whether he gave the most consistent and satisfactory development to those principles, which we cannot indeed say that he derived from others, but which he was certainly not the first to express. The question in short is, in the first place, how far Comte had a clear consciousness of the source and bearing of his own leading ideas; and, in the second place, how far he has been successful in applying them. I venture to think that in both points of view a careful examination of his works shows him to be defective. He fails to apprehend with clearness the logic by which his own thoughts are guided, he fails to follow out that logic to its legitimate result, and his system, therefore, with all its comprehensiveness, ends in inconsistency and self-contradiction.

In the first place, then, Comte's starting-point was fixed for him by the sensationalist philosophy of the last century. He begins where Hume ends, with the denial of the scientific value of metaphysics and theology. This denial he only modifies so far as to maintain that, while neither theology nor metaphysics can be regarded as forms of real knowledge, both must be regarded as necessary stages in the process by which real knowledge is attained. They are, in short, transitory forms of thought, which now survive only as stages in the culture of youth, or as prejudices in the minds of those who have not yet been awakened to the spirit of their time. Notwithstanding this wholesale rejection

of metaphysic and theology, however, it may easily be shown that Comte's own theory, like every intelligible view of the world, involves a metaphysic, and ends in a theology; and that he only succeeds in concealing this from himself, because he is unconscious of the presuppositions he makes, because he uses the word "metaphysic" in a narrow and mistaken sense, and because he conceives it, as well as theology, to be bound up with a kind of "transcendentalism," which all the great metaphysicians of modern times agree in rejecting.

Hostility to metaphysic, if by metaphysic he meant the explanation of the facts of experience by entities or causes, which cannot be verified in experience or shown to stand in any definite relation to it, is the common feature of all modern philosophy, idealist or sensationalist. It is as clearly manifested in Descartes as in Bacon, in Kant and Hegel, as in Locke and Hume. If Bacon accuses the scholastics of anticipating Nature by unverified hypotheses or presuppositions not derived from the study of Nature, Descartes is no less emphatic in his denunciation of a philosophy of authority, and in his demand for a fundamental reconstruction of belief. If the former bases all truth upon experience, does not the latter seek the evidence of his principles in the most intimate of experiences, the consciousness of self? Leibnitz is as ready as Locke, Kant is as ready as Hume, to maintain that philosophy must not introduce transcendent principles into its explanations of experience. As Luther rejected a God who did not reveal himself directly to the heart and intelligence of his worshipper, but only through the mediation of a priest and in an external tradition, so the greatest modern philosophers of all schools are agreed in rejecting all principles which do not find their evidence in being an integral part of the experience of men. I do not say that they all consistently develop this principle to its necessary consequence, or that traces of scholastic modes of thought are not to be found even in those of them who most strongly denounce scholasticism; on the contrary, there is good ground for saying that no one before Kant saw clearly what was involved in the renunciation of the transcendent as an object of knowledge. Still, the assertion of the principle itself, and the effort to realize it, is perhaps the most general and invariable characteristic of modern philosophy. In so far, therefore, as what Comte means by metaphysics is anything like the scholastic philosophy, with its transcendent or authoritative principles, no objection need be taken to his assertion that metaphysic is an exploded mode of thought, from which the philosopher and the man of science must now seek to free themselves. But then it must be added that, in this sense, none of the greater speculative writers of modern times is, in principle, a metaphysician; and that the metaphysic which they cultivate is of a totally different nature. If, indeed, we could consider Comte's remarks as aimed at the great metaphysicians of his own day, at Kant and his successors, the description, and therefore the censure founded upon it, would be almost ludicrously inapplicable.

To understand the bearing of Comte's denial of metaphysics, however, we must keep in view his historical antecedents. This negation was, as I have already said, part of his heritage from the sensationalist philosophy of the last century, which had reached its most consequent and definite expression in Hume. It was a conclusion, the first step towards which was taken by Locke in his attack upon the Cartesian doctrine of innate ideas. In Locke's view, innate ideas were principles apprehended independently of all experience—possessions of the individual mind which it finds in itself at once, and apart from any process of development, or intercourse with anything but itself. And, to disprove their existence, it was enough for him to point to the fact that, prior to such intercourse with the world, the mind has no contents at all, and can scarcely be said even to exist. This obvious truth, however, was immediately confused by him with the doctrine that reality—the objective world of individual things as such—is immediately given in sense apart from any “work of the mind,” and that any ideas or universals added by thought to the data of sense, must, *ipso facto*, be fictions. In making this assumption, Locke was yielding to a tendency of thought which had already shown itself in the nominalism of Hobbes. Locke, indeed, was not a nominalist, he was what is called a conceptualist; but in the *Essay on the Human Understanding* no distinct ground is ever stated for giving to universals more than that subjective value which even Hobbes allows to them. In his criticism of the ideas of substance and cause, Locke is always seeking to reduce fact and reality to the isolated sensations through which, as he supposes, individual things are given. And the same tendency of thought leads him also to regard the individual mind as apprehensive only of its own ideas and sensations, and excluded from all direct contact with the world. It soon, however, became obvious to the followers of Locke that, on these terms, no knowledge, or even semblance of knowledge, is possible; that the individual mind, if it were thus confined to its own isolated feelings, could never dream of the existence of an objective world; and that to make possible the reference of sensations to objects, it is necessary that they should be connected together according to general principles. In other words, it became obvious that the universal, or some substitute for the universal, is required to make knowledge and experience possible. And to meet this want the theory of association was devised, and the atomic elements of the intelligible given in sense, were supposed to be linked together by the principles of resemblance, contiguity, and succession. It was not perceived that in these principles there is already implied the unity of the self-conscious intelligence, and, indeed, the whole body of categories which the theory of association is used to explain or explain away. It was the work of Kant to show this: to show, in other words, that the attempt to empty knowledge of its universal element must be suicidal, that it must be fatal not only to theology and metaphysics but to all knowledge, even of the simplest facts of experience.

But Hume—and it may be added most of his English followers, such as Mill and Mr. Spencer—halt halfway in the development of their sensationalism, and therefore think it possible to maintain, that while the ultimate reality of things is hid from us, because we cannot transcend our own ideas, we can still have knowledge of phenomena, because these ideas are combined in the minds of all men according to the same principles of association. It is from this point of view that Hume tells us that the principle of causality, based as it is upon mere association, may be fairly used to connect phenomena with each other, but that it is altogether insufficient to enable us to rise from phenomena to noumena—from the world to God. Thus the principles of the association of ideas are to the mind of man something like what wings are to the ostrich; they help him to run on the ground, but they are not strong enough to make him fly. As a succedaneum for that universal element in thought, which would raise us to the knowledge of things as they really are, they enable us to arrange the appearances—the shadows of our cave—and *that*, for the practical purposes of the cave, is all that we require.

While the English followers of Locke thus confined themselves to the development of his ideas on the theory of knowledge, his French followers seized upon his individualistic theory of existence, and used it as an instrument to undermine the Catholic faith, and the whole political and social system connected therewith. Diderot and D'Holbach found in Atomism the readiest weapon to assail the popular theology. The former writer, indeed, sometimes plays with the atomic theory in a way that reminds us of the earth-shaking laughter of Aristophanes. In infinite time, he asks, in the infinite number of throws of the atomic dice, why should not, at one moment or another, a Cosmos spring out of chaos? and the Abbé Galiani can only hint, by way of answer, that somehow or other, "*les dés de la Nature sont pipés.*"* Rousseau, applying the same idea to Sociology, proclaims the emancipation of the natural man, and develops the theory of the Social Contract, the theory which reduces the State to a creation of the individual will. Yet Rousseau had some uncertain glimpses of the truth that the individual has no rights or claims, except so far as he is an organ of the universal, and with strange inconsistency he declares, that it is only through social life that the human being ceases "to be a dull and limited animal, and becomes an intelligent being and a man."

Now it is curious that Comte, while in his theory of knowledge he accepts the conclusions of the school of Locke, in his social theory takes up a position of intense hostility to the results of the same philosophy. That very individualism, which in Locke and Hume had been the ground and presupposition of the whole attack upon metaphysic, is assailed by Comte as the very essence of metaphysic. "The metaphysical spirit," he is never weary of saying, "is radically incompatible with the social point of view;" it has "never been able to escape from the sphere

* Cf. Du Bois-Reymond's "*Darwin und Galiani.*"

of the individual." From the empirical philosophy Comte accepted most of its negatives, especially its denial of the possibility of metaphysics or theology, as sciences of things in themselves, and its denial that even the principles, on which experience is based, are themselves derived from anything but experience. But the school of Locke had generally denied the abstract universal in favour of the equally abstract individual, and here Comte declines to follow them. Individualism is seen by him to be an inadequate basis for social or even for biological theory, and the blame, as a matter of course, is cast upon metaphysics. The "fate of metaphysical theory," he declares, "is decided by its inability to conceive of man otherwise than individually;" whereas "the true human point of view is not individual but social." "Man is a mere abstraction, and there is nothing real but humanity, regarded intellectually and yet more morally."* It is in fact just this thought of the unity and solidarity of man—not the mere abstract unity of a genus, but the concrete unity of one life, manifesting itself in many members—which enables Comte to look at the history of the past in a way so different from most of his predecessors, and to recognize the affinity of the social synthesis of the future, which he himself is trying to realize, with the previous theological synthesis of Catholicism. It is this also which leads him to create a new religion of humanity, and even, in the end, to justify that poetic licence which seems necessary to complete the synthetic view of life, and to bring Nature into unity with man. In the "Politique Positive" Comte's opposition to metaphysics as tending, in the language of Burke, to dissolve society "into the dust and powder of individuality," becomes even more emphatic; and with it is combined a continual denunciation of the "dispersive régime" of the particular sciences, which in the present day he declares to be pursued by mere specialists, with an extreme waste of human faculty, and without any regard to the legitimate end of all science, the furtherance of man's estate. The conception of life and science, as a connected whole, all whose parts are to be estimated and developed in relation to each other, and to the idea of the whole, is by Comte as firmly held and as resolutely carried out to its consequences as by the most extreme idealist or pantheist. The only difference—which still shows the trace of the individualistic philosophy out of which Positivism was developed—is that the synthesis of Comte is, in his own language, *subjective*, not *objective*; by which he means that the whole, in relation to which all things are to be interpreted, and of which the individual man is to be regarded only as a part or member, is humanity, and not the universe. In other words, Comte holds that we transcend the limits of knowledge when we seek to regard ourselves as parts of the universal whole or system of things, and therefore as living under the providence of God; but that we do not transcend the limits of knowledge when we regard ourselves as parts of the one great organism of humanity, and therefore as living under *its* con-

* Phil. Pos. vi. p. 692, Miss Martineau's Trans. ii. p. 508.

tinual providence. We are not, as Berkeley and Hume had taught, confined to the phenomena of our individual consciousness; but neither are we capable of reaching a purely objective point of view. We can see things, and estimate them from the point of view of *a whole*, but not of *the whole*,—except, indeed, in that poetry of religion by which the earliest fetichist affections are renewed, and space and the earth are worshipped as the friends of Humanity. This, however, is mere poetic licence; for we have no reason to believe that man has any friend but himself, and in its first direct action upon him the world shows itself to be anything but a system arranged for his benefit.

Now, without for the present discussing the truth of this view, we may remark that it is obviously the result of a compromise between the two opposite tendencies of thought, which divided the earlier history of modern philosophy. In the Cartesian philosophy there was a tendency—which manifested itself fully in the two greatest followers of Descartes, in Malebranche and Spinoza—to regard all things from the point of view of the absolute unity of the Universe, and to treat the separate existence of the parts as a fiction of abstraction. On this view the individual's consciousness of himself as an individual is an illusion, and Spinoza would have said the same thing of his consciousness of himself as a member of the race. The only true consciousness is that in which both man and humanity are seen as absorbed in Nature, or, what is the same thing, in God. The followers of Locke, again, went so far in the opposite direction that they regarded the universal as a fiction of abstraction, and the individual as the sole reality. Hence they sought to confine the individual in *theory* to the perception of his own sensitive states, and in *practice* to the seeking of pleasant, and the avoidance of painful feelings. Comte steers a path midway between the two extremes. To him, as to Locke and Hume, Nature is the vainest of abstractions, the last delusion of metaphysics; and all attempts to penetrate into the real being of things are the efforts of a finite creature to get beyond his own limits. Yet, on the other hand, to him, as to Spinoza, it seems irrational to separate the individual from the whole to which he belongs, and therefore Humanity, instead of being regarded as a vague abstraction like Nature, is asserted to be the most real of all things or beings. "Man is a mere abstraction, and there is nothing real but Humanity." And Comte is so far from saying that the individual is confined to the data of his own individual consciousness that he rather maintains that we are unable to know ourselves, except as we know something else. Thus in criticizing the psychological method of internal observation—which, by the way, he supposes to be the essential method of metaphysics—Comte says, "this pretended psychological method is essentially defective, for consider to what suicidal procedures it immediately leads; on the one side it bids you isolate yourself as far as possible from every external perception, and therefore prohibits you from carrying on any intellectual labour;

for if you are employed in any, even the simplest calculation, what would become of the internal observation? On the other hand, after having finally by elaborate effort and arrangement attained this perfect state of intellectual slumber, you are called upon to watch the operations which are going on in your mind, when in fact there is nothing going on at all."* Comte sees the absurdity of a psychological method, in which the mind is isolated from the world and treated as one object among the others which have to be observed, instead of being regarded as a "part of all it knows," although he does not clearly indicate the source of the error. But the only result, as we have seen, is a compromise, in which the individual is supposed to be capable of objective knowledge, though only of phenomena, and capable also of objective aims, which, however, he cannot identify with the absolute end of all things. We can know, in Comte's opinion, not merely what is relative to our individual minds, but to the human mind; and we can seek as our end, not merely our own individual pleasure but the happiness of Humanity. But we cannot know what things really are, apart from their appearance to us; we cannot worship any God who is in Nature as in man, or identify ourselves with any divine purpose which reaches beyond the pleasures and pains of this transitory existence. Whether this compromise is more than a compromise, whether it is a true solution of the difficulty, or a reconciliation of the opposite tendencies of thought in a higher unity, we have yet to consider.

The point, however, to which I wish here to call attention is, that Comte's protest against metaphysic loses almost all its weight because of his ignorance of the real scope and tendency of the metaphysical theories of the past, and of his own relation to them. He seems to have no perception of the essential distinction between the two tendencies of thought which he is partly opposing and partly reconciling. Beginning with a denunciation of metaphysic, because it treats universals as real entities, he ends by insisting on the truth that the Family, State, and Humanity, though *they* undoubtedly are universals, are at the same time objectively real. In the attempt to rise above the abstractions of earlier thought he is in harmony with the best metaphysics of his time. His defect lies in his unconsciousness of his own metaphysic, *i.e.*, of the categories which rule his thought, and which enable him to interpret the facts of experience, and especially the facts of man's social life, so differently from his predecessors. For him, indeed, there is an easy explanation of this difference between himself and the philosophers of an earlier time. They were "metaphysical," while he is not; they made assumptions, and substituted their own ideas for the teaching of experience, while he has simply made his mind into a mirror of Nature, and stated the facts as they are. Comte forgets what his own principles led him on other occasions to perceive, that the world is what it is to us by the development of our own thoughts,

* Phil. Pos. i. p. 36.

and that we find in it only what we are prepared to find. Locke also, when he attacked the Cartesians, seemed to himself to be substituting experience for mere ideas, reality for fiction. He did not observe that he was substituting for the presupposition that the universal alone is real, the opposite presupposition that the individual alone is real; and that the one presupposition is as much an idea as the other. And Comte, in his turn, guided by his new organic idea of social life and development, advances to the attack upon the individualistic philosophy, with the same naïve confidence that *his* idea is not an idea at all, but a fact. With all his talk of experience, he has never asked, or he has not understood the bearing of the Kantian question, What is experience? For if he had done so, he must have discovered that his own so-called positive thought was as metaphysical as that either of the Realists or of the Nominalists, and was indeed possible only as the result of a development which included both.

It is true that Comte in his "Politique Positive" refers to Kant's criticism of experience, though in a way that seems to show that his knowledge was derived only from hearsay. Kant is supposed by him to be the philosopher who first extended to the mind the general biological truth of the action and reaction of organism and medium upon each other. Because of this action and reaction, in which the mind modifies the object, as well as the object the mind, our thoughts do not correspond to the reality of things in themselves; they do not represent the medium as it is, but only as it appears to us, and our conception of the world is not therefore absolute, but only relative. On the other hand, we must not exaggerate this truth so far as to suppose that the development of our thought is purely subjective; or, in other words, that it belongs to the mind apart from the action of the world upon it (a view which Comte attributes to the German idealists). The true theory is "to regard the world as furnishing the matter, and the mind the form, in every positive notion. The fusion of these elements cannot take place except by reciprocal sacrifices. Excess of objectivity would hinder every general view, for generality implies abstraction. But the analysis which permits us to abstract would be impossible, unless we could suppress the natural excess of subjectivity. Every man, as he compares himself with others, spontaneously takes away from his observations that which is peculiar to himself, in order to realise that social agreement which constitutes the main end of contemplative life; but the degree of subjectivity which is common to all our species usually remains, and remains without any serious inconvenience. Nor could we reduce its amount, except by intellectual intercourse with the other animals, an intercourse which is rare and imperfect. Besides, however we might restrict or diminish the subjective influences that mould our thoughts, in the effort to come to an understanding with intelligences unlike our own, still our conceptions could never attain to a pure objectivity. It is, therefore, as impossible as it is useless to determine

exactly the respective contributions of the internal and the external in the production of knowledge."*

It is easy from this passage to see that Comte has not apprehended the real bearing of the Kantian criticism. Kant does not seek to show that knowledge springs out of the action and reaction of subject and object on each other, but that there are certain universals, or forms of thought, by which the intelligence must determine the matter of sense ere we can know objects as such. The question which he discusses is, how experience, and objects of experience, as such, are possible. Kant would not, therefore, say that it is impossible "to determine *exactly* the respective contributions of the internal and the external in the production of knowledge;" but that the problem is an absurd one, since subject and object are correlative elements in the unity of knowledge, and not two separate things, by the action and reaction of which upon each other knowledge is produced. The unity of experience is incapable of being transcended, and it is a false abstraction by which we attempt to take either subject or object out of that unity, and seek to determine it as a thing in itself. The *intelligi* and the *esse* of things are one, in such a sense, that it is transcending the limits of experience to attempt to determine either of these apart from the other.† All knowledge or experience implies and presupposes the unity of the knowing mind and the categories through which it determines its objects, and it is only in virtue of these that there exists for us any objective world of experience at all. Hence to leave out the intelligence, in our account of the intelligible, to forget the constitutive power of thought in speaking of existence (as is done by materialistic and so-called empirical theories), is to mutilate and distort the essential facts of the case.

This Kantian view of Nature and experience leads directly to certain important conclusions as to the work of philosophy. For, if its truth be admitted, it necessarily follows that the ordinary consciousness of men—even the ordinary scientific consciousness—is, in its view of the world, essentially abstract and imperfect. The ordinary consciousness generally, we might even say invariably, deals with objects *as if* they were given independently of any thinking subject. It proceeds *as if* an intelligible world could exist without an intelligence, and thus leaves out of account an element, and indeed the most important element, in the facts of experience. And the business of the philosopher or metaphysician must be to correct the abstractness of ordinary, even of scientific, thought, to bring to clear consciousness the element which they neglect, and to determine how the new insight into the nature of knowledge which, by this process, he has attained, must modify and transform our previous view of the objects known. In doing so, the metaphysician (or transcen-

* Pol. Pos. ii. 38.

† Whether, consistently with this, Kant can still speak of a thing in itself—of which we have the *thought*, though not the *knowledge*—is a question on which something may be said afterwards.

dentalist, as Kant calls him) is not introducing a new method ; he is simply following the method according to which we are continually obliged to correct and complete the results of one science by another. Science is necessarily abstract, in so far as it investigates and determines certain aspects and relations of things, apart from their other aspects and relations. Thus, in geometry, abstraction is made of everything except the relations of lines and figures in space, in order that the spatial conditions of things may be fully determined, apart from their other conditions. And in like manner, "the dynamic laws of weight would still be unknown to us, unless we had first abstracted all consideration of the resistance, or the motion, of the atmosphere or other medium." The science of political economy is based on an effort to isolate so far as is possible the economical from all the other conditions of social life. In short, all the separate sciences, in this point of view, are abstract ; and they tend to become more and more abstract as the scientific division of labour increases. That is, they tend to confine themselves to the investigation of certain definite relations of object, leaving out of account all their other relations ; or (what comes to much the same thing) to the examination of certain definite objects, without taking into account their manifold relations to other objects. Now, as Comte himself says, "these preliminary simplifications without which there could be no such thing as science in the true sense of the word, always involve a corresponding process of recomposition, when prevision of actual fact is called for." To attain a complete view of the truth, we must return from the abstraction of the isolated sciences to the unity of Nature, in which all these separate objects and relations are brought together, to modify and determine each other. And philosophy only goes a step further in the same direction, when it corrects that abstraction from the thinking self, the unity of knowledge, which is common to all the physical natural sciences. The only difference is, that the abstraction of *science* from the unity of the objective world, as it is the result of a definite act of thought, is generally conscious ; while the abstraction which *philosophy* seeks to correct is generally unconscious. The geometrician cannot but see that there are other than spatial conditions of existence, and that, for his own purposes, he has left all such conditions out of account. But it is quite possible, as every day's experience proves, to investigate the laws of the intelligible world, without ever adverting to its necessary relation to the intelligence, and without being conscious of the abstractness of a view of things, in which this relation is left out of account. Philosophy, therefore, has to detect and bring to the light of day certain facts or relations that enter into the constitution of things, which indeed are presupposed in all our consciousness of them, but which, nevertheless, generally escape without notice. Of this work of philosophy or metaphysics, however, Comte has no idea, or he confuses it with the methods of an empirical psychology, which, by an opposite abstraction, would separate the think-

ing mind from the world to which it is related. But the method of philosophy is not mere abstraction ; it is rather, if the expression may be allowed, *concretion*. Philosophy, as Hegel said, is "thinking things together"—i.e., thinking them in a unity that transcends and explains their differences: or, if it ever abstractly considers the unity and movement of thought in itself, it is only (as Geometry abstractly considers the relations of Space) in order more surely and clearly to discern that unity and movement in all the objects of thought.

It is to Kant, principally, that this new way of stating the problem of philosophy is due ; but it would be altogether a mistake to suppose that he essentially changed the problem itself. Metaphysicians, from the time of Socrates and Plato, have always sought to get beyond the presuppositions of the ordinary consciousness, and to remould that consciousness by bringing to light the principles upon which it rests. One of the best definitions that has been given of philosophy is "clear self-consciousness." And it is, indeed, just this character of metaphysical thought which renders plausible Comte's attack upon it. It is in the metaphysical writers of the past that we can most clearly discern the errors of the past, for by these writers the errors are not merely implied and presupposed, but explicitly stated. Hence such writers are continually suffering from that natural illusion by which we take, as the prominent representatives of an idea or tendency of thought, those authors by whom it has been most distinctly expressed ; whereas it is rather they who first enable us, even if they do not enable themselves, to see the limitations of the idea or tendency, and to transcend it. But as it is in the metaphysicians that we find the clearest and most definite expressions of those defective principles of past thought which we are seeking to transcend, it is not unnatural that we should attribute the defect itself to metaphysic. What, however, is really due to metaphysic is not the error, but rather that clearness and definiteness of its expression which makes our refutation of it and our higher point of view possible. Thus the limit of Greek thought, the point at which, by its own development, it falls into error and self-contradiction, would have been by no means so easy to discern, if its presuppositions had not been raised into ideal clearness in the works of Plato and Aristotle. The individualism of the Stoics and Epicureans gives us a key, which we would otherwise want, to those new experiences of independence and isolation which came to men under the Empire of Rome, after the breaking up of the ancient municipal organization of social life. Descartes and Spinoza reveal the open secret of that new view of the relation of man to God, which was partly expressed by Luther and Calvin, and which was so powerful in moulding the political and social life, especially of Protestant countries, and in awaking in them a consciousness of individual and national independence, combined with a still more intense consciousness that the individual is nothing, except as the servant of a higher power. Hence it was in a criticism of these philosophies that Locke and

Leibnitz found the starting-point for their fuller assertion of the claims of the individual. Finally, it is through a struggle with Individualism, especially in its fullest expression in Hume and Rousseau, that Kant and his successors in Germany, and Comte in France, were led to that higher organic idea in which the individual and the universal cease to be opposed to each other as reality to fiction, and come to be regarded as different but complementary aspects of reality. If we no longer say, "The universal alone is real, and the individual is an abstraction;" or, "The individual alone is real, and the universal is a name;" but, "The individual is real, but only as determined by the universal, and the universal is real, but only as manifesting itself in the individual," it is due to the whole past movement of philosophic thought. Nor, again, would it be difficult to show that the successes or failures of science at different times were closely connected with the sufficiency or insufficiency of the ultimate principles of thinking, then acknowledged or presupposed. For it is the development of man's spirit which enables him to ask or to answer new questions in regard to the world of objects, and his growing knowledge of that world cannot be separated from his growing consciousness of himself. To one who regards metaphysic from this point of view, its continual apparent failures will be as little suggestive of a despair of philosophy as the fall of the Greek State, or of the feudal system, is suggestive of a disbelief in the possibility of social and political life. It may even be said that no stage of culture, no limited form of human thought or existence, is ever completely exhausted and transcended, till it has risen to a clear consciousness of itself in a metaphysic, or something of the nature of a metaphysic. It is the disentanglement of the principle, the unity, the fundamental category, which has ruled men almost without their knowing it, that first enables them to see its value and relation to that unity of the whole, with which it was necessarily confounded so long as it remained merely a moving force in the depths of the popular mind. Comte himself was metaphysical, in so far as he sought to transcend the one-sided and imperfect categories of earlier philosophy, and to reconcile them by means of a higher thought. His defect lay in this, that he was not metaphysical enough, that his analysis of his own thought was imperfect, and that he was therefore the instrument of a movement of human intelligence, of the meaning of which he was never clearly conscious. Otherwise he would have perceived that his "positive" stage was not simply a negation of the metaphysical and theological stages which preceded it, and a return to fact and experience, but that it was essentially a new reading of experience, which implied, therefore, a new form of metaphysics and theology.

It is this unconsciousness of his own fundamental categories, which explains Comte's radical misconception of the whole history of theology and metaphysics. The third stage of Positivism is not the unity which transcends, while it reconciles, the previous stages of human development; on the contrary, it involves the renunciation of the whole direction of

thought which had prevailed during the two previous stages. According to this view, all that we can say is, that a germ of positive thought existed from the first, and that by its development, theology and metaphysics were gradually driven from the whole sphere of knowledge. Positivism is thus the concentration of human thought within certain limits, which at first it did not respect, but which it gradually learns to be, for it, impassable. And the only result of the process is, that the whole field of the non-phenomenal is abandoned to poetry, which is still to be permitted under certain restrictions to fill up the vacant spaces of the unknowable with shapes drawn according to our wishes. Theology and metaphysics are but more or less thinly disguised anthropomorphisms, which once subserved a social purpose, and which apart from this purpose have no value for the intelligence, and no element of truth in them which needs to be preserved under the new intellectual régime. Their history was not a development, but a purely negative process—a process whereby they became attenuated and dissolved, until the rich concrete meaning of the first Fetichism had entirely disappeared in the negations of the revolutionary philosophy. Monotheism, the last religion, was but the bare abstract residuum of theology, as the idea of Nature was the last abstract residuum of metaphysics. And the whole result of the long striving of human intelligence to penetrate into the absolute is merely the knowledge of its own limits.

Now, it is not too much to say that this view involves a fundamental misrepresentation, and even inversion, of the whole history of religion and philosophy. Its plausibility at first sight arises from a common confusion as to the idea of abstraction. In one sense it may be said that there is no one so concrete in his view of things as the child or the savage; in another sense, it may be said that there is no one so abstract. The mind of the child clings to the immediate images of things; it cannot rise above their pictured presence in space and time; it cannot sever them in thought from their immediate surroundings. On the other hand, the child's thought is abstract and simple; it confuses all things together; it scarcely distinguishes at first between animate and inanimate, between man and animal. With Comte we may call the child a Fetichist; not because his imagination raises all things to the level of man, but because he still lives in a simplicity or confusion of thought for which there are no distinct differences of level. On the other hand, as the child advances to maturity, the pictures of sense may partially fade, but his ideas of things become more complex and adequate. It ceases to be impossible for him to separate objects from the definite circumstances of space and time, in which they have been at first perceived; but at the same time, his knowledge of those objects, in their unity and difference—their permanent nature and their manifold phases and aspects—is continually growing. If, therefore, the movement of his thought, in one point of view, is toward greater generality and abstractness, in another point of view it is toward greater particularity and concreteness. To use

a favourite modern phrase, the development of human thought is by differentiation and integration, by induction and deduction at once. Now Comte's history of theology and metaphysics is greatly distorted by the fact that he detects in it only a movement of generalization and abstraction; and not also a movement towards greater complexity and completeness. Yet, even a superficial glance at the development of religions is enough to let us see that the Christian idea of God in man is less simple and abstract than Jewish Monotheism or Oriental Pantheism. If, indeed, we were to judge of religions by mere wealth of fantastic sensuous symbolism, it might seem possible to regard the earliest religion as the richest, though even this might be disputed, seeing that the fancy of the savage Fetichist, though capricious and wayward, is at the same time singularly monotonous and uninventive. But to any one who would classify religions according to the complexity and depth of the thought involved in them, it must be apparent that they become more full and definite—not more vague and simple—as time advances. Their progress toward greater universality is at the same time a progress toward greater specification. In the Indian faith we discern, from very early times, the presence of an idea of the divine unity. But it is a vague and abstract idea, and for that very reason it stands side by side with, or produces, a lawless Polytheism, in which there is neither method nor meaning; which, as Goethe says, does not subserve the true purposes of a religion, since it adds another element of confusion to life, instead of supplying a guiding principle through all its confusions and difficulties. Among the Jews we have a true Monotheism, in which the unity is no longer that of an abstract substance, but of a spiritual or self-conscious being—a personal will which manifests itself in a definite purpose, in a moral government of men and nations. In Christianity, finally, we have the idea of a God, who is not merely an absolute substance—not merely a Creator and Ruler of the world, but a self-revealing Spirit; a Spirit who reveals himself in, as well as to, his creatures—an idea which combines in one the earlier Pantheistic and Monotheistic conceptions. To regard the process in which these are three of the main stages as merely a process of abstraction and negation is surely to take a most external and superficial view of it. The truth is, that this and the similar sketch in Hume's "Dialogues on Natural Religion" are rather based on a preconceived theory as to the development of human thought in religion, than on the phenomena of religious history. And in Comte's "Social Dynamics," he has frequently to mention facts which are altogether inconsistent with it.

Nor is Comte's view of the history of metaphysic less fictitious and inaccurate. According to that view, the earliest philosophies ought to be the most concrete and complete, and the latest the most simple and abstract; but the very reverse is the fact. It is in the dawn of speculation that men are content to explain the universe by such abstractions as "being" and "becoming." The ancient philosophy contrasts with

the modern, as simple with complex ; for while the former is occupied with questions about "the one" and "the many," the "universal" and the "particular," the latter is concerned from the first with the relations of consciousness and self-consciousness to the world. Again, confining ourselves to modern philosophy, we find the abstract Universalism (if we may use the expression) of Descartes and Spinoza, yielding in the next generally to two opposite forms of Individualism, and ending in the attempt of Kant and his successors "to read Locke with the eyes of Leibnitz, and Leibnitz with the eyes of Locke," and (we may add) to unite the elements of truth in both by a deeper view of the principle imperfectly expressed in Spinoza. In short, the whole movement of philosophy is a movement towards a more complex, and at the same time towards a more systematic, view of the world. Philosophical thought is ever seeking on the one hand to distinguish, and even to oppose to each other the different sides of truth which were at first confused together ; and again, on the other hand, to show that what were at first supposed to be contradictory, are really complementary, aspects of things. This progress of philosophy by differentiation and integration Comte's theory does not explain, but it explains him. For, as has been indicated, Comte's whole view of the relation of the individual to society, and of the present to the past, manifests that same effort to concentrate and combine in one motives of thought which were formerly separated, and even opposed to each other, which is shown in the idealistic philosophy of Germany. Only, as Comte is not conscious of this affiliation of his thought, but, on the contrary, supposes Positivism to be the simple negation of metaphysics, his possession of the higher idea shows itself, not in a new metaphysic, but only in a better comprehension of the social life and development of the race. Hence, he sees no positive connection between his own speculations and the previous history of philosophy, but connects it solely with the past progress of physical science.

This inadequacy of Comte's view of the history of philosophy and theology leads to an opposite inadequacy in his view of the history of science. As the former is conceived by him to be a mere process of abstraction, which ends in nothing, so the latter is conceived by him—at least, in his first general account of it—purely as a movement from the abstract and general to the concrete and particular. There are thus two laws for the progress of the human mind—the law of its progress *to* science, and the law of its progress *in* science. The progress *to* science is merely the gradual destruction of the imaginative synthesis in which civilization began ; the progress *in* science consists in the gradual building up of the scientific synthesis in which civilization must end. Science begins with the consideration of the simplest and most abstract relations of things, with arithmetic and geometry, and it ends with the investigation of their most complex and concrete relations, with sociology and morals. This, with slight modifications, is the historical order of

the genesis of the sciences, and, what is even more important in Comte's eyes, it is the order of their logical dependence or filiation, and therefore the order of a duly arranged scientific education. For each of the successive sciences—mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, and sociology—includes a deductive part, in which it depends on previous sciences, and an inductive part, in which it makes a fresh start from experience for itself; and therefore no one can be fully equipped for the investigation of the more complex, who has not made himself master of the laws of the simpler, phenomena. Like Plato, Comte would write over the portals of science, *μὴ ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσέλτω*, and he would add,—Let no one enter upon the study of chemistry who is not a master of the principles of physics; upon the study of biology, who is not a master of the principles of chemistry; nor upon the study of sociology, who is not a master of the principles of all the previous sciences.

This view of the historical and logical filiation of the sciences has been attacked with considerable force in an Essay by Mr. Spencer upon the "Genesis of Science." In that Essay Mr. Spencer points out what, indeed, Comte himself had very fully acknowledged, that *historically* every science in turn has been an instrument in the development of the others. Even in the time of Aristotle politics and biology had made no inconsiderable advance, while as yet physics and chemistry could scarcely be said to be in existence. And this is only what was to be expected, for some knowledge of the conditions of social order is a practical condition of the development of any other kind of science; and the necessary art of medicine forced men at a very early period to pay some attention to physiology. Astronomy had to wait for optics to furnish it not only with instruments but with definite conceptions of the dispersion and refraction of light; and physical investigation could not proceed very far without some kind of solution of biological and even psychological questions in relation to sense perception. It was the advance of geometry that led to the invention of algebra, and the transcendental analysis of Newton and Leibnitz was directly suggested by the problems of physics. These and many other facts of the same kind seem to show that a *serial* arrangement of the sciences misrepresents at once the historical order of their development and the logical order of their dependence. And in both points of view it would be nearer the truth to regard the different sciences (as Comte himself sometimes regards them) as "*les diverses branches d'un tronc unique.*" For this "suggests the facts that the sciences had a common origin, that they have been developing simultaneously, and that they have been from time to time dividing and subdividing." Yet even this metaphor is inadequate, for "it does not suggest the yet more important fact that the divisions and subdivisions thus arising do not remain separate, but now and again reunite in direct and indirect ways. They inosculate; they severally send off and receive connecting growths; and

the intercommunion has been ever becoming more frequent, more intricate, more widely ramified. There has all along been higher specialization that there might be a larger generalization; and a deeper analysis that there might be a better synthesis. Each larger generalization has lifted sundry specializations still higher; and each better synthesis has prepared the way for still deeper analysis."*

To these objections, Comte would probably have answered, as M. Littré has answered for him, that there is a difference between the determination of some of the laws of a particular class of phenomena and the constitution of a science of these phenomena; and that a science cannot be regarded as constituted till its inductive and deductive parts are separated. It cannot be denied that physics involves all the relations discussed in mathematics, and something more; that chemistry involves all the relations discussed in physics, and something more; that biology involves all the relations discussed in physics and chemistry, and something more; and that sociology involves the relations discussed in all the previous sciences, and something more. Now, it is a hopeless task for the weak human intellect to deduce this "something more" in the more complex, from the principles of the less complex sciences, even if absolutely such a deduction is possible. Hence we cannot regard a science as constituted, until its special subject-matter has been separated from the subject-matter of the simpler sciences, and until, in relation to that subject-matter, certain laws have been determined which cannot be deduced from the principles of those sciences. Thus, in Comte's opinion, biology was not constituted as a science until, in quite modern times, the phenomena of life were seen at once in their relative dependence on, and their relative separation from, physical and chemical phenomena. Nor could sociology be constituted as a science until, by Comte himself, the law of social development was determined, and the phenomena of human life were thereby separated from phenomena of life in general, which fall under the province of biology. In this sense, therefore, it is argued, that the historical and the logical order of the sciences are coincident; and that, while it is quite true that the advance of one of the simpler sciences is often stimulated by requirements of the more complex sciences, it is equally true that the more complex science has to wait for the development of the simpler science, ere it can rise above its first empirical stage.

It would be beyond the scope of this article, even if it were in the power of the writer, to discuss in all their bearings these different views as to the arrangement of the sciences; but we may remark that the most important of Mr. Spencer's objections are directed, not against the specific account which Comte gives of the historical and logical relations of the sciences, but rather against his assertion that science progresses from the general to the particular, from the abstract to the concrete. That progress, he maintains, is "*at*

* Spencer's "Essays," i. p. 145.

once from the special to the general, and from the general to the special." If arithmetic comes before geometry, and geometry before physics; on the other hand it is equally true, that geometry comes before algebra, and algebra before transcendental analysis, in which mathematics reaches its highest generalization. The "special" geometry of the ancients is contrasted by Comte himself with the "general" geometry of the moderns, and the Newtonian theory of gravitation was more general than the laws of Kepler, by the aid of which it was discovered. Now, looking at such illustrations as these by which Mr. Spencer supports his case, we cannot but think that the controversy really turns upon the ambiguity of "general" or "abstract," of which we have already spoken; and that in spite of what both Comte and his critic have said about the different meanings that may be given to these words, neither of them has consistently kept in view the difference between the "general" with which science begins, and that with which it ends. In one sense of the word, transcendental analysis is more "general" than arithmetic and algebra, but in another sense it is more specific. For transcendental analysis includes and explains both arithmetic and algebra, and casts its light even beyond their sphere, but it does so, not by becoming vaguer and less definite, but quite the contrary. It is a universal that does not leave out of account the differences of the particulars included under it, but rather determines them more fully. And the same thing may be said of the laws of Newton as contrasted with the laws of Kepler. It is easy enough to reach the general, if all that is wanted is a common element; for in that case we need only to abstract from everything but the simple idea of "being," and we have at one step reached the top of the logical tree of Porphyry, the highest universal of thought. But the universal of science and philosophy is something different from this; it is not merely a generic name, *under* which things are brought together, but a principle which unites them and determines their relation to each other. It is a unity, the thought of which does not exclude, but rather is correlative with, a knowledge of the differences. In this point of view the Platonic view of science, as a search for unity and the universal, and the Aristotelian view of it as a search for difference and the particular, are but opposite sides of the shield knowledge, which cannot be separated from each other. Now the defect of Comte's general description of the progress of science is, that he has chosen to look solely at one side of the shield, and to regard it merely as a movement of specification; and the consequence is, that in the sequel he is obliged continually to correct himself, and to observe in particular cases that it involves also a movement of generalization. Mr. Spencer sees both sides, and therefore progress is for him a movement at once of differentiation and integration; yet in his criticism of Comte, and in his "First Principles," there are passages in which he seems to confuse the universal of science with a mere abstraction or logical genus, and to overlook the essential correlativity

and interdependence of the two opposite movements of thought.* The defects of both writers, however, lie mainly on the metaphysical side; in their analysis of the idea of development more than in their application of it. And it is the power and fertility of resource with which they apply it to life and history, which gives them, and especially which gives Comte, a claim to an important place among modern philosophical writers.

In this article I have tried to trace to their origin Comte's ideas of social and intellectual development, and to examine the motives which led him to reject theology and metaphysics, as legitimate forms of science. In a following article I shall go on to consider more carefully the subjective synthesis by which he would supply their place.

EDWARD CAIRD.

* Mr. Spencer, it may be remarked, takes, like Comte, a *negative* view of the progress of religion, and to him, therefore, the last religion is the worship of the Unknown.

THE BOERS AND THE ZULUS.

THE terrible events which have recently taken place in South Africa have painfully directed the attention of the British public to that part of the world, and a singular diversity of opinion has arisen as to the events themselves. The most opposite views have been ably and forcibly expressed by distinguished statesmen in Parliament and by brilliant writers in the Press. This wide difference of opinion no doubt partly results from the spirit of party which inflames and colours nearly all the public discussions of this constitutionally-governed country. It is also in some measure due to the honest but prejudiced and one-sided feeling which a section of the community brings to the discussion of all matters in which coloured races are involved. But I think it would be unjust to the distinguished statesmen, the able writers, and the earnest philanthropists who have taken part in this debate to do other than believe that this contrariety of view and feeling is greatly owing to the extreme difficulty of the subject itself—in other words, to the imperfect knowledge the most intelligent men here at home possess of the remote countries which are the scenes of the events in question, and of the races who inhabit them, whose customs, traditions, and thoughts are so widely different from our own.

I do not suppose that my opinion will carry much weight in this discussion, but I would fain hope that certain statements of facts, founded mainly on my personal experience, may in some degree better enable earnest, truth-seeking men of all parties to form a correct opinion on these most important affairs.

In the gloomy picture presented at this moment by South Africa two figures stand out in the foreground—one is the stalwart Dutch Boer, the other the athletic and not ungraceful Zulu-Kafir. The antagonism of these races has been the chief and immediate cause of the troubles in which we are now involved. I know something of both these peoples, and

I will try to give some information about them, got from personal observation. I shall also have to direct attention to the policy pursued toward these races by the Imperial and Colonial Governments. More or less general summaries of the history of our South African colonies have lately been presented to the public both in the writings and speeches of able men; but I may be permitted to refer to some salient points which seem to me to have an important bearing on the present discussion.

Everybody knows that the great Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, discovered the Cape in 1497, and that his countrymen, attracted by the superior advantages of the East, passed on, making no settlement there. Subsequently, after having been visited by English and Spaniards, the country round the Table Mountain was taken possession of by the Dutch East India Company, who formed there a small settlement under Van Riebah. These early colonists were not all Dutch; some of them were German and some Flemish, with a few Poles and Portuguese. About 1686 the small colony received a very important accession to its numbers by the arrival of a body of French refugees, driven from France by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. These settlers were the best the colony had received. The original colonists were mostly all of one class, and that not the highest social grade. The French were of various ranks; some had held high position in their own country, some were manufacturers, some vine-dressers and gardeners. Although these people landed penniless, they soon by their industry acquired a competence. From their arrival dates the extensive making of wine; and there is little doubt that to them is due the beginning of the beautiful gardens and plantations of trees which now adorn the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and also many other places in the colony. These refugees brought with them the earnestness of religious feeling which had caused their expulsion from the land of their birth. This temper of mind they imparted to the older colonists, so that to them is mainly due the religious but narrow enthusiasm which has characterized the so-called Dutch of the Cape ever since, and which, though it has proved the source of much social benefit to themselves, has not been unmingled with error so far as their dealings with the native races are concerned—error arising from a mistaken interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

As these French immigrants formed, alike in number and in intelligence, a most important element in the community, it may seem strange that their language was so completely lost that it has left no trace. This is chiefly due, I think, to the fact that the oppressive government of the Company compelled the use of the Dutch language, not only in legal proceedings, but also in religious services. But although the French tongue has left no trace of itself in the language of the country, the French blood has indelibly marked its course of descent in the names

borne by portions of the white population. The cognomens of Duplessis, Dupres, Jourdain, Marais, De Velliers, and a great many more occur—names not unknown to European history. I believe, indeed, that there are few old Cape families who have not a large infusion of French blood in their veins. In other countries where the refugee Huguenots settled, the distinctiveness of their blood and character faded and finally vanished in the large population which received them. But the so-called Dutch of the Cape may be almost regarded as a Huguenot settlement. At any rate, their descent, whether derived from Dutch or French, is entitled to the respect of liberty-loving England.

The government established by the Dutch East India Company was a purely arbitrary and very tyrannical rule. It prescribed to the colonists the kind of crops they were to plant, compelled them to sell their produce exclusively to the Company, and made other very oppressive regulations. Its subjects were naturally discontented; they often were rebellious. By-and-by, many of them moved beyond the limits of the colony, to get out of the reach of the Company's authority. In this way were engendered the unsettled habits and the impatience of control which have characterized many of these first settlers' descendants. At the time of the Dutch occupation the southern part of the country was inhabited by Hottentots and Bushmen. These people were gradually subdued, and large numbers of them were reduced to slavery. By 1740, or thereabouts, the colonists had extended their territory to the Gautvor River, and in 1783 they reached the Great Fish River. The latter stream seems to have formed the boundary line between the Hottentots and Kafirs. Then, for the first time, the Boers and Kafirs came into collision; and from that date began the contest of races which has lasted to the present time.

The name *Kafir* was unknown to the people now called by it; it was probably given to them by the Arabs, and means, I believe, infidel. Among themselves they have no common name to designate the race to which they belong, unless it be *Amautu*, or, "the people." The Kafirs are supposed to be descendants of certain superior races of Negroes, evidently with some mixture of Arab blood in their veins. They seem, at no very distant period, to have advanced from the interior of Africa, driving before them, or else exterminating, the native races, and especially the Hottentots and Bushmen. Finally, they settled on the south-eastern part of the continent. From the Hottentots they borrowed the peculiar sound in their language called the "click." Proof of this is afforded by the fact that this sound is more common and more pronounced in the speech of the frontier Kafirs, who have come more in contact with the Hottentots, than it is in the utterance of the Zulus and Bechuanas. The Amakosas are supposed to have crossed the Kei River and conquered the Hottentots about 1750—that is, nearly at the same time as the Dutch settled at the Cape.

It will be seen from this hasty sketch that both Boers and Kafirs

were conquering and aggressive races, and that the one had really no more aboriginal right than the other to the country which is the scene of their contests. Moreover, they had both conquered and oppressed people of the same race—the Hottentots and Bushmen—and taken the land belonging to them. The contact of two such races implied hostility, and we need not inquire particularly which was the aggressor. It seems, however, probable that in the first contest it was the Kafir. I have said that, about the year 1783, the Great Fish River was declared the boundary of the Cape Colony. It was also the then existing boundary between the Kafirs and the Hottentots. It appears that tribes of Kafirs subsequently encroached on the Hottentot or Dutch side of the river, and, settling there, began to steal the cattle of the settlers. This led to the first hostilities between them and the Dutch—which continued for several years in a kind of guerilla warfare; until, in 1795, the British Government, at the instance of the Dutch Stadtholder, took possession of the colony, and held it till its restoration at the Peace of Amiens, 1802. During this period the Kafirs, incited by white renegades,—two Dutchmen, a German, and an Irish deserter,—ravaged the country as far as the present village of George. There they were at last defeated by the Dutch burghers, aided by a small body of British troops. The Dutch Government, as above mentioned, took renewed possession of the colony in 1802, but it was finally conquered by the British Government in 1806, and was formally ceded to us in 1815.

Throughout the greater part of this time a state of trouble was normal on the eastern frontier, and, in the end, the thefts and other outrages of the Kafirs settled in the Zuurvelt became so intolerable that it was determined by the British Government to drive them out of the colony. This was effectually accomplished in 1811–12 by Colonel Graham, at the head of a large force, comprising British troops, some Hottentot levies, and a considerable body of Dutch burghers. Speaking of the latter force, Colonel Graham said: “I never in my life saw more orderly, willing, and obedient men; they behaved with much spirit, and were always ready to go upon any enterprise.” The Great Fish River was again established as the boundary, being defended by forts about twelve miles apart. Graham’s Town was at the same time founded as the head-quarters for the troops stationed on the frontier. In 1819 another war broke out, in which Graham’s Town was attacked by the Kafirs, who were with difficulty beaten off. At the close of the war it was agreed between the Governor and the Kafir chiefs that the country between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma should be cleared of inhabitants, and should thenceforward form a neutral territory between the two peoples. The purpose of this was to prevent intercourse between the Kafirs and the colonists, but it failed. A space of country, cleared of encroaching Kafirs in 1812, was called the Zuurvelt. Inducements were offered to the colonists to go and settle there,

but as the district was so exposed to Kafir depredations few would accept the offer. At last, in 1820-21, a body of 5000 British emigrants was sent out under Government arrangements, and settled in the Zuurvelt, which was henceforth called the District of Albany. These settlers included persons of nearly all ranks in society; among them were several able men, who greatly aided in promoting the social and political advancement of the colony.

Nothing further necessary to notice in reference to my present purpose occurred till 1834, when events took place which were the turning-point in the history of the colony.

In 1834 Sir B. Durban was appointed governor. On his arrival the leading men representing the people of Graham's Town and the frontier reported that the Kafirs were openly showing a very hostile feeling, and that an outbreak was imminent. On the other hand, a party in Cape Town, calling themselves philanthropists, represented the Kafirs as perfectly peaceful, ascribing all the alarming reports, not to fear only, but to baser motives. I will give a specimen of these excited charges, taken from *The Cape Town Advertiser*:—"The murders by Kafirs of which the Colonial Government writes so fluently are found only on the lips of lying men, or in the imagination of the timid Cockneys and pin-makers who shrink from the bold eyes of a natural man." In the presence of such opposite reports and assertions, Sir B. Durban, who was a singularly humane man, determined to try to avoid hostilities by kindness and conciliation. With this view he availed himself of the services of missionaries and other friends of the natives in order to open communication with their chiefs, and to assure them of his anxious desire to redress any alleged wrongs, and to settle in a friendly spirit all difficulties between them and the colonists. The reports which reached the Governor led him to hope that peace would not be disturbed. But towards the end of the year reliable information was brought to him that the bearing of the tribes of Kafirs was so threatening that an outbreak might be looked for.

At length, on the last evening of the year, while the Governor was entertaining his friends, news arrived that a force of more than 12,000 Kafirs had on Christmas Day invaded the whole line of frontier, burning farm-houses and murdering the inhabitants. Mr. Justice Cloete, one of the guests, has related how the good Governor concealed the terrible news from his visitors, so as to avoid disturbing the gaiety of the party, whilst he promptly took the measures required by the emergency. Every soldier was forthwith despatched, and Colonel Sir Harry Smith started at once for Graham's Town, which he reached in the short space of six days. His presence there restored some confidence. The regular troops were few, but the burgher force was called out, and a *levée en masse* of the farmers was made. With this force, aided by two regiments which afterwards arrived, Sir B. Durban expelled the Kafirs from the colony, drove them across the Kei, and then dictated terms of

peace. The country between the Great Fish and Kei Rivers was declared a British province; the site selected for the seat of the Government being called King William's Town. The province was named Adelaide. At this time the Fingoes, who had been reduced to slavery and were treated like dogs by the Amakosa Kafirs, were liberated. The Governor's intention was to settle these Fingoes and Europeans in the district between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma, and to reserve the land between the latter river and the Kei for the conquered Kafirs. These Kafirs were to be ruled by their own chiefs, under the control of European magistrates.

Had this arrangement been carried out, the Kafir war, which had so triumphantly ended, would probably have been the last, and great progress would have been made years ago towards civilizing the native races. But it most unfortunately happened that at this time the Colonial Department was presided over by Lord Glenelg, a statesman strongly imbued with the sentiments of a party always sincerely benevolent in intention, but not always well advised. By him Sir B. Durban was recalled and his policy reversed. In a despatch to the Governor his lordship says:—"In the conduct which was pursued towards the Kafir nation by the colonists and the public authorities of the colony, through a long series of years, the Kafirs had ample justification of the late war. They had to resent, and endeavoured justly though impotently to avenge, a series of encroachments; they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless, of extorting by force that redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain; and the claim of sovereignty over the province must be renounced." Lord Glenelg directed the conquered country to be given back to the Kafirs, and he sent out Sir A. Stockenström as Lieutenant-Governor, with instructions to conclude treaties with the chiefs, defining the boundaries, and regulating their intercourse with the Government and the colonists. As to these treaties the Governor, Sir George Napier, who relieved Sir B. Durban, after four years' experience, uses these remarkable words: "So far as the Colonial Government and the colonists are concerned, never were treaties more strictly or pertinaciously adhered to; but not so with the Kafirs, for they began from the first to plunder the colonists, and notwithstanding every exertion it was found impossible to prevent their depredations." Mr. Theal, in his most excellent and reliable book on South Africa,* says:—"The treaties, to which the chiefs had so recently affixed their marks, were of no more value than so much waste paper. A course of robbery commenced, such as had never before been equalled. Cattle were swept off by the Kafirs, just as if war existed. Occasionally houses were burnt and men were murdered. The frontier colonists were compelled to endure all this suffering, without any attempt at redress; for the Government seemed determined to bolster up the opinions of the Secretary for the Colonies, and therefore

* "South Africa," p. 223.

ignored what was going on. This was the normal state of affairs for the ten years following the restoration of the province of Adelaide."

It may, indeed, be fairly said that the policy adopted at this period by the Home Government has been the chief cause of the great evils which have arisen: it has materially helped to alienate from us the feelings of the Dutch colonists; it has prolonged and intensified the struggle of races; it has retarded the civilization and increased the suffering of the race it intended to protect. It is saddening to think that this should have been the result of the labours of some of the best men who ever lived. It is like the work of Las Casas, who, trying earnestly to do good, inflicted enormous misery for many generations on an unoffending race.

As my chief purpose in this paper is to sketch the relations between the Boers and Kafirs, I must pass over the subsequent wars on the frontier in 1846-7 and 1850 and 1877. I may observe, however, that so early as 1848 the policy of Sir B. Durban was to some extent practically re-established.*

About the time of the recall of Sir B. Durban another event happened which, though very honourable to England, further embittered the feelings of the Dutch towards us. This was the emancipation of the slaves. That admirable measure was unfortunately carried out in such a manner as to make it doubly obnoxious to the Dutch. The compensation money, instead of being made payable in Treasury drafts or by some method of which they could conveniently avail themselves, was made obtainable only at the Bank of England. A large number of Boers, with no knowledge of business, and having no friends in England, sold their certificates to agents and speculators for much less than their value. A curious case illustrating this mode of business came under my notice only a few years ago, after my return to this country. I met at a watering-place a gentleman of property and social position, who told me that he had lived some time at the Cape. In speaking of the Boers, he called them by the most uncomplimentary names, and then afterwards proceeded to tell me that he had made a good deal of money by buying up these certificates at a heavy discount. It occurred to me that this enterprising Anglo-Saxon might more fitly have applied to himself the epithets he hurled at the deluded Boers. But this has been ever the way. A section of our enlightened and enterprising race have robbed the Boers of their money, bought up for a song the lands they were forced to leave, sold to their enemies gunpowder wholesale to fight them with, and then have gone to work roundly to abuse them, finally asking the British Government to annex their territories in the interests of civilization and religion.

The recall of Sir B. Durban, and the change in the native policy, greatly enraged the frontier colonists, both British and Dutch. They

* Noble's "South Africa," p. 48.

all had suffered immense losses by the depredations of the Kafirs. In vain had they asked for compensation, and when they demanded of the Government a Commission of Inquiry it was refused. Then the Dutch felt themselves further aggrieved by the loss of their slaves, which had been brought about, too, by a foreign Government, to which they did not owe any actual allegiance. They resolved to remove themselves from its jurisdiction. To this end they, for small sums, sold their farms, some of which were of great value; packed their waggons with a few necessary movables; and with their wives and families set forth into the wilderness. They crossed the Orange River, and for a time encamped on the plains between that stream and the Vaal River. Here they were attacked by the Matabele. The Boers defended themselves by fortified camps called laagers, composed of their waggons lashed together, the gaps being filled up with thorn bushes. They eventually routed the Matabele, and drove their king, Moselakatse, one of the most redoubtable chiefs in the country, into the far interior.

One portion of the Boers remained in the Orange River territory; the other, in 1837, passed on into Natal. There they first came into contact with the Zulus, whose history I must now slightly sketch.

The Portuguese who discovered Natal in 1497 found the country inhabited by a number of petty tribes, each inhabiting a small tract of territory. The tribes held little intercourse among themselves in times of peace, and were not unfrequently engaged in hostilities. Little more than this was known of the district or the people till as late as 1810, when a chief arose who quite changed the character and institutions of the people of this part of Africa. This was Chaka, the son of a chief of a small tribe called the Zulus. Chaka seems early in life to have attached himself to the chief of the Umtelwas, one of the most powerful tribes in the neighbourhood, who was named Dingiswayo. This chieftain, during a residence in the Cape Colony, where he was for some time an exile, had acquired some knowledge of the discipline of European troops. He turned this information to account by organizing his tribe into a regular military force, forming them into regiments and brigades. By means of this force he became a great conqueror. Under this chief, Chaka served for some time with distinction; and when his father died, he was, by the influence of Dingiswayo, raised to be head of the Zulus; and afterwards, on the death of Dingiswayo, he became also the chief of the Umtelwas. The two tribes, thus united, and commanded by a master spirit, became a powerful nation, and being now known under the general name of Zulus, they issued forth like a consuming fire, ravaging the other tribes far and wide. Nearly the whole of the peoples in Natal were swept away, being either actually annihilated or else incorporated with the conquering host. The few tribes which escaped destruction fled into the Orange River country. Some broken remnants of other nations escaped to the frontier, where, under the

name of Fingoes, as we have seen, they became the slaves of the Amakosa Kafirs, remaining in that condition till they were released from bondage by Sir B. Durban.

After a reign of eighteen years, marked by fearful atrocities, not unrelieved, however, by some acts of generosity, Chaka was murdered, at the instigation of his brother Dingaan. This chief, so soon as he attained power, imitated the bloody career of his brother. He was, however, a mere copyist of Chaka, possessing little of the ability and occasional magnanimity which relieved to some extent the character of that chief. Towards the close of 1837, a leader named Retief, with a party of Boers, crossing the Drakenberg Mountains, entered Natal, where they were welcomed by a few English settlers, who had already established themselves in that country. Retief soon proceeded to Dingaan's residence, with the view of obtaining from him the cession of a part of the country. This arrangement Dingaan agreed to, providing Retief would recover for him a number of cattle which had been stolen by a chief beyond the Drakenberg. Retief accomplished his task, and, in spite of the warnings of many of his countrymen, he proceeded with about sixty Boers to the residence of the Zulu king, by whom he was apparently well received. With the aid of an English missionary, who was in the neighbourhood, a treaty was drawn up. By it the king agreed to cede to Retief and his people the whole of the country extending from the Tugela to the St. John's River. So completely did the wily chief succeed in gaining the confidence of his guests, that on the third day after their arrival he induced them to lay aside their fire-arms, and to present themselves without weapons before him, while he was surrounded by his most trusted regiments. Dingaan ordered his people to dance and sing the war song in honour of their guests. By-and-by, the king himself joined in the song, in the course of which he uttered the fatal words, "Kill the scoundrels!" In a moment the savage troops closed in upon the Boers, and rapidly killed them all in cold blood. The particulars of this atrocity were recounted by the missionary, who, in spite of Dingaan's request that he would stay, immediately fled from the country. Dingaan then despatched an army to attack a party of Boers encamped at a place afterwards called Weening, or Weeping, where they murdered men, women, and children alike.

On the news of these atrocities reaching the rest of the Boers and the English settlers, a general desire for vengeance naturally arose. Two armed parties marched against Dingaan; one was composed of English settlers and friendly natives, the other consisted of about 380 Boers. Both bodies were defeated by Dingaan's army. The English party, indeed, was nearly annihilated, though the Dutch party, after a desperate fight, in which a great number of Zulus were killed, effected a retreat with the loss of some of their number. After these encounters a large Zulu army marched to Port Natal. The English

settlers there, being warned in time, took refuge on board a vessel, which happened luckily to be in the harbour. For some months there was a pause in the hostilities, but towards the close of the year 1838 the Boers again took the field, under the command of Mr. A. W. Pretorius, who joined his countrymen in Natal, and was acknowledged as their leader in the place of their murdered chief. They marched into Dingaan's country, and during this campaign a battle took place which will be for ever memorable in the annals of South African warfare.

On Sunday morning, the 16th of December, while encamped in a barricade or laager, formed by waggons lashed together, this handful of farmers, numbering not more than 400 men, was attacked by Dingaan's forces amounting to 12,000 warriors. A terrible conflict ensued. The Zulus strove for several hours in vain to force the camp, their dense battalions being shattered by the terrible fire of the gallant descendants of the Huguenots and Hollanders. At last the Zulu force began to waver. Then the Boers mounted their horses and charged them; they broke and fled, and the Boers pursued them for many a mile. The Zulu army is said to have lost 2000 men on this day; the loss of the Boers was but trifling. The victors immediately marched to Dingaan's chief village. They found it deserted, but they there discovered and buried the remains of their murdered friends, Retief and his party. They then advanced further into the country, and eventually had the ill fortune to fall into an ambuscade, being surrounded by hosts of Zulus. After a severe struggle they were forced to retreat with loss. Dingaan now sent apparently friendly messages to the Boers, but his conduct was so doubtful that they were afraid to leave their encampments and return to the occupation of their farms. So matters remained till the end of 1839, when Panda, the brother of Dingaan, came into the district with a body of Zulus and sought the aid of the Boers against that chief, who for some cause had threatened to kill him. The Boers espoused his cause, and in the beginning of 1840 their combined forces, consisting of 400 Boers under Pretorius, and Panda's army, 400 strong, took the field. While on their march, one of Dingaan's chiefs met them with a friendly message from the king. But Panda charged this man with being the instigator of the massacre of Retief and his party. The enraged Boers immediately shot him. This violation of the laws acknowledged by civilized men is one of the dark pages in the history of the emigrant Boers. In a few days the Boers and their allies encountered the army of Dingaan and totally routed it; the easiness of the victory being chiefly owing to some of Dingaan's regiments going over to Panda during the battle. Dingaan, with a remnant of his army, fled to the Amaswasa country. There he was murdered by one of his own chiefs, most of his followers then submitting to Panda. In February, the Boers proclaimed Panda king of the Zulus, and declared that their own territory extended from the Black, or

Umfolas, River to the St. John's; thereby assuming sovereignty, not only over the district of Natal, but also over Panda himself and his nation.

The Boers were now completely masters of the country, and remained so for some time. During this period a considerable number of natives flocked into the district, putting themselves under the protection of the Boers. The latter by-and-by began to be alarmed by this influx of natives, and resolved to remove them, with the exception of those who had aboriginal rights, to a country beyond the Umzimkulu. The Boers also made an attack upon the Amabaka tribe, living in the Amapondo country, who had committed depredations on their cattle. The tribe was beaten, a number of them were killed, and some children were carried away by the Boers. This affair was represented with some exaggeration to the Governor of the Cape,—I believe by certain missionaries,—and formed the ground of his resolve to take military possession of Natal.

I think I ought to mention that during my administration of Natal, this same tribe, the Amabakas, were as notorious cattle-lifters as ever were the Borderers, or men of the debateable ground, here, in the olden time. To such an extent did they rob the farmers in Natal that I was forced to march against their country with a small burgher force to enforce restitution. I found our people's cattle there, with their marks upon them.

After the annexation of Natal a large portion of the Boers recrossed the Drakenberg Mountains and joined their friends in the Orange River country. Many, however, remained behind in the colony, but in 1848 in consequence of, as I think, ill-advised measures taken by the local Government as to the land titles, many of these Boers, headed by Pretorius, followed their countrymen over the mountains. This is the party of whom Sir H. Smith gives so striking a description in one of his despatches. He writes:—"On my arrival at the foot of the Drakenberg Mountains, I was almost paralysed to witness the whole of the population, with few exceptions, emigrating. Rains on this side of the mountain are tropical, and now prevail, and thus families were exposed to a state of misery which I never saw equalled except in Massena's invasion of Portugal, when the whole of the population of that part of the seat of war abandoned their homes and fled."

Soon after the annexation a series of despatches were addressed to the Governor by Earl Grey, suggesting the policy to be pursued in the government of the colony, especially in regard to the natives. I considered these then, as I do now, some of the ablest despatches ever penned by a British statesman. It used to be a matter of wonderment to Mr. Shepstone and myself how his lordship could have realized and so accurately described the condition of the country. Had this policy been carried out, and supported by a sufficient force, the troubles in which we are now involved would have been avoided.

A part of Lord Grey's policy was that instead of at once enforcing

on the natives the laws of England or the colony, which were wholly inapplicable and unsuited to their condition, some native laws should be retained, so far as such laws were not repugnant to the general principles of humanity. The design was that these laws should, from time to time, be so modified as to assist the growing civilization of the nation, till at last they might, so to speak, become merged in the general laws of the colony.

On the death of the first Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, after a short administration, I was in 1850 appointed to his place.

On my arrival at the Cape, on my way to Natal, I heard from a distinguished officer who had served in the new colony, and also from others, the unwelcome opinion that the next Kafir war would be in Natal.

The Governor, Sir Harry Smith, without altogether sharing the opinion, strongly impressed on me the conviction that the safety of the colony greatly depended on the friendship of the Boers remaining within its borders. On my arrival in Natal, I heard that the Boers were in a most discontented and disloyal mood. They lived in mere wood hovels, with their waggons before their doors packed with all their goods ready to go out of the colony at a moment's notice. Their farms were, of course, without a vestige of cultivation. Their homesteads were for the most part along the borders of the Zulu country, and especially in that triangle formed by the Buffalo River, the Tugela River, and the Drakenberg Mountains, which it was of the last importance should be occupied by men used to arms. The greater part of the rest of the white population consisted of emigrants lately arrived from England, who knew little of the use of fire-arms. The garrison was composed of the wing of a regiment and a small detachment of the Cape Mounted Rifles. Within the colony were about 100,000 native refugees from the kingdom of the Zulus, which, though weakened by the events I have narrated, was still a very formidable power on our frontier. Under these circumstances, I felt the full force of Sir H. Smith's opinion, and proceeded as soon as I could to the district inhabited by the Dutch.

I was received coldly, but on the whole respectfully. One or two persons who used uncivil language were promptly put down by the rest of the farmers.

They laid before me a number of complaints, some of them perfectly well grounded, especially those relating to the imperfect titles of their lands. I appointed over them a magistrate, a native of Holland, and with his energetic aid succeeded in gaining their confidence.

I then represented to Lord Grey the real nature of the land question, as to which he had been under some misapprehension, and with his lordship's entire concurrence this matter was settled to the full satisfaction of the Boers, without making any concessions not founded on justice. This measure had the desired effect. The Boers remained in

the colony, and even received some accession to their number from their countrymen across the mountains. They built substantial homesteads and worked their farms. This settlement, of course, tended to increase the safety of the colony. I may as well here transcribe what I wrote about the Boers twenty-five years ago, as I see no reason to alter a line of it:—

“More than a year’s intercourse with these emigrant Boers has satisfied me that their character has not been duly appreciated in England, and that allowance has not been made for the circumstances in which they have been placed. I will not attempt to defend their conduct in leaving the Cape Colony and resisting Her Majesty’s authority, nor do I wish to discuss the delicate question whether the policy pursued towards them during these latter years has been judicious or otherwise. But it must be remembered that for upwards of fourteen years these poor men have been wanderers in the wilderness, away from all civilization and humanizing influences, frequently fighting for their lives against ruthless savages. And yet what are they to-day? Ignorant, no doubt, and therefore necessarily full of prejudices. There is no doubt that their feelings towards the natives are such as we cannot approve, and their treatment of them at times is very harsh. But then consider the light in which these men must view the natives—not, as philanthropists in England do, as an inoffensive and oppressed race, but as cruel, treacherous foes, and as faithless allies. These natives are associated in their minds with scenes of blood, blazing homesteads, foul acts of treachery, dastardly murders of women and children. And then consider their many good qualities, their hearty hospitality to strangers, their kindness to one another, and above all their deep reverence for the Word of God. Let us try, then, to retain these Boers within our borders, and enlighten their ignorance without destroying the sterling excellence of their character; and so, if they should hereafter again become the pioneers of our rule in South Africa, they may go forth among the savage tribes as the spreaders of peace and true civilization, instead of emissaries of wrong and oppression.”

Mr. (now Sir T.) Shepstone had the entire government of the natives, with the title of Diplomatic Agent. It was difficult, and generally inexpedient, for the Governor to exercise any control over this department. The arrangement had its advantages and its drawbacks. Among the latter was its creation of an *imperium in imperio*, so that the Governor, though responsible for the peace and safety of the colony, had really little control over that part of the administration on which these mostly depended. During my term of office the system of native government was elaborated, and the network of magistracy spread over the country which exists to the present day.

There are but few incidents connected with the native government to which I have space to advert. One is the excitement created among our natives by the terrible Kafir outbreak at the Cape in 1851. This

was rendered more intense by an order sent to me by Sir H. Smith to despatch to his aid a native force of Natal Zulus. As in duty bound I tried to obey his order; but it caused such a commotion among the natives, and such a panic among the white inhabitants, as nearly led to hostilities. A shot fired or an assagai thrown would have involved a war. I believe the administration deserved, as it received, the recognition of the Home Government for its conduct in this crisis.

In regard to the order of Sir H. Smith, it is only fair to the memory of that great soldier to state, that my predecessor had, in 1847, informed the Governor that he could in a few days send to his aid a native force of 10,000 men. The possibility, however, of sending a native force to the assistance of our neighbours was proved a few weeks afterwards, when I despatched a party of troops, accompanied by such a force, over the Drakenberg in mid-winter to the assistance of the troops in the Orange River country, who were reported to be surrounded by hostile tribes.

The events of this period showed me plainly the precarious nature of our position. I formed the opinion, which I have ever since held, that although the native department of the Government had, considering all its great difficulties, been extremely well managed, yet we owed our safety in a great degree to circumstances over which we had little control—such as the divisions existing amongst our natives, their intense dread of the Zulu king, and especially their terror of the Boers. They had not forgotten the defeats they had received at the hands of the Boers, more especially that terrible Sunday morning when a handful of these warlike farmers scattered the army of Dingaan.

Unfortunately, before Lord Grey's admirable despatches had reached the colony, arrangements had been made which rendered it difficult to carry out his views. The enormous native locations had been formed in some of the most broken and inaccessible parts of the country. I thus described them:—"Had Dingaan or Chaka had the choosing of these locations, they could not have selected spots better adapted to enable the natives to set the arms and authority of the Government at defiance."

I tried to point out to Lord Grey several reforms in the management of the natives, such as the gradual abrogation of the power of the chiefs, and especially the very great importance of giving, as far as possible, individual as distinguished from tribal rights to lands. I insisted on this subject frequently as one of the best means of civilizing the natives and freeing them from the arbitrary power of their chiefs. These and other reforms recommended by me, and approved of by Lord Grey, were never effectually carried out. Mr. Shepstone explained that "the management of the natives had heretofore been entirely by means of themselves, and without any civil or European agency whatever; for the mere governing and controlling them alone he had found the means furnished by themselves amply sufficient, but that they failed

when the higher objects of a Christian Government were attempted, and when by the influx of civilized immigrants matters of dispute became complicated."

Mr. Shepstone seemed rightly to attribute the difficulty of organizing a system of government to the want of means at his disposal. The absence of a sufficient military force in the colony was another obstacle in the way of efficient reform. My predecessor, Mr. West, as early as 1847, applied to Sir H. Smith for an increased military strength, which was refused. Unfortunately Mr. West's statement, that he could in a few days send a large native force to the frontier, afforded Sir H. Smith a crushing argument against the application for more troops. The argument was indeed conclusive, that if the natives of the colony were so loyal and so gallant that 10,000 men armed with assagais would march 400 miles to fight an enemy equipped with fire-arms, *à fortiori* they would suffice to defend the colony. I think, too, that despatches from the Natal Government had undesignedly tended to lead the Home and the Cape authorities to attribute the peace of the colony too much to the moral influence of its Government. I myself represented the necessity for increase in the military strength of the colony. On one occasion I said :—"The withholding such moderate present expenditure as is necessary to preserve peace is far from real economy, since it would be the means of rendering necessary a much larger expenditure for repressing an outbreak."

Lord Grey promised to consider the subject of sending a small body of cavalry into the colony when the war on the frontier was terminated. Unfortunately before that time his Lordship had left office.

For myself, I always thought that the security of the district depended more on our prestige, and a balance of power, than upon any real strength. Our natives looked to us to protect them against the Zulu kingdom, and both were kept in check by the fear of the Boers within and beyond our boundaries. My relations with Panda were generally friendly, and during the troublous times to which I have alluded, I almost ostentatiously opened diplomatic intercourse with that chief for the purpose of showing our own natives that we were on friendly terms with him.

My space will not allow me to say more as to my first administration of Natal, which I left in 1855.

I must now turn to a few matters in the general history of South Africa.

We have seen (p. 551) that a large number of Boers left Natal in 1848, and joined their countrymen to the west of the Drakenberg Mountains. After several encounters with the British authorities, notably at the battle of Bloomplaatz in August, 1848, they were released from their allegiance to the British Crown, and at last formed two republics : one called the Orange Free State, and the other the South African Republic.

The Orange Free State, after undergoing some vicissitudes, has been completely successful in establishing a well-ordered government. It is as prosperous as any part of South Africa. It has paid off its debts; and it has now a population of about 60,000 white and about 25,000 coloured men. Its government is simple, but perfectly efficient. The education of the people is fully attended to, and a fund of £70,000 is set apart for this purpose. It is further a matter worth special notice that it has established a system of registration and transfer of land superior to that of any of the South African colonies, though they are all in this respect immensely in advance of this enlightened country.

The other Republic—the Transvaal—has not been so fortunate. It has placed itself in such difficulties as seem to justify its recent annexation.

What are the causes of this difference in the destinies of the two Republics? An able French writer believes that it is due to the difference in the men who have lately ruled them. He says:—

“Mr. Burgess, the last President of the Transvaal, formerly a minister in the Dutch Church, was a man of culture, projects, and programmes, who seems to have received his political education by reading the works of certain writers of thirty years ago; and he has made the mistake of forgetting that he had to rule a population of Dutch farmers, and not one of clubbists, enamoured of banners, of declarations of principles, and startling decrees. Mr. Burgess belonged to a small political set, who had conceived the extravagant project of freeing South Africa from the English yoke, by the simple magnetism of the Republican idea. Here is the man—an enthusiastic mind, a generous heart, but a little chimerical. In order to realize this miracle, it required that the Republic of the Transvaal should dazzle its adversaries by its light. He launched out boldly on the road of progress, mapped out a vast plan for the creation of schools on the most modern model; negotiated a loan in Holland for the construction of a railway going from Pretoria to the Portuguese possessions. The time was not favourable. Mr. Burgess did not succeed in giving to the Transvaal the treasure and army which she wanted, but he caused money coined from the gold collected in the colony to be stamped with his effigy; and he gratified the Republic with a national flag just before his downfall.

“On the other hand, Mr. Brand, the President of the Orange Free State, never forgot that he had to govern a population of farmers settled in an obscure corner of the world, and he never encouraged any ideas more ambitious than their own. In recompense for this modesty, he succeeded in living upon good terms with England, in settling amicably the dispute as to the diamond fields, in freeing the Republic from all its debts, in freeing his territory from the natives, and in fortifying its frontiers.

“In fact, Mr. Burgess was a man of ability, who was in advance of his time and country. Mr. Brand is an able, sober-minded man, who is adapting himself to the circumstances and place in which he lives.”

No doubt, as the writer says, the fate of States is more or less influenced by those who rule them. But still we must pause before we accuse the Boers of political incapacity, when we see that under fairly favourable circumstances they have established such a Government as the Orange Free State.

In 1870 responsible government was established in the Cape Colony

under the able guidance of Sir Henry Barkly, and, notwithstanding the difficulties which have beset its course, it has had fair success. This measure was gratifying to the Dutch part of the population within and beyond the colony, and had the liberal policy which dictated it been guardedly carried out, it would gradually have effaced the memory of past mistakes, and reconciled the colony to our rule.

But unfortunately the Diamond-Field difficulty arose.

I am scarcely in a position to give an opinion as to the policy of the annexation of this territory. It was claimed by, and I am inclined to think mostly formed part of, the Orange Free State, while a small portion belonged to the Transvaal. The annexation, therefore, could not be otherwise than very obnoxious to the Dutch all over South Africa. Lord Kimberley's intention was that the territory should be taken over by the Cape Government, in which at that time the Dutch element preponderated. This plan would undoubtedly have given much less umbrage to that part of the population everywhere, but then it was found impossible at that time to induce the Cape Ministry to agree to it.

Whether these objections could have been overcome I do not know; but time pressed, and the Diamond Fields were swarming with adventurers from all parts of the world, who it was feared might create serious trouble and danger. To prevent this mischief the territory was annexed and constituted a Crown Colony. This measure may have been urged on by a factitious public opinion, created by land-jobbers and traders who form the pioneers of the self-styled civilizing race; but to speak of it as prompted on the part of British statesmen by a desire to gain a little temporary applause, by securing to the Crown the richest diamond-fields in the world, or to term the measure the most discreditable incident in British Colonial history, is an abuse of language.

The annexation was, however, a most untoward event, and caused enormous evils. The "diggers" who flocked to the diamond fields were not men who could dig for themselves, but Jews and Gentiles from every nation and of every grade, except the working classes. They therefore employed the Kafirs to dig for them. They found that the surest, if not the only inducement to make the natives work, was to pay them with fire-arms. Thus hundreds of thousands of fire-arms were distributed broadcast among them. Whether the possession of these fire-arms really increases the strength of the native or not, he thinks it does, and that it places him on an equality with the white man. This led most certainly to one outbreak under my own eye, and it was doubtless the not remote cause of the frightful bloodshed which has occurred in the Transvaal and Zululand. In vain the Boers protested, in vain the Government of Natal protested, against this infamous traffic. The honoured name of Free Trade was desecrated in its support. I called the diamond trade, as it was carried on, a trade in blood. I believe there is a semi-precious stone called the blood-stone. This term ought to be applied to the Cape diamond. If the ladies of England

knew the blood-shedding and misery [by which these stones were obtained, they would loathe to wear them. I think that the trade in powder and arms in South Africa should have been kept entirely in the hands of the Government, as was the case in Cape Colony in former times. The opponents of such a measure contend that the unprincipled cupidity of traders would evade the law, and that powder and arms would still be introduced amongst the natives. I admit that it might be so to some extent. But the prohibition would have at least delayed the general acquisition of these articles; that delay would have given time to the Government and to the colonists to strengthen themselves by increasing their own numbers, and by other means, which would have better enabled them to meet the danger from the natives when it came. Because we cannot prevent water from oozing through the joints of a flood-gate, is that a reason for throwing it open at once? In Natal the Government did its best to check this abominable trade, but, unsupported as it was by the Cape Government, it could do little or nothing.

It was this traffic which so profoundly irritated the Dutch. We can imagine how intensely the Boer on his lonely farm must have hated the people engaged in this trade and the Government that permitted it.

In 1873 I was a second time appointed to the Government of Natal. I relinquished a higher office, with a higher salary, to go to a climate which I hoped would restore my health, impaired by the anxious work I had to do in the West Indies. I was told Natal was prosperous and peaceable, and that my work would be light. Alas! I was doomed to disappointment. Before I left England, Lord Kimberley, spreading out the map of South Africa, expressed his wish for the federation of the colonies there, and that I should forward that object as far as lay in my power. It so happened that on board the steamer I made the acquaintance of the Attorney-General of the Transvaal Republic, and at a public dinner given on my arrival he sat by my side. In returning thanks for my health I took the opportunity of saying, I hoped to see a federation of the Republics with the colony, and I added, as in jest, that I should like to sit as a member of the Federal Cabinet with my learned friend. I could see at the time, and I knew afterwards, that the suggestion was taken in very good part. I also opened friendly intercourse with the President of the Orange Free State, and I was not without hope that, in the course of time, a federation, at least for many useful purposes, might be brought about.

The first matter to which my attention was called was the mission of Mr. Shepstone to Zululand, to instal the king. I did not originate the measure; it was nearly arranged before my arrival, and Sir H. Barkly left it to me to allow it to go on or not as I thought right, only stipulating that British troops should not accompany Mr. Shepstone, so that her Majesty's Government might not be compro-

mised in the matter. On my arrival I sanctioned the proceeding, chiefly out of deference to Mr. Shepstone's judgment, and because, in the painful prospect of a disturbance in the colony, I thought it expedient to keep on friendly terms with Cetewayo, as I did, on a former occasion already mentioned, with his father, King Panda. I have said that there was a prospect of disturbance in the colony, for on my arrival I learned that the chief Langelibalele and his tribe had for some time set the authority of the Government at defiance, by repeated disregard of its orders. The effect of this on the natives generally was apparent in their haughty and insolent bearing. There was uneasiness everywhere. From many quarters intelligence was received of threatening language used towards the white colonists by the people of that and a kindred tribe. As this subject so immediately concerns myself, it will be more satisfactory to me, and I have no doubt to my readers, if I quote Mr. Theal's clear and fair account of it:—*

"After the assassination of Tshaka and Dingan, there was peace once more in Zululand, and the Amahlubi were enabled to return to the gardens cultivated of old by their fathers. Their chief, Langelibalele, then a young man, became famous as the most potent rainmaker in all the land, and was acquiring wealth as well as renown when a quarrel with Mpande in 1848 drove him and his people into exile again. Poor and powerless they reached Natal and threw themselves upon the mercy of the Colonial Government. They were located at the foot of the Quathlamba, to prevent the Bushmen coming down to plunder the farmers in the valleys below. In their new home the Amahlubi prospered, and once again became rich and powerful.

"The chief Langelibalele was a man of less than average intelligence, and was greatly addicted to intemperance. His tribe acquired the reputation of being restless, but his location was so secluded that very little was known by the colonists of him or his people. At length the diamond fields were discovered, and many young men were attracted to them by the facility with which guns could there be obtained. One of the laws of Natal, intended as a measure of security, is that no native may possess a gun without its being registered. Accordingly, the chief was called upon to account for the guns his young men had brought home with them, but he declined to do so. Message after message was sent, requiring him to appear at Maritzburg, but he made excuses and never went. Meanwhile Mr. Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs, left Natal for a short time on an expedition to Zululand to crown Cetywayo at the wish of his people, and Langelibalele and his guns were neglected for a season. But upon the return of the expedition, a messenger was again despatched to the Hlubi chief, and was on this occasion treated with indignity. . . .

"Peaceable means having failed to secure the obedience of the chief, an armed party was sent to enforce the demands of the Government. Upon its approach, Langelibalele abandoned the women, children, and aged of the tribe, and with the cattle he and most of his warriors fell back upon the mountains. In the Bushman's Pass, Major Durnford and a small party of volunteers overtook the rearguard of the rebels. The chief was in advance, and as the volunteers had orders not to fire first, they attempted to hold a parley in order to communicate with him. The induna in command pretended to have sent for the chief, and while waiting for him to arrive, the volunteers were being surrounded. At the same time threatening gestures and language, coupled with taunts, were used towards them. They fell back in a panic, when too late, and as they did so three of them, with their interpreter and another loyal native, were shot down.

* "South Africa," p. 125.

"The colonists at once awoke to a sense of their danger. They were surrounded by twenty times their own number of natives, and they knew not how far the inclination to rebel extended. Of one thing they were certain: that nothing but the prompt punishment of the Hlubi clan would prevent all who were disaffected from rising in arms. Volunteers at once came forward, and pursuing parties were organized. All the Europeans in South Africa sympathized with them. The British Resident in St. John's Territory collected a large native force to prevent the advance of the rebels in that direction. The Cape Government sent strong detachments of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police to Basutoland and Kaffirland, and the Commander-in-Chief sent all the available troops from Cape Town to Durban. The diggers at the Diamond Fields tendered assistance, and the governments of the Free State and Transvaal Republic were very ready to aid in the emergency. Every one saw that it was not the peace of Natal only, but of all South Africa, that was imperilled. Once let other tribes join the Amahlubi, and a general war was inevitable. . . .

"The pursuing forces from Natal consisted of eighty European volunteers and fifteen hundred natives, under Captains Allison and Hawkins. One column went towards Kaffirland, the other searched among the mountains, as the direction in which Langalibalele had gone was yet unknown. After several days spent fruitlessly, the two columns effected a junction on the head waters of the Orange, and struck the trail of the rebels leading towards Molapo's kraal. . . .

"If there was any inclination on the part of the Basuto chiefs to aid Langalibalele, it was destroyed by the presence of the mounted police. Molapo himself sided with the Government and arrayed his clan against the rebels, who were now hemmed in on all sides. On the 11th of December, 1873, Langalibalele and eighty-four of his followers arrived at Molapo's kraal and suffered themselves to be disarmed by the police, when the chief, five of his sons, and four principal men were made prisoners, and the remainder were permitted to disperse among the Basuto villages. . . .

"An extraordinary court was constituted for the trial of Langalibalele. It was composed of the Governor, in his capacity of great chief of Natal, the Secretary for Native Affairs, three magistrates, three native chiefs, and four native officers under Government. The prisoner was tried according to native law, and was not permitted to have counsel. Such a court was ill qualified to secure respect for its decisions, and it is not surprising that persons abroad have been found to call in question the justice of the treatment the Hlubi clan received, basing their knowledge and their opinions on the fact that the principal prisoner was condemned before being tried. For the judge was the same Governor who had previously outlawed him and offered a hundred cattle for his head. Langalibalele's crime was notorious, and no one who knows how nearly he brought about a general war would maintain that he did not deserve punishment; but it would have been more satisfactory if he had received a fair trial by unbiassed judges. Before the court he admitted the truth of the most serious charges brought against him, but assumed throughout an appearance of stolid indifference to what was going on. The trial commenced on the 16th of January, 1874, and judgment was delivered on the 9th of the following month. The prisoner was sentenced to banishment for life, but at the time Natal had no place to banish him to. Application was therefore made to the Cape Government, and an Act was passed by the Cape Parliament authorizing his imprisonment on Robben Island. Thither he and one of his sons, who was sentenced to banishment for a term of five years, were conveyed accordingly. The Hlubi clan was broken up, and the ground they had occupied was resumed by the Government.

"The details of these occurrences were published in England, and as it happened to be a time when nothing of an exciting nature was taking place in Europe, a large amount of attention was bestowed upon Natal. The ease with which the rebellion had been suppressed caused many to think that the danger had really

not been so great as represented. An influential and powerful philanthropic society at once condemned the action of the Governor and the colonists as unnecessarily severe, and the principal organs of the press took the same view. Bishop Colenso, as the champion of the natives under all circumstances, published a huge pamphlet on the case, which was largely circulated in England. It was quite useless for the Natal clergy—some sixty ministers and missionaries of various denominations—to forward a counter document, or for the South African press, with hardly an exception, to approve in general of the course that had been pursued in stamping out the rebellion in its infancy; public opinion in Britain once formed was not to be changed. It was assumed that Langelibalele could only have been running away through fear, and that he could have had no intention of returning after his cattle were placed in safety. All the circumstances of the case, the previous plotting, the refusal of the Hlubi chief to appear before a magistrate, the overt act of rebellion in firing upon and killing five men at the Bushman's Pass, the final stand made in Basutoland by the main body of the insurgents, these and other proofs of guilt were simply ignored, or, if an attempt was made to explain them, they were attributed to the fear which the clan entertained for the colonists. It was considered absurd to suppose that Langelibalele meant to rebel, for what could he gain by such a course? That a barbarous chief should take up arms through caprice, or passion, or a mere spirit of restlessness, without ever perhaps weighing the likelihood of success, or even inquiring about the strength of his adversary, seemed quite incomprehensible.

"In December, 1874, a despatch from the Secretary of State was forwarded to South Africa, in which he announced that Sir Benjamin Pine would be relieved of office immediately, that Langelibalele and his son must be removed from Robben Island to a location in the Cape Colony, and that compensation must be made to the Amangwe for the losses which they had sustained. Nearly two hundred of the Amahlubi, including several sons of the chief, had been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and their punishments were to be mitigated. Otherwise, the despatch was written in a friendly tone, and the colonists were exonerated from the charge of cruelty. It contained the important announcement that the Secretary of State contemplated a great reform in the native policy of the future, such a reform as would gradually replace barbarism by civilization. Nothing could be more in accordance with the wishes of the colonists than such a change. But the removal of the Governor in the manner indicated—though he had frequently expressed an intention of retiring on account of ill health, and this was referred to by Lord Carnarvon—called forth warm sympathy for the man whose energetic action in the hour of peril, as was believed, had saved South Africa from a general war."

As to the view taken of the revolt by the native population, Sir Garnet Wolseley, who succeeded me, says, "Langelibalele, as I am informed by all classes here, official and non-official (a small knot of men of extreme views excepted), is regarded by the native population at large as a chief who, having defied the authorities, and in doing so occasioned the murder of some white men, is now suffering for that conduct. In their opinion, his attempts to brave the Government have been checkmated, and his banishment from the colony, regarded as a lenient punishment by the natives at large, cannot fail to be a serious warning to all other Kafir chiefs, not only in Natal but in the whole of South Africa, to avoid imitating his example. If he were allowed to come back here, his influence would be intensified manifold, as the natives would naturally be led to believe either that his supernatural powers are so great as to have secured his release, or that we are afraid of him, and nothing can, in my opinion,

be more injurious to our interests in dealing with barbarous races, than the creation in their minds of any doubt as to our strength."*

It has been said that by the employment of the police the revolt might have been stopped at once. But the matter had got far beyond a police case when I arrived in the colony. Besides, I had no police to employ; the Natal mounted police had been established by me after the revolt, and I appointed as its commandant, Major Dartnell, who has done honour to the selection. I was relieved of my office in 1875, by Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley.

One of the objects of the new Governor's mission was to effect a change in the Colonial Legislature.

This body then consisted of five *ex-officio* members and fifteen elected members. By the alteration effected, eight nominee members were added to the Council. They were to be chosen by the Crown, were not to be office-holders, and were to be in the possession of fixed property worth one thousand pounds.

"The principal reason assigned by the Executive in favour of the measure was that it would enable them without obstruction to reform the native policy. The strangest feature in the debate was this plea; for the alterations in the mode of dealing with the natives now desired by the Home authorities were precisely such as the elected members of the Colonial Legislature had for years fruitlessly endeavoured to effect."

I may mention here that between my first and second administration of the colony, the Legislative Council endeavoured to pass measures for the improvement of the native government, very much in the sense of those suggested by myself, especially as to the power of the chiefs and individual rights as to titles of lands. There was, therefore, no real necessity for this change. The power of the Crown was already such that the native policy might have been reformed, even if the colonists had not been so thoroughly at one as they were in desiring to raise the natives out of a slough of barbarism; for not only could the Government disallow any bill, but five of the twenty members being *ex-officio*, when six out of the elective members could be secured there was a majority for the Government; and it may be safely said that any native policy for which that portion of votes could not be obtained must be either unjust or dangerous. The new arrangement, moreover, could not practically increase the power of the Crown. I know by experience in other places that non-official nominees are the most troublesome members to deal with. They are twitted by their elected colleagues with being dependents of the Government, and to show their independence they often vote against it. The best supporters of the Government, if it is only fairly right, are the elected members.

Whilst the change was of little practical use to the Crown, it served

* I have not space to quote more of this able document, but the whole of it is worth reading. *Vide* Parl. Paper, Aug. 6th, 1875, p. 37.

further to alienate from it the Dutch population, within and without the colony. The Dutch in the colony were represented in the Council by two much respected members of their body—one of them formerly a President of the Orange Free State—and they were indirectly represented by the other up-country members. They all voted against the measure.

At this time, too, Lord Carnarvon warmly took up the scheme of a confederation of the South African colonies, which, however, had been the policy of his predecessor. I entirely concur in the wisdom of this policy, but I do not think that his Lordship adopted the best mode of carrying it out. Instead of instructing the Governor to induce his Cabinet to take up the question and to have it ventilated throughout the colony, he sent out Mr. Froude as a sort of independent advocate of the measure on the part of the Imperial Government. I have no doubt that there has been much exaggeration in the statements made as to Mr. Froude's proceedings; still it is very likely that his mission to the colony appeared to the Cape Ministry as interfering with their functions as the constitutional originators of Government measures. They may have thus felt their *amour propre* wounded; and some allowance must be made for the natural vanity of men elevated to the honourable position of governing their fellow-colonists. They may have been perhaps unnecessarily sensitive; but human nature is the same everywhere. It is said, with some force, that Mr. Froude's mission was not confined to the Cape Colony, but extended to all South Africa. Even so, it would have been better to enlist the sympathies of the Cape Ministry in the cause, for doubtless their authority would have greatly influenced the Republics and to some degree even Natal.

Then there came the annexation of the Transvaal Republic. As to its condition just before it was annexed, we have conflicting accounts. The strong ground taken in defence of the measure is, that its hostilities with the native tribes seriously imperilled the peace of our colonies; that it was, in fact, a next-door neighbour's house in flames, which might any moment set ours on fire. In this respect the ground for annexing the Transvaal Republic was very much stronger than that which justified our taking possession of Natal. The latter country did not at that time touch our boundary at any point. It was a house several streets off. But the latter annexation, whether necessary or not, has been the source of many and great evils.

Before that event, the Boers, I am told, were beginning to feel that the best solution of their difficulties would be a return to the British rule. Lord Carnarvon showed so earnest a desire to conciliate the Boers, especially manifested in his settlement of the Diamond-fields dispute, and spoke of them so kindly in Parliament—every word of which was carried to them—that numbers of those kind-hearted though undemonstrative men were warming towards him, and I do believe that his favourite scheme of federation was as to them almost within sight. The annexation destroyed all this, and has embittered the Boers to

such a degree that federation seems almost hopeless. If we now keep them under our rule, it will be as we keep conquered Ireland, not as we keep freely united Scotland.

That the annexation precipitated the Zulu war there can be no doubt. It is admitted on all sides. It is the natural outcome of the circumstances. Whether such a war might have been ultimately avoided, may be doubtful. I think it not unlikely that if we could have united ourselves with the Boers in any federation, or even formed an alliance with them, the Zulu power might have gradually crumbled to pieces under the pressure of a union which it would have been hopeless to resist.

I have endeavoured to show that the security of Natal depended upon a system of checks and balances. I pointed out in my despatches, written twenty-five years ago, that we owed our security both from internal insurrection and aggression from without much more to circumstances beyond our control than to any measure taken by ourselves, or to any real power which we possessed.

These circumstances and this system of balances the annexation has altered and destroyed. Sir H. Bulwer shows this clearly. He writes thus:—"The annexation of the Transvaal has altered, and altered very considerably, our position towards the native races living in the north of Natal. The Dutch Boers, who have been the pioneers of European colonization in South Africa, were the first to come into contact with these races, and the relation into which we were subsequently brought with the latter, and the position in which we have hitherto stood with regard to them, have beyond all question been greatly influenced and coloured by that fact, and by the presence of another and neighbouring European nationality. The natives have not been slow to discriminate between the two nationalities, and to mark the difference in many essential respects between the one Government and the other; and the conclusions drawn by them have, it may be said, been altogether in favour of the English, whose general treatment of them has been milder, more conciliatory, and more just. This state of things has had its advantages. It has served to keep up a sort of political balance, if I may call it so, in this quarter of South Africa, and has enabled the Government of Natal, as the nearest representative of British authority, to exercise a decided influence over the native races in the neighbourhood—an influence which it has used with advantage in preserving for many years the peace of this part of the country. The annexation of the Transvaal last year has destroyed the conditions which created the balance to which I have referred. It has substituted one power for two powers, one Government for two Governments, in all this portion of South Africa, and it has brought English authority into direct contact with native races to the north, to whom it was previously known only from a distance. More especially and more seriously, it has affected our relations with the Zulu king and people, who look with great suspicion upon the new state of things."

As I have already intimated, so long as the Boers were an independent power, Natal enjoyed comparative security, from the fact that the king of Zululand was afraid of them, and was anxious to keep our friendship as a counterpoise to their hostility. These circumstances, with our reliance, right or wrong, on the assistance of our own natives against their former masters, for a number of years preserved the colony in comparative peace. This security was based upon an equilibrium capable of being overturned at any moment, and not on the solid basis of real strength; and yet this semblance of security encouraged the Home Government to leave Natal with an overwhelming savage population within and around its borders, to the defence of a wing of a regiment of infantry. All that can be said in favour of this arrangement is that it was for the time cheap; but it was a condition in which no colony ought to have been left, which was held out as a home for British emigrants and their families. To expect that a population of 20,000 people (men, women and children) could materially assist in defending themselves against an overwhelming mass of natives, is too absurd to deserve discussion. This precarious equilibrium was destroyed by the annexation of the Transvaal; for the counterpoise of the Boer power is now lost, and Cetewayo has henceforth nothing to expect from the British Government.

At the same time, it must be borne in mind that the Zulu power became more dangerous under Cetewayo than it was under the comparatively peaceful rule of Panda. I am myself convinced that if Cetewayo, before Panda's death, had attempted to attack Natal, he would have met with such hostility on the part of his father and a large conservative party which would have adhered to him, that the kingdom would have been broken up. Cetewayo is a shrewd man, and he would ponder well on what took place when Panda rebelled against his brother Dingaan. Cetewayo's true career, as actual ruler, commenced only from 1873, and a merciless career it has been.

Here I wish it to be remembered that the annexation of the Transvaal, the immediate cause of the Zulu war, took place before Sir Bartle Frere assumed the government of the Cape. He had, therefore, nothing to do with the creation of the difficulties in which he found himself.

One of the first results of the annexation, after its unhappy effect upon the Boers, was that it intensely irritated Cetewayo. If he had really felt, as he always professed to do, that he was safe with us, the extension of our rule over the territory of his old enemies ought to have assured him that he was now in no danger whatever. But how did he receive the intelligence? Sir Arthur Cunyngham tells us. When the Transvaal was annexed, the chief native constable was sent off, by the instructions of Sir T. Shepstone, to Cetewayo to inform him of it, and to tell him on no account to attempt the invasion of the Transvaal. On the delivery of the message, Cetewayo flew

into a violent passion, and was with difficulty prevented from having the messenger put to death. The result of this irritation was speedily seen in the steps Cetewayo took as to the boundary question.

It would appear that the right to a territory north of the Tugela had been in dispute between the Boers and the Zulus for more than sixteen years, and that repeated applications had been made by the Zulus to the Natal Government to settle it by arbitration, or to take it over themselves, so that it might form a barrier between the Zulus and the Boers. Whether this last alternative was honestly proposed I do not know, but I think subsequent events show that it was not. For some unexplained reason neither of these proposals was accepted by the Natal Government, and the matter was allowed to drift on until the territory in question was, a few years ago, formally appropriated by the Transvaal Government and farms within it allotted to the Boers.

After the annexation the disputed territory was, of course, in our hands, as the successors of the Boers.

Had Cetewayo honestly wished, as he had said, that we should appropriate the disputed territory, he would now have acquiesced in our possession of it. Instead of this, he took hostile steps to seize it himself, notwithstanding the warning sent him by Sir T. Shepstone. As he claimed the territory, the dispute still continued; and we were no longer a neutral party, competent to arbitrate between two hostile neighbours, but one of the principals in the quarrel.

Under these circumstances it would have been better for the High Commissioner to have taken the matter entirely into his own hands, and after making all the investigation he could into the question, have decided in such a manner as justice seemed to require. Instead of this, an arbitration, if such it can be called, was offered and accepted by Cetewayo. Sir H. Bulwer seems at first to have felt the difficulty of this arbitration, and to have wished to have declined undertaking it, and the public of Natal, if we may judge from the journals, strongly shared this feeling. Finally it was arranged that persons should be appointed on behalf of the Natal Government to inquire into the respective claims of the parties to the dispute and to make a report, accompanied by such recommendations as they might think proper; and that should their recommendations be objected to by either or both parties, then the matter should be referred to a Boundary Commission, to be appointed either by the High Commissioner or by the Government, both parties agreeing to abide by the decision.

It was at the same time agreed that the Transvaal Government should be represented by any persons they should choose to appoint. I would here remark that this was not really a submission to arbitration, as has been supposed, but was simply a preliminary inquiry into the facts; so that Sir B. Frere seemed in no way bound to accept the report.

Upon the merits of the question itself I do not propose to enter, further than to offer a few remarks suggested by Sir T. Shepstone's

Memorandum on the Report of the Commissioners. The slight historical sketch which I have given shows that the whole country of which this disputed territory forms a fraction was conquered by Chaka. The territory was his by right of conquest. It is further evident that after Chaka's death his brother and successor, Dingaan, was himself conquered by the Boers in alliance with Panda. The whole country, therefore, including this territory, came into the possession of the Boers by the self-same right of conquest by which a few years before it was taken possession of by Chaka. The Boers then placed Panda on the throne of the Zulus as their feudatory, reserving to themselves the sovereign right over him and the whole country. Thus stood the matter in 1840.

In 1843 came the conquest of Natal by the British Government, which assumed the sovereignty over the country lying between the St. John's River on the one side, and the Tugela and Buffalo Rivers on the other side. As to the country north of the latter rivers, it seems from all that can be gathered that it left Panda in possession of these territories,] but there seems to have been no formal abrogation of the previous right of the Boers. A question therefore arises, whether the starting-point of enquiry should not have been 1840, rather than 1843. Had it been the former date, the question of the boundary could scarcely have been raised at all, the Boers undoubtedly having the rights claimed. These rights, however, the Boers seem to have waived by the fact of asking a cession from Panda and Cetewayo. The question whether this cession was made seems to have been almost the sole inquiry of the Commissioners. On this point I do not wish to say more than that I think Sir B. Frere is right in holding that an opposite decision might have been equitably arrived at. It is only fair, before dismissing the matter, to call attention to the statement of Mr. Henrique Shepstone, who was present at the inquiry on behalf of the Transvaal Government. He says:—"I must now inform your Excellency of the very strict and severe cross-examination to which our witnesses were subjected—not a cross-examination to elicit full information, but one in which every endeavour was made to confuse the witnesses, so as to cause them to contradict themselves, and thus discredit their own evidence, while the Zulus, on the contrary, were treated with the greatest tenderness and consideration."

Sir Bartle Frere, in these circumstances, would have been perfectly justified in rejecting the recommendation of the Commissioners, and of referring the matter to the Home Government. He, however, gave a decision modifying the recommendation in a way which gave satisfaction to neither party. He assigned the sovereignty of the territory to Cetewayo, whilst he reserved the private rights to a considerable number of persons who were actual occupants of farms. Whilst I entirely concur with Sir B. Frere as to the great importance of seeking to infuse into the native mind the clear distinction between

sovereign and private rights, yet I cannot but think that in the case of a purely savage chief like Cetewayo, it was premature to think that this distinction could be understood. Under all the circumstances, I think it would have been much better either not to have given the land at all to Cetewayo, or to have given it to him unclogged with any conditions awarding compensation to the parties dispossessed. I have no hesitation in saying that, considering the awkward position which the Government occupied with regard to this dispute, the latter course would have been better. I do not think that any decision would have satisfied Cetewayo, but the one I have indicated would have removed from that chief and his supporters a not altogether groundless cause of complaint.

I now come to the ultimatum presented to Cetewayo by Sir B. Frere. This document seems open to the objection that it mixes up comparatively trivial questions with matters of the gravest importance, thus giving an opportunity to hostile criticism of bringing the former into undue prominence, in order to throw unfair obloquy on the whole. Some of the terms of the ultimatum—such as that relating to the two gentlemen who lost their pocket-books, handkerchiefs, and papers—did not deserve a place in such a document.

The outrage committed by the sons of Sirayo was a more serious matter, and one demanding full reparation; but that, I think, might have been obtained by friendly negotiation. The same may be said as regards Umbeline.

There remain then these points: First, the violation of the promises alleged to have been made by Cetewayo, on the occasion of his coronation, as to the internal management of Zululand; second, the reception of a British Resident in that country; third, the demand for the disbandment of the army.

As to the first point, although I concur with Sir Henry Bulwer in declining to attach to the promises then made the force of a treaty which we were bound to see executed, yet we must remember that these promises were made in return for what Cetewayo considered a very important service rendered by the Natal Government at his urgent request. But apart from any obligations which he is under in consequence of these promises, we have a direct and important interest in the humane government of his people. It is well known that one of the dangers of Natal is its overwhelming and unwieldy mass of native population. By far the greater part of this population is composed of the *débris* of the tribes of the Zulu kingdom: of clans who have fled from that country on account of the grinding tyranny of their rulers. It was an obvious necessity on our part, as far as humanity allowed, to check this tide of immigration.

The establishment of a humane Government in Zululand might, therefore, not only have had the effect of stopping this very inconvenient

accession to our numbers, but even probably of inducing many Zulus in Natal to return to their fatherland, and probably that very part of our population which from its barbarism was most dangerous to us. Moreover, this immigration has been long a source, even in the more peaceful times of Panda, of unfriendly negotiations. Frequent irritations have been caused by demands for the surrender of fugitives, and our inability as a civilized Government to give them up.

With regard to the appointment of a Resident, Cetewayo has himself, on more than one occasion, requested such an arrangement, and I do not see how any satisfactory intercourse can take place without the appointment of such an officer. At the same time, I think that the powers proposed to be invested in this officer are more than are necessary or expedient, and I would especially refer to those which relate to the protection of the missionaries. Christianity ought not to be enforced at the point of the sword.

The last point is the burning question—the disbandment of the Zulu army.

The Zulu kingdom, which has ever hung like a thunder-cloud over Natal, has now become, owing to the circumstances I have narrated, an imminent danger, which might by temporizing measures be postponed for a time, but which might overtake us at any moment. Cetewayo had assumed towards the British Government a most defiant attitude. He had used the most insulting language towards us, and he was believed to be tampering with the loyalty of chiefs in various parts of South Africa. He was certainly regarded as the great champion of the Kafir race, and his hostility might bring on a war of vast proportions. In the presence of these grave circumstances, Sir B. Frere was justified in demanding the disbandment of the Zulu army, unless he was either prepared to insist upon the constant presence of a large British force in Natal, or to advise the Home Government to withdraw from the colony, and give compensation to the settlers who had entrusted their families and property to the implied promise of protection.

Whether Sir B. Frere was premature in making this demand, without waiting for instructions from home, is a question which, at this distance from the scene, it is impossible to solve. If, on grounds which do not appear in the despatches, and which he might find it difficult to express, there was imminent danger of the invasion of the colony by the Zulu army, he would have been very culpable had he not taken immediate and decisive action. For what does such an invasion mean? It is not, as in the case of invasion by a civilized power, the marching of an army into the country which respects the rights and persons of non-combatants. No! It means the burning of every homestead, the murder of every man, woman, and child, who cross its path! Such an invasion would, in a few hours, have reduced Natal, now the abode of peaceful and happy families, into a howling wilderness.

In making his demand, Sir B. Frere was supported by gentlemen on the spot, whose opinions are entitled to the greatest respect,—among them Sir H. Bulwer, Sir T. Shepstone, and Mr. Brownlee. In this country he has the approval of those who best know the colonies and Cetewayo. Among these are Sir H. Barkly, Hon. C. Ashley, Sir F. Buxton, Lord Carnarvon, and, lastly, the venerable Dr. Moffat, who perhaps knows more of the native races of South Africa than any man living. It is very easy to be wise after the fact, and to point to the immunity from invasion which Natal has happily enjoyed; but had it been otherwise, had the colony been overrun by a Zulu army, its homesteads burnt, its people murdered, what execrations would have been heaped on the head of Sir Bartle Frere!

The press of England has paid graceful and eloquent tributes to the memory of the gallant British soldiers who fell on the field of Isandula. Never were eulogiums better deserved; but I hope the kindly remembrance of the British people will be extended also to the memory of the small Natal force who perished by the side of their comrades. The light of the glory which shines on the memory of the men of the British army may also shed its mournful radiance on the memory of the brave men of the Colonial Corps who fell in defence of their homes and their families.

BENJ. C. C. PINE.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG, *May 18th*, 1879.

The Political Situation.

NEVER has Russia been the object of so much curiosity as now. Revolutionary movements and political crimes draw to us the eyes of all our neighbours. The excitement has naturally given an impulse to false and exaggerated reports, offering vast scope to the fancy of newspaper correspondents and pamphleteers. In the face of this the plain truth may be of value and of interest, though of a soberer kind. In telling it so far as it is known to me, a false patriotism shall not lure me to hide the dark sides of the situation. But I do not think that the right is all on one side and the wrong all on the other: I neither declare that the Government has a monopoly of morals, nor that the revolutionists alone represent the ideas of progress and justice.

Everybody knows that nothing is more difficult than for contemporaries, standing close to the events and to the actors in them, to estimate at their just value the affairs happening before their eyes, and to foresee the consequences. The occurrences appear either much more important than they really are, or they seem not to signify at all. Moreover, in Russia at this moment all parties, and especially the Government, are in the dark: none is quite sure which is the right way to go, and what are the measures to take against the peril. Even as recently as a few months ago everybody was disposed to view the social disease very lightly; they, in fact, laughed at the seeming handful of revolutionists who dared to declare war against the powerful Czar. One section among us thought that nothing would be easier than to keep them down by adopting a few vigorous measures, while another suggested that the best way of all would be to let them alone, or else punish them like naughty boys. Both these notions are at an end. The skilful organization which has disclosed itself everywhere, and the boldness it shows, do not permit either the Government or the public any more to treat it with either indifference or contempt. Some particulars can be gathered as to this secret party. Their number, it is true, is quite unknown,

but they evidently have a definite plan of action, and they keep closely to it. The discipline in their ranks is of the very strictest kind; so severe, indeed, that they may be said to belong body and soul to the cause they have espoused. If dissensions or treason arise among them, such things are never divulged. From the moment one of them has entered the revolutionary association, he can leave it only by laying down his life. In this state of things they have no alternative but to obey; they are pretty sure to execute any and every order they receive. Very effective measures are also taken against treason, if it arose, having any great practical effects. Not only are would-be traitors punished by death, but the plan of the organization is such that individuals cannot do serious harm to the party. Each of the members knows only a few of his nearest partners in the conspiracy; so that if he chooses to play false, he cannot reveal many secrets. The agents of the police often try to bribe their political prisoners, promising them their life and liberty if they will tell the whole truth; but all such endeavours prove of no avail, for the simple reason that each one's actual knowledge is so limited.

A rapid review of recent events will show the great progress which has been made by the revolutionists. Formerly the party contented itself with the issuing and spreading of subversive literature and issuing proclamations; never opposing open resistance to the authorities. But they found this course too slow for their impatience, and now putting murder among their prominent dogmas, they have proceeded to carry it out. It is noticeable that every assassination, or attempt at it, so rapidly succeeding one another, was distinguished by increasing audacity. For instance, General Mesentzev was murdered at an early hour of the day, when the streets of the capital are nearly empty and while the victim was walking on foot, having taken no precaution. Prince Krapotkin, it is true, was attacked in a closed carriage, but it was under the darkness of night and in the badly lighted streets of a provincial town. Those might fairly be reckoned circumstances favourable for the murderers, compared to those later cases of the attempts on the life of General Drenteln and the life of the Emperor. In the last instance especially, the surprising boldness of the plan testifies that the revolutionists have cast away every fear and that they openly challenge Society to a mortal duel.

The System of Provisional Dictators.

The Government has accepted the challenge, and has armed itself from top-to-toe for the struggle. Provisional governors-general now rule at St. Petersburg, Odessa, and Kharkow, and extraordinary powers have been conferred on the already existing ones at Moscow, Kiev, and Warsaw. In fact, the full powers granted to the new officials are so large that they may justly be considered as a sort of dictators. All civil authorities, together with schools and other institutions, are subjected to them in just the same manner as in a state of war districts

are under the control of the general-in-chief. They have the right to bring before courts-martial persons hitherto amenable only to common law; to banish every one whom they deem obnoxious; to arrest whoever they like, without regard to any difference of rank or social position; to suspend or wholly suppress all organs of the press which they consider have a bad tendency, and generally to take any other measure for assuring the peace. In adopting such a course as this the Government has confessed in just so many words the insufficiency of its usual administrative system. What else can be meant by falling back on dictatorship and trusting to it for the deliverance of the country? Now this is in itself a brilliant triumph for the revolutionists. It is a proof of their strength as well as of the terror they have spread, and it has all the value of a victory. If the revolutionists possess power enough to oblige the State to go out of its usual routine, recurring to these very extraordinary measures, the home public generally must infer from it either that the State at last has met with a very dangerous foe, the issue of the fight being left doubtful, or else that the whole regular machinery of the Government is not of much worth. In either case, the judgment is not in favour of the State. Even if we agree that the present condition of things is so bad that no other course was left, just as there are diseases which can only be cured by most violent means, we cannot shut our eyes to the risks of such treatment. When violent means do not bring about the recovery of the patient they usually kill him, or at least quicken the crisis.

What is the real meaning of this final resource of dictatorship, and why do Governments fly to it in extreme cases? Dictatorship is nothing short of the substitution of the personal will of one man for corporate administration with the protective security of law and justice. When this substitution has taken place, everything depends on the personal merits and the character of the dictator. His power being arbitrary, exposed to no impeachments, he certainly may display more energy than an official tied down by all sorts of laws and regulations. But, on the other hand, the harm he may do is proportionately greater, and it is not easy to decide if the one possibility compensates sufficiently for the other. If he errs, what is to hinder him from persevering in his errors? Besides,—and this is in truth the greatest objection that can be made to such a form of rule,—he cannot do all himself, and he must in his turn invest his subordinates with nearly the same full powers that he has himself. And how can he be sure that they will not abuse them? The banishments, arrests, and so on, to which he will resort, on what will they be founded if not upon denunciation by his agents? Everybody knows what a slippery ground is thus entered on; how easy it is to confound personal enemies with opponents of the State, and to gratify private revenge in pretending to search after political crimes. Will the dictator or the new governor-general have leisure enough to scrutinise strictly every denunciation before acting upon it? Though the activity of the new governors-general as yet is of too recent a date to enable a

sound judgment to be formed as to its effects, some facts have already come to light which prove the need for such reflections as these. The gendarmes are known to have greatly abused the latitude granted them to arrest any one without distinction of grade. Several most respectable men have already experienced in their own persons the rigour of the new system, and these cases have led the public to suppose that a like fate has happened to many others.

Indeed society has some grounds for taking fright when it is known that a Member of the Academy of Science and a learned professor (Faminzin) has been kept three days in solitary confinement, and then set free without even having been brought to examination; and when one of the directors of the State Bank (Petlin) has been subjected to the same fate, and acquitted without being heard. Such facts as these are sufficient to engender false rumours. It is useless to affirm that the arrests of the above-named persons and of some others were owing simply to vague suspicions, and that it turned out there was no evidence against the prisoners. In the first case, for example, the gentleman was taken into custody because a motion which he had presented to the Minister upon University questions had been published by the secret press. In the second case the ground of the arrest was still more insufficient. The bank director making a journey to Switzerland with his brother-in-law, who was suffering from mental alienation, engaged the physician of the family to accompany him. The latter was affiliated to the International party, and the police arrested Mr. Petlin for having been seen in his company. Then, visits of search made in the middle of the night, which might well give a shock to the bravest men, are ordered on the slightest pretence. Who can answer for having never been associated in business, or having had a formal acquaintance, with some member of the secret association? It is true that when the guilt is not heavier than this the prisoner after some time is let free, but even a few days passed in prison may tell sadly on nervous natures. It has also already happened that servants have denounced their masters, or at any rate they have threatened them with doing it. The innocence of the accused is no doubt soon officially recognised, but nevertheless night searches or arrests are not trifles, especially when there are sick persons in the family. The other regulations issued by General Gourko at St. Petersburg and copied by his colleagues in the provinces are also pretty sure to give rise to many abuses.

General Gourko as Dictator.

Before going further it will be well to convey to readers at a distance some notion of the dictator who now reigns over the capital, exercising nearly unlimited authority. General Gourko has a high reputation for energy and personal courage. His name will remain eternally associated with the first passage of the Balkans by our troops, that brilliant but rash feat of arms which brought about so many deplorable results. The soldiers and officers who have served under him always found that he

was not a man to let obstacles stop him ; he goes straight to the goal he marks out, and is quite insensible to humanitarian considerations. It is indeed said that he never felt much pity for the soldiers at whose cost a victory had to be bought, and one may infer from this that he will feel still less compunction for the revolutionists and the Nihilists he is fighting now. In this sense the choice clearly is a good one ; every system ought to be carried out by tools which are appropriate, and if dictatorship is introduced in order to frighten the foe, a tender-hearted chief would be wholly out of place. The regulations by which General Gourko signalled his entrance into office have been already published by the European press. The new duties devolved on the porters, called *dvorniki*, and the prohibition against persons keeping, buying, and wearing arms of any description without a legal authorization, were understood to be the only decrees which are directly due to his initiative. The utility of both measures is much discussed, and is often denied.

The *dvorniki* have always been considered as a sort of public guardians, belonging partly to the police. They are obliged to attend to the passports of the lodgers, and to inform the police if anything irregular or suspicious happens in the house ; they are required to assist policemen in arresting malefactors, and so on. By the recent regulation the Governor-General has practically promoted them to a higher rank, entrusting them at the same time with a more arduous task. They are, as the reader knows, to sit day and night at the house-doors, taking care that no placards or advertisements be stuck up on the walls without the due legal permission, and seeing that no dangerous or inflammable substances be cast on the pavement ; and they are to arrest every suspicious-looking person. This latter right gives them a power which will very likely turn out to be a source of many abuses. The *dvorniki* are generally recruited from among the peasants, or the lower classes. They must have received an elementary education, for they have to possess the first rudiments of spelling and writing, as well as some notions of the law, and the regulations in use by the police. But the number of these comparatively learned porters is not very great, and when it was ordered that the *dvorniki* should immediately be doubled, and in the case of many houses even tripled, the supplementary men had naturally to be sought in other classes. The house-owners are obliged to have a watchman sitting at each door, under the penalty of a heavy fine of five hundred roubles ; and not knowing where to get them, they were glad to hire any one who offered for the duty. It may consequently be guessed that the set of *dvorniki* now sitting with a discontented look in our streets present a very mixed and strange array. Most of them do not quite know what is expected from them ; still less are they aware how they are to discover suspicious persons. In their methods of going about it great variety is to be found. The apathetic natures say that they cannot distinguish innocent from dangerous men, and they let everybody go their way, meanwhile reading a newspaper or sleeping

on their hard seat. Another class of them, endowed with a sanguine temperament, look more seriously upon their duty. They anxiously scrutinize every passer-by, and if the man stops on his way, or puts his hands into his pockets, or even throws a fragment of paper or some other trifle into the river, they are immediately after him, asking his explanation of such alarming deeds. If he hesitates and does not give ready answers, he is led to the authorities. Is it not possible that after some practice acquired in this line, these energetic *dvorniki* will bethink themselves of drawing some advantage from their powers? The majority of the persons threatened with summary arrest will be glad to escape from it by paying a few roubles. As to complaining afterwards of such exactions, they well know that there will not be much chance of their being believed by the magistrate. The Government will think it incumbent on itself to take the part of its agents, not letting a shadow be cast on their honesty. The most prudent course obviously is to pay the black mail in silence.

If all these drawbacks are taken into consideration, even without dwelling on the heavy tax imposed upon the house occupier, what good is to be looked for from this watch of the *dvorniki*? Its usefulness appears very problematical, and nearly everybody thinks that such a mode of rule cannot last long.

The regulation concerning the wearing of firearms has not fared much better under criticism. It is found to be very annoying in practice; for quiet, peaceful men are scared at the bare idea of making a solemn declaration to the police that they have guns or revolvers in their houses. On the other hand, the regulation cannot matter much to the revolutionists. They will certainly be the last men to disclose their arms to the police; they will find means to hide them as effectually as they hide their printing presses. The first excitement of this measure has now calmed down, but at the outset it was very funny to see how the owners of arms were embarrassed and unhappy. It nearly looked like an offence to possess a weapon, and at the police office itself the agents did not quite know how to proceed; they often both allowed and forbade, rather at the suggestion of the moment than on any settled rational grounds. Not a few unlucky possessors of those forbidden articles would have been glad to get rid of them, but in practice this is not so easy as it seems. One cannot burn a revolver or a gun, and as to throwing them into the river, that might seem suspicious, and lead to arrest at once. It would immediately draw the attention of the *dvorniki*. Moreover, if all these formalities are difficult and trying to the educated classes in the capital, one may imagine how they work in the provinces, and what anxieties they cause there!

If the system of dictatorship possesses its own advantages, its scale of action is very restricted; it cannot boast of having at its disposal much variety of means. Searches, arrests, a close surveillance by the police, the imposition of silence upon the press, and, as crowning all, a recourse to capital executions—these form its whole arsenal and programme.

Probable Reintroduction of the Death-Penalty.

The penalty of death having long been expunged from our code, it is thought in some quarters that its reintroduction would be the best means of frightening the enemy; and we expect to see this theory put into practice. If we may judge of the influence it will be likely to produce on the popular mind by the effects of the hanging of Doubrovin, which took place on the 2nd May, we may say that it will not be favourable to the Government. The youth, the beauty, and the amiable character of that young officer had made him generally beloved both among his social equals and the soldiers. When the fate intended for him became publicly known, pity mastered all other feelings. It was reported that he was really subject to fits of mental alienation, the disease being in his case a hereditary one, and it was generally said that he ought to have been pardoned on that account. Nearly a whole week elapsed between the trial and the execution, and during all the time the city was in a state of agitation. No information was published in the papers, and every day it was vaguely reported that the hanging either had taken place, or else was going to take place at once. The spot for the execution was not more clearly known, and some hours after the event was over,—the execution having been carried out in the yard of the fortress,—crowds of people were filling the streets of Wasili Ostron, or else proceeding to the Smolensky field, where it was thought the prisoner would be taken. The death of the culprit was a dreadful one, and shocking tales about it do not cease to circulate in society. He told those about him he was dying for them, like Christ. At the same time he sent away the priest, abusing him in violent language, declaring that he himself did not believe in God, nor in the immortality of the soul. His anger was chiefly caused by the fact that he was not shot like a soldier, but hanged like a common culprit. This last death is considered in Russia as a much more ignominious one, and was indeed selected with the object of lowering him alike in his own eyes and in those of his friends and admirers. But it is to be feared that this end was not attained, rather that the contrary effect was produced.

This execution is soon to be followed by others, and such an expectation not unnaturally saddens the city. Since the hanging of Karakosof, who attempted the Emperor's life thirteen years ago, no man has perished in St. Petersburg by the hand of the executioner. Such sights become more dreadful when society is not used to them. The punishment of Karakosof even at that time stirred much emotion, but in the then existing state of things it and the crime out of which it arose appeared as a very extraordinary event. If one may compare the impression produced by that first attempt on the Emperor's life with the last, the condition of feeling is very different. When the news of the miraculous escape of the Czar spread through society on the 14th April last, the indignation and the joy excited were certainly very strong, but there was little surprise at the attempted assassination in itself. Thirteen years ago the predominant feeling, on

the contrary, was utter amazement. Nobody would believe at first in the reality of the attempt, and when it could not longer be denied, everybody felt sure that the wretch must either be a Pole or a madman. The fact that regicide could be thought of by a Russian seemed incredible. Since that time, subversive theories and the growth of the revolutionary party have made so much progress that society now wonders at nothing, and expects every crime. The pleasant conviction that Russia is secured from all the wild dangers of revolution to which other continental nations have been shown to be exposed, is gradually fading before the terrible teaching of facts. Experience proves every day that we are not better off in this sense than our neighbours, and that neither our particular institutions,—such, for instance, as our rural commune,—nor the profound love of the people generally for the monarch, can save us from such risks.

What are the Aims of the Revolutionists?

The social dangers threatening Russia are even in a way novel. Not only do we not know the numbers of the foe, but we do not completely understand his wishes or his aims. From what comes to light, this party designs the ruin, not only of all government, but of the whole social order. Its immediate purpose is anarchy, and it supposes, or professes to suppose, that when all is thrown down, a better state of things will naturally arise out of it. There is no possible compromise with such views as these, and a fight to the death is the only weapon left against them. But the question which naturally arises is—How can such subversive doctrines find partizans in number sufficient to form a powerful association, and to trouble the peace of an entire nation? Are such views not contrary to the interests of every honourable member of the community, and what attraction can they have for their minds? Clearly, only disgraced men, those banished from society and viewed as pariahs, can wish for a total destruction of the political and social institutions of their country. If such men as these find ready listeners and obedient slaves in a numerical array which grows imposing, the cause of it ought to be sought. A nation must have grounds of inner discontent before this dangerous social disease could arise. It is true that discontented people often do not know the real reason of their dissatisfaction when they feel an uneasiness which they are not able to define; and being in that state of mind, they are prone to listen to bad advice, and to take the wrong way for helping themselves. Everybody, for example, knows that when children are kept under too severely, and are never allowed to understand liberty nor learn how to use it, they have no exact notion of what freedom means, and confound it with licence. Their ambition is not to become properly free and rightly responsible for their own actions, but only to do forbidden things,—to play tricks and vex their masters. They grow passionately fond of all that is prohibited, and feel a hatred for every authority. If it were possible for children to form a party, would they not begin by throwing

down their tutors and parents, and by proclaiming the destruction of the existing order? It not unfrequently appears as if our revolutionists had points of resemblance to those tyrannically educated children. At least, a large number of their followers go over to them led merely by such motives.

The fact is, that though the reforms of the present reign have greatly advanced our progress, the dose of liberty which has been granted to us is not sufficient for a civilized European nation. Everybody feels this, more or less, but the feeling takes different forms, according to the station in life, the education, and the personal character of each individual. The Liberals hope that the supplementary reforms we need will come in time, and they are sure that violence cannot lead to any real good. They will continue to try to attain their aim by peaceful means, and will never lend their help to revolution. But all men are not so patient nor so firm in their convictions. Youth, poverty, injustice, all foster impatience, and when men will not trust to time, and wait, they call violence to their aid. The economical conditions of life are not worse in Russia than in other European countries, and the average of happiness is likely to be about the same. Indeed, competition, especially in the higher professions, is much smaller with us, and our youths do not know the terrible struggle for life which awaits not a few of their neighbours. If they are willing to work, they can always find employment, with good remuneration, and there is nothing to make them desperate. Consequently their hatred against the Government and against society cannot be ascribed to actual suffering, and must have other grounds. These grounds are most probably no other than the absence of liberty, which shows itself in the control of the press, in the restrictions fettering associations, and so forth. A person who may speak out what he has on his mind cools much easier than one bound to be silent, and criticisms are often the mere result of anger at being forbidden to criticise. In Russia, a strict censorship watches constantly to see that not a word is said against authority and morals; speeches are prohibited with not less severity, and every measure is taken in order that unpleasant matters do not transpire. The consequence of it all is that hasty and impatient men recur to underhand measures, and to secret printing-presses. Then the Government declares war against them, ranking these acts among political crimes, and subjecting the convicted to cruel penalties. The persecution they endure in turn makes them more and more reckless, further fostering their hatred. Innocent men, unjustly suspected, and kept for a time in prison, leave gaol violent revolutionists; in fact, the more the arrests made, the more the partizans the Revolutionary Association gains. At last, passions being roused to the extreme limit on both sides, there begins a mortal strife, the end of which nobody can foresee.

The Government has gone too far in the way of repression to retrace its steps now; and besides it may be too late for entering on a new path. The liberty which, if conceded before, would

perhaps have prevented the evil, could not now cure it; and, before granting it, a decisive victory must be won. Will it be won? Nobody can give a positive answer to the question, but events advance quickly, and a month or two may help us better to solve the problem. The dictatorship must soon show what is to be hoped from it, and if it proves powerless, the Emperor will probably renounce it, and go back to the normal course of administration. A large part of society has faith in it, and consequently resigns itself to the inconveniences it brings; but if they are to be borne in vain, the discontent will grow general, and it is well to think of that possibility.

Russia's share in the establishment of the Bulgarian State.

In the meantime, the work we began two years ago in Bulgaria is nearing its end. The constitution which the Russian officials elaborated for that country is going to be applied, and the crowning of the edifice—the election of the Prince—is now an accomplished fact. Prince Battenberg was from the beginning the candidate of Russia, and his election is quite in accordance with the wishes of our Government. If there were others, of humbler social rank, whose ambition prompted them to desire the new crown of Bulgaria, their aspirations never found an echo in the highest quarters, and the Emperor was firmly resolved not to allow their realization. If the promulgation of the Bulgarian constitution had taken place at another moment, it would have caused much envy in Liberal circles. There would have been much talk of the injustice done to the Russian subjects of the Emperor, to whom he refused the boon he granted to other Slav nations liberated by our arms. But at this juncture all parties are so absorbed by the domestic cares of the State, and so frightened by the violent acts of the revolutionists, that they do not really care for these questions. To tell the truth, we have grown very indifferent to Bulgaria and our Slav brothers. I might even say that the different chances of the candidates to the new crown were hardly ever discussed before the election; nobody seemed to have time to think about them. What our country now wants most eagerly is the restoration of order and security. When this aim is attained—if it ever will be—wishes for reforms and for a constitution will very likely again arise; but until then the party which does not see in violence the only means to fight violence, and which goes on believing in the efficacy of Liberal measures, is so quiet, and, I may add, so small, that it cannot have any influence on public affairs. Generally speaking, the Russians are not apt at having more than one chief pre-occupation at a time. Last year it was the war and the Slav question; after that came the Plague, which is quite forgotten now; and at the present moment the engrossing matter is the Revolutionary party and its doings. These fully absorb the public attention.

T. S.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

The Life of Benjamin Franklin, written by Himself. Now first Edited from Original Manuscripts and from his Printed Correspondence and other Writings, by JOHN BIGELOW. 3 vols. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

THE appearance of a new edition of Mr. Bigelow's "Life of Franklin" may be, we trust, the means of calling the attention of the reading public in England to a remarkable book, and of modifying in some respects the popular judgment of a more remarkable man. It has often struck us as strange that Franklin should never, in the last hundred years, have become popular in England—should rather, indeed, have been regarded with distrust, if not with dislike, even up to the present time. There is much in his career, as well as in his personal qualities and character, which appeals to popular instincts, and would have led one to expect a very different appreciation of the great New Englander. He was one of the class of self-made men, so indiscriminately honoured by the British public; and a self-made man in the best sense, who had fought his own way to the front, not only without any advantages of birth or education, but with perfectly clean hands: in the moderate fortune he left behind him there was not a dirty shilling. Of the remarkable group of Revolutionary leaders in the great struggle of the colonies, he was the only one in the first rank not gentle born: all the rest were of the gentry—Washington, Madison, and Jefferson, the sons of Virginian planters; Adams, Hamilton, and Jay, of leading New England and New York families—and all of them brought the highest culture the colonies could give to their great work. But Franklin's father (though of good yeoman stock in the old country, which he had left when quite young) worked still with his own hands at his trade of tallow-chandler in Boston, and took Benjamin, the youngest of his ten children, away from school at the age of nine to help him. One would have expected this fact to tell in his favour in England, where, though birth and privilege enjoy a superstitious reverence and immense advantages in the race of life, the deepest popular instincts are after all decidedly

democratic. Then, again, he had all the qualities supposed to be most highly valued by Englishmen: he was an excellent son, husband, and father; moral and temperate from his youth up, but without a tinge of asceticism; scrupulously punctual and exact in money-matters, but open-handed; full of courtesy, sagacity, and humour. He was probably the most popular, certainly the most prolific author of his day. His paper was the most influential in America, and Poor Richard's sayings were in every one's mouth both there and in England. He published works of mark in natural philosophy, politics, political and social economy, morals and general literature. His discoveries and inventions ranged from the lightning conductor to cures for smoky chimneys—his ingenious speculations, from magnetism and ballooning to cheap cookery; and he gave every invention and speculation freely to the world, having never taken out a patent or claimed protection of any kind. He was a staunch free-trader, and an advocate for the rights of neutrals in war, and of the claim that free ships should make free goods. He was decidedly the most successful man of his day—a quality at least as devoutly worshipped in the nineteenth as in the eighteenth century. His position at Paris in the ten years from 1775 to 1785—first as one of three commissioners, afterwards as minister plenipotentiary for the United States—was quite unique; and the figure, full of interest, of the old shopkeeper and journalist, in his plain suit and spectacles—ingeniously adjusted so that the upper half of the glasses served him in society, and the lower half for reading—wearing his own white hair in the midst of all the befrizzed and bepowdered courtiers of the *ancien régime*; a plain, outspoken Republican, not only holding his own, but the most popular man of the day with the royal family, the aristocracy, the ministers (except Chancellor Necker, who had to find him money for subsidies and warlike supplies); an honoured member not only of the Academy and every Continental learned society of note, but of the Royal Society of England, with whose leading members he was in friendly correspondence in spite of the war; of whom there were more medals, medallions, busts, and pictures than his biographer can count up, so that his face was the best known of any on both sides of the Atlantic—surely it is strange that so singularly attractive a figure should never have fairly found its place of honour in the country of which he was all but born a citizen, where he spent thirteen of his best years, and with whose foremost statesmen and learned men he was on affectionate intimacy up to the day of his death.

So, however, it has been, and though complete editions of Franklin's works and numerous biographies have been published, not only in America, but in France, Italy, and Germany, within the present century, one slight biographical sketch in *Chambers's Cheap Library*, and one article in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1806, remain the only notices which have issued from the English press of the greatest of American philosophers and diplomatists. To the English reading public, therefore, the stalwart historical figure which, in all its many-sided attractiveness and

strength, is so well brought out in these volumes of Mr. Bigelow's, will be almost a stranger, though it is scarcely possible, we should think, that it will continue to be so. The book is not only of deep interest, but is a literary experiment of a novel kind. It consists first of the Autobiography written by Franklin for his son—comprising the first fifty years of his life, and here published for the first time from the original manuscript, of which Mr. Bigelow became possessed during his residence as minister of the United States in France; and secondly, of a history of the remaining thirty-five years, compiled, indeed, and edited by Mr. Bigelow, but really a continuation of the Autobiography, as it consists entirely of extracts from Franklin's diary, correspondence, despatches, and speeches, so that from beginning to end he is telling the story of his own life in his own words. In ordinary cases such an attempt must have ended in failure, but the extraordinary activity of Franklin as a correspondent with private friends, and the conscientious regularity and fulness of his public correspondence, have enabled Mr. Bigelow, with the help of a quite insignificant supplement in the shape of occasional notes, to sustain the interest of the narrative, and to give us a complete picture of Franklin painted by himself, in a book which we have no doubt is destined to remain a classic for all English-speaking people.

We propose here to consider, in such detail as our space will allow, the prejudices, political and religious, which have obscured Franklin's fame in England, and upon which Mr. Bigelow's volumes throw a flood of light. The first are founded on the belief that Franklin, while resident in England and a civil servant of the Crown, was undermining the allegiance of the colonies and fanning their discontent, and that, above all, he was the one American commissioner who desired to humiliate England and to impose unworthy terms on her at the close of the war; the second on the belief that, while professing Christianity, he was in fact a sceptic, who veiled real hostility under a cloak of toleration and friendliness to all Churches and denominations.

First, then, as to the conduct of Franklin during the final negotiations for peace in 1782-83. In order to judge this fairly it is necessary to bear in mind what had happened in England years before when he was agent for the colonies. He came to England in 1757 as agent for Pennsylvania, with a European reputation as a man of science, and an English reputation as an able administrator who had made the Post-office in America a paying department, and soon obtained the confidence of the leading statesmen and politicians. One of his first acts was strong opposition to the contemplated abandonment of Canada to France at the end of the Seven Years' War. "No one can more sincerely rejoice than I do on the reduction of Canada, and this not merely as a colonist, but as a Briton. I have long been of opinion," he writes in January, 1760, "that the foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British empire lie in America; and though, like other foundations,

they are low and little now, they are nevertheless broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure that human wisdom ever erected. I am therefore by no means for restoring Canada. If we keep it, all the country from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi will in another century be filled with British people. Britain itself will become vastly more populous by the immense increase of its commerce; the Atlantic will be covered with your trading ships; and your naval power, thence continually increasing, will extend your influence round the whole globe, and awe the world." He adds playfully that his correspondent (Lord Kames) will think these notions the ravings of a mad prophet. In the same earnest desire for the greatness and prosperity of the empire, he pleads, though with serious misgivings, after the commencement of the troubles seven years later: "Upon the whole, I have lived so great a part of my life in Britain, and have formed so many friendships in it, that I love it and sincerely wish it prosperity, and therefore wish to see that union on which I think it can alone be secured and established. As to America, the advantages of such an union to her are not so apparent;" and after speaking of the certainty of America's becoming populous and mighty "in a less time than is generally conceived," and able to shake off all shackles which might be imposed on her, and insisting that the seeds of liberty are universally found there, and nothing can eradicate them, he adds: "And yet there remains among that people so much respect, veneration, and affection for Britain that, if cultivated prudently, with a kind usage and tenderness for their privileges, they might be easily governed still for ages, without force or any considerable expense. But I do not see here a sufficient quantity of the wisdom that is necessary to produce such a conduct, and I lament the want of it."

So in his evidence before the Committee of the whole House of Commons on the Stamps Acts, in 1766, while declaring in the plainest terms that the colonies would never submit to pay the stamp duty unless compelled by force of arms, he urged that if aids to the Crown were needed, and were asked for in their own Assemblies according to old-established usage, they would be freely granted, and that the colonies had never murmured at having paid more than their fair proportion of the costs of the French war, because they esteemed their sovereign's approbation of their zeal and fidelity, and the approbation of this House, far beyond any other kind of compensation. If the Imperial Parliament desired the right to tax the colonies, it could only obtain it by admitting representatives from the people to be taxed.

His evidence on this occasion, besides causing the repeal of the Stamp Act within a month, made him at once the most trusted man on both sides of the Atlantic. In the same spirit he worked on for years while the clouds were gathering more and more darkly, now warning the Assemblies not to use such expressions in their "public pieces as 'the supreme authority of Parliament,' and the like, which in reality mean

nothing if our Assemblies with the king have a true legislative authority, and are too strong for compliment, as tending to confirm a claim of subjects in one part of the king's dominions to be sovereigns over their fellow-subjects, when in truth they have no such right;" now urging in them, in favour of maintaining the union, that were the general sentiments of England consulted, the terms asked would be at least equitable, for that, "except where the spirit of Toryism prevails, they wish us well and that we may preserve our liberties."

It was not, in fact, until 1774, on the eve of the outbreak of hostilities, that Franklin's position changed, and his hope of a reconciliation between England and the colonies gave way. No doubt a personal insult did much to weaken his efforts for peace during the last year of his English residence. He had become convinced that the irritation between the two countries was fanned by officers in the provinces, who reported falsely to the Home Government on the condition of affairs and the temper of the colonists; and he was confirmed in his suspicions by copies of letters from the Governor of Massachusetts and others which came to his hands. It is not known how these letters were obtained, as Franklin would never say anything except that he came by them honourably. He sent them to the Assemblies, in the hope of lessening the breach between the two countries by showing that "the injuries complained of by one of them did not proceed from the other, but from traitors amongst themselves;" and their publication brought on him at once the bitter enmity of a host of powerful men in England. This broke out on the occasion of the presentation of the petition of Massachusetts for the recall of Governor Hutchinson. After long delay it was at last heard before the Privy Council at the Cockpit, Westminster, thirty-five lords being present. When the case for the petitioners had been opened by Dunning, Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, replied for the Crown. After giving what he called a history of the province for the past ten years, full of abuse of the Assembly and praise of the Governors, he turned upon Franklin and poured out for an hour a flood of (to use Lord Shelburne's words) "scurrilous invective," encouraged by the thirty-five lords, "the indecency of whose behaviour exceeded, as is agreed on all hands, that of any committee of election." He accused Franklin of being the cause of all the troubles, and in concluding compared the doctor to Zanga in the play of "Revenge," and quoting the lines,

"Know then 'twas I:
I forged the letter, I disposed the picture;
I hated, I despised, and I destroy,"

ended his diatribe with, "I ask, my lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed by poetic fiction to the bloody African is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American!"

In chapter viii., vol. ii., will be found Franklin's account to his Government of these transactions. That he felt and resented very

keenly the insult to himself, and from this time took up a very different attitude to the English Government, is no doubt true. He was not the man to overlook personal slights, and no one could bide his time more patiently, or hit back harder when that time came. But, greatly to his credit, he did not even then allow his personal feelings to interfere with his duty as agent to the colonies, and he felt the rejection of the petition more on their account than his own. "What I feel on my own account," he writes, "is half lost in what I feel for the public. When I see that all petitions and complaints of grievances are so odious to Government that even the mere pipe which conveys them becomes obnoxious, I am at a loss to know how peace and union are to be maintained or restored between the different parts of the empire." And, though now thoroughly distrustful of the English Government and Parliament, he still continued to work for reconciliation so loyally as to bring on himself the suspicion of the Colonial Assemblies. He has to assure his constituents of the falseness of reports that he is still in favour at Court and with the Ministers. "I have seen no Minister since January, nor had the least communication with them. The generous and noble friends of America in both Houses do indeed favour me with their notice and regard, but they are in disgrace at Court, as well as myself." These generous and noble friends did their best indeed to atone for the insolent folly of the Government. The greatest of them, Lord Chatham, sought out Franklin, before moving in the House of Lords on American affairs, to set his judgment by Franklin's, "as men set their watches by a regulator." "He stayed with me near two hours, his equipage waiting at the door" (in Craven Street); "and being there while people were coming from church, it was much taken notice of and talked of, as at that time was every little circumstance that men thought might possibly affect American affairs. Such a visit from so great a man on so important a business flattered greatly my vanity, and the honour of it gave me the more pleasure as it happened on the very day twelve months that the ministry had taken so much pains to disgrace me before the Privy Council." Lord Stanhope, by Lord Chatham's request, brought Franklin to the bar of the House of Lords when he introduced his plan for the conciliation of the colonies. In moving its rejection, Lord Sandwich declared he "could not believe it the production of an English peer. It appeared to him rather the work of some American; and, turning his face towards me, who was leaning on the bar, said he fancied he had in his eye the person who drew it up, one of the most bitter and mischievous enemies this country had ever known. This drew the eyes of many lords upon me, but, as I had no inducement to take it to myself, I kept my countenance as immovable as if my features had been made of wood." Notwithstanding the efforts of the Duke of Richmond, Lords Shelburne, Camden, and others, Chatham's plan was summarily rejected, leaving Franklin to moralize on the absurdity of such a body claiming sovereignty over three millions of virtuous people in America,

when they seemed to have scarce discretion to govern a herd of swine. "Hereditary legislators! thought I: there would be more propriety, because less mischief, in having (as in some university of Germany) hereditary professors of mathematics." Still, to the last he never allowed himself to neglect the least chance of accommodating the difficulties between the two countries. After the Boston tea-riots had for a moment brought the English Government to its senses, and induced them to re-open negotiations, he gave the most convincing proof of his loyalty as a friend of peace by offering (in the absence of instructions) himself to guarantee the payment of the value of the tea thrown into Boston harbour if the Massachusetts Acts were at once repealed, thereby risking his whole private fortune; while to the offers of the ministry, through Lord Howe, of immediate payment of the arrears of his salary, ample appointments for himself and his friends, and other subsequent rewards in consideration of his help in this crisis, his reply was, "I shall deem it a great honour to be in any shape joined with your lordship in so good a work, but if you hope service from any influence I may be supposed to have, drop all thought of procuring me any previous favours from ministers: my accepting them would destroy the very influence you propose to make use of: they would be considered as so many bribes to betray the interests of my country."

We cannot within our limits do more than thus indicate in outline the course pursued by Franklin in those critical years ending in March, 1775, when, on the eve of war, he returned to America, hopeless of any settlement except by arms, and resolved to throw in his lot with his own country, and to devote all he possessed of fortune, experience, ability to her service. The more carefully the record is scrutinized the more difficult will the situation appear, and the more trustworthy and able the man who filled it.

After eighteen months at home, during which he sat in the second Congress as delegate, assisted in the compilation of the Declaration of Independence, and presided over the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention, he went as envoy from the States to France, where he took up his residence at Passy, then a suburb of Paris, and remained till the end of the war. Before starting he converted all his available property into money, and lent the proceeds to the Revolutionary Government, and did his best to open Lord Howe's eyes to the real position of affairs in the colonies. That nobleman had taken the command of the British fleet, with a commission to treat with the insurgents in hopes of bringing about a reconciliation. For effecting this he relied much on his old friendship with Franklin and the remembrance of the efforts they had made together in England for a like object. But Franklin, while giving him full credit for sincerity in his desire for peace and reunion, warns him that no peace except "as between distinct States now at war" will ever be accepted by the colonies. Such a peace might even yet be made if England would punish the governors who had

created and fomented the discord, but he knows that Lord Howe has no power to offer, and that England in her abounding pride and deficient wisdom will not consent to, such terms. "Her fondness for conquest as a warlike nation, her lust of dominion as an ambitious one, and her thirst for a gainful monopoly as a commercial one (none of them legitimate causes of war), will all join to hide from her eyes every view of her true interests. . . . Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble china vase, the British empire; for I knew that, once broken, the separate parts could not even retain their share of the strength or value that existed in the whole, and that a perfect reunion could scarce ever be hoped for. Your lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wet my cheek when at your good sister's in London you once gave me hopes that a reconciliation might soon take place. I had the misfortune to find those expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief I was labouring to prevent. My consolation under that groundless and malevolent treatment was that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men in that country, and among the rest some share in the regard of Lord Howe."

From December, 1776, to July, 1785, Franklin represented the colonies at the French Court, proving himself a diplomatist of the first rank, and rendering his country, in her extreme need, services only second to those of George Washington. Within a few months of his landing he had roused in France an enthusiasm for the American cause which he was able to maintain through good and evil fortunes till the negotiations for peace. Deep as was the financial distress of France, and in spite of the opposition of Controller Necker, "who is not well disposed towards us, and is supposed to embarrass every measure to relieve us by grants of money," he obtained from that Government loans amounting to eighteen millions, besides free gifts from the king of at least twelve millions, "for which no returns but that of gratitude and friendship are expected," and a guarantee for the loan from Holland. He retained the confidence of the French Court and ministers, in spite of the importunity with which he had constantly to press for military and financial help, the efforts of jealous colleagues to undermine him, and of English friends (with whom he still corresponded) to wean him from the French alliance; and it was in great measure through his influence that Spain and Holland were brought into the alliance against England.

The delicacy of the position was such as to make it scarcely possible that accusations of unfaithfulness and insincerity should not be more or less plausibly made against the holder of it. As early as 1778, when the colonies were hardest pressed, emissaries from England were sounding Franklin as to a separate peace, and warning him to take care of his own safety. To one of these, Dr. Hartley, M.P., he replies characteristically: "I thank you for your kind caution, but having nearly finished

a long life, I set but little value on what remains of it. Like a draper when one chaffers with him for a remnant, I am ready to say, 'As it is only the fag-end I will not differ with you about it: take it for what you please.' Perhaps the best use such an old fellow can be put to is to make a martyr of him." And again, in 1779, remonstrating with his old friend for thinking him capable of entertaining so base a proposal as the abandonment of the French alliance: "It is worse than advising us to drop the substance for the shadow. The dog after he found his mistake might possibly have recovered his mutton, but we could never hope to be trusted again by France, or, indeed, by any other nation under heaven, . . . We know the worst you can do to us, if you have your wish, is to confiscate our estates and take our lives, to rob and murder us; and this, you have seen, we are ready to hazard rather than come again under your detested government. You must observe, my dear friend, that I am a little warm. Excuse me. It is over; only let me counsel you not to think of being sent hither on so fruitless an errand." This attitude of entire readiness to treat as an independent nation, but not to treat separately, and in the meantime to leave no stone unturned for strengthening the allies and confounding the enemy of his country, was held by Franklin with perfect consistency until, after the change of ministry and the return of his old friend Lord Shelburne to the Colonial Office in 1782, negotiations became for the first time serious, and a peace possible.

It is in regard to these negotiations that the prejudice arose against Franklin in England which has lasted till this day. He is supposed to have been vindictive and determined on forcing humiliating terms on England; to have shown unworthy suspicion himself of the English negotiators; to have instilled the same feeling into the minds of Messrs. Jay and Adams, his colleagues; and, lastly, to have been the cause of the ultimate refusal of all compensation to the loyalists, after having led the English Government to expect his assistance in this matter, upon which the king and Lord Shelburne laid the greatest stress.

It is only as to the last of these that any ground exists for the prejudice in question, and that of the flimsiest kind. Early in the preliminary negotiations, Mr. Oswald, Lord Shelburne's agent, asked Franklin for a copy of a paper of notes prepared by the doctor, upon which they had been conferring as to the conditions which might possibly be entertained. The copy was given, and contained the suggestion that so much of the Crown lands of Canada should be sold as would raise "a sufficient sum to pay for the houses burnt by the British troops and their Indians, and also to indemnify the royalists for the confiscation of their estates." The copy had scarcely left his hands when Franklin repented this suggestion, and, in reporting the negotiation to his colleague, John Adams, he omitted a copy of these "notes," merely giving their substance, as "on reflection I was not pleased with my having hinted a reparation to Tories for their forfeited estates, and

I was a little ashamed of my weakness in allowing the paper to go out of my hands." With the exception of this suggestion, which occurred in an informal conversation, there appears to be no ground for the belief that he ever did or said anything to mislead the English Government; but from that time he became undoubtedly the sternest of the American commissioners in his refusal to consider the case of the loyalists, amongst whom was his own son.

The charge of unworthy suspicion of the English negotiators stands upon even more slender foundations. So long as the negotiations were in Lord Shelburne's department, and conducted by Franklin's old friend Oswald, nothing could have been more frank than his conduct, if somewhat hard. But in June, 1782, Mr. Grenville appeared at Paris as a commissioner sent by Fox, then Foreign Secretary, who claimed that the whole matter was in his department, and who was in open antagonism with Shelburne in the Cabinet on this and other questions. Under these circumstances greater reserve on Franklin's part was only natural. "We might get on very well with either of them," he writes, "though I should prefer Oswald. . . . Mr. Grenville is clever, and seems to feel reason as readily as Mr. Oswald, though not so ready to own it. Mr. Oswald appears quite plain and sincere: I sometimes doubt Mr. Grenville. Mr. Oswald, an old man, seems now to have no desire but that of being useful in doing good: Mr. Grenville, a young man, naturally desirous of acquiring reputation, seems to aim at that of being an able negotiator. . . . I apprehend difficulties if they are both employed." And as he apprehended, so it happened, and the negotiations made no progress till late in July, when, on Fox's retirement from the Cabinet, Grenville was recalled, leaving behind him in Paris a Parthian shaft, in the shape of a report that Lord Shelburne was even yet opposed to the acknowledgment of independence. Under such circumstances the first duty of a commissioner would be reserve; and it was not overdone by Franklin.

Nor can he be fairly accused of having insisted on harder terms than his colleagues from his wish to humiliate England. When one remembers that he had obtained from Oswald, before any article had been agreed to, the indiscreet admission, "Our enemies have the ball at their feet," the wonder is that harder terms were not insisted on by him. But, in fact, Franklin never changed his ground, while his colleagues undoubtedly did so. It was Jay, not Franklin, who stood out for a preliminary declaration of independence from England—Jay and Adams, not Franklin, who were afterwards prepared to waive such a declaration, and even to negotiate separately, when they found that the French minister, De Vergennes, was not unwilling that England should delay the recognition of independence, and that Aranda the Spaniard was tracing maps of the future boundaries of the United States which his Government was prepared to propose. It is true that the other commissioners had little or no communication with Versailles, and (as Mr.

Fitzherbert informed Lord Shelburne) "not only distrust but are strongly distrusted by the Court, while Dr. Franklin keeps up (though perhaps in a less degree than formerly) his connection with the French minister, and on that account prevents his colleagues, with whom he has great influence, from persuading the American Congress to abandon their intimate connection with the Court of Versailles and place a due degree of confidence in Great Britain." All which means only that Franklin and Shelburne, both thoroughly upright and able men, were fighting a keen battle, the former to emphasize and perpetuate the alliance between his country and France, the latter to separate France and America, and to cement as close an alliance as possible between the mother-country and the new-born nation, now that reunion had become impossible. That their friendship of a quarter of a century's standing suffered, is true, and much to be regretted; but there is nothing more honourable in either career than the part played by each of them in the negotiations which ended in the treaty of January, 1783. Looking back over the hundred years which have passed since their great work was achieved, both nations may be proud of the men who accomplished it: and we doubt if any Englishman who will take the trouble to study the record will rise from it with any feeling but admiration for the steady sagacity with which Franklin stood by the allies who—to serve their own purposes, no doubt, but still staunchly and loyally—had stood by the colonies in their long and arduous struggle for independence. On the other hand, he may cordially sympathize with Shelburne's estimate of "the dreadful price" which was to be offered to America for peace, and with his efforts to use that price as a means of separating America from France, and so of obtaining "not only peace, but reconciliation, upon the noblest terms and by the noblest means."

The prejudice against Franklin on religious grounds is more intelligible, but quite as unreasonable. He was suspected of being a Free-thinker, and was professedly a philosopher and man of science; he was a friend of Tom Paine and other dreadful persons; he had actually published "An Abridgment of the Church Prayer-Book," dedicated "to the serious and discerning," by the use of which he had the audacity to suppose that religion would be furthered, unanimity increased, and a more frequent attendance on the worship of God secured. Any one of these charges was sufficient to ruin a man's religious reputation in respectable England of the last generation, but it is high time that amends were made in these days. Let us glance at the real facts. As a boy, Franklin had the disease which all thoughtful boys have to pass through, and puzzled himself with speculations as to the attributes of God and the existence of evil, which landed him in the conclusion that nothing could possibly be wrong in the world, and that vice and virtue were empty distinctions. These views he published at the mature age of nineteen, but became disgusted with them almost immediately, and

abandoned metaphysics for other more satisfactory studies. Living in the eighteenth century, when happiness was held to be "our being's end and aim," he seems to have now conformed to that popular belief; but as he came also to the conclusion that "the felicity of life" was to be attained through "truth, sincerity, and integrity in dealings between man and man," and acted up to his conclusion, no great objection from a moral or religious standpoint can be taken to this stage of his development. At the age of twenty-two he composed a little liturgy for his own use, which he fell back on when the sermons of the minister of the only Presbyterian church in Philadelphia had driven him from attendance at chapel. He did not, however, long remain unattached, and after his marriage joined the Church of England, in which he remained till the end of his life. What his sentiments were in middle life may be gathered from his advice to his daughter on the eve of his third departure for England: "Go constantly to church, whoever preaches. The act of devotion in the Common Prayer-Book is your principal business there, and if properly attended to will do more toward amending the heart than sermons. . . . I do not mean you should despise sermons, even of the preachers you dislike, for the discourse is often much better than the man, as sweet and clear waters come through very dirty earth. I am the more particular on this head as you seemed to express some inclination to leave our Church, which I would not have you do." As an old man of eighty, he reminded his colleagues of the National Convention (in moving unsuccessfully that there should be daily prayers before business) how in the beginnings of the contest with Britain "we had daily prayers in this room. . . . Do we imagine we no longer need assistance? I have lived now a long time, and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God rules in the affairs of men." Later yet, in answer to President Yates, of Yale College, who had pressed him on the subject, he writes, at the age of eighty-four, "Here is my creed: I believe in one God, the Creator of the universe; that He governs it by His providence; that He ought to be worshipped; that the most acceptable service we render to Him is doing good to His other children; that the soul of man is immortal, and will be treated with justice in another life respecting its conduct in this." These are his "fundamentals," beyond which he believes that Christ's system of morals and religion is the best the world is ever likely to see, though it has been much corrupted. As to the question of Christ's divinity, he will not dogmatize, "having never studied it, and thinking it needless to busy myself with it now, when I expect soon an opportunity of knowing the truth with less trouble." To another friend he speaks with cheerful courage of death, which "I shall submit to with the less regret as, having seen during a long life a good deal of this world, I feel a growing curiosity to be acquainted with some other; and can cheerfully, with filial confidence, resign my spirit to the conduct of that great and good Parent of man-

kind who has so graciously protected and prospered me from my birth to the present hour." One more quotation we cannot resist ; it is his farewell letter to his old friend David Hartley : " I cannot quit the coasts of Europe without taking leave of my old friend. We were long fellow-labourers in the best of all works, the work of peace. I leave you still in the field, but, having finished my day's task, I am going home to bed. Wish me a good night's rest, as I do you a pleasant evening. Adieu, and believe me ever yours most affectionately,—B. FRANKLIN."

As to his relations with Paine, they should have reassured instead of frightened the orthodox, for he did his best to keep the author of "The Rights of Man" from publishing his speculations. Franklin advises him that he will do himself mischief, and no benefit to others. "He who spits against the wind, spits in his own face." Paine is probably indebted to religion "for the habits of virtue on which you so justly value yourself. You might easily display your excellent talents of reasoning upon a less hazardous subject, and thereby obtain a rank amongst our most distinguished authors. For among us it is not necessary, as among the Hottentots, that a youth, to be raised into the company of men, should prove his manhood by beating his mother."

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to add a word as to his revision of the Prayer-Book, now that the opinion of the Church—in England, at any rate—has come round to him. It is undoubtedly, even in these days of innovation, a somewhat startling document, and shows a disregard of authority and a pursuit of brevity and clearness which mark it as the production of the native of a young and busy community, with no fear of critics before his eyes and the habit of making straight for his goal.

In our endeavour to remove the prejudices which have in great measure hindered the English public from appreciating and enjoying Franklin's life and writings, we have been unable to do more than indicate the charm which runs through the whole of these volumes, and which should win them a very wide popularity. We allude to the genial, sturdy, humorous common-sense which, even more than his shrewdness, was the secret of his uniform success in the various and difficult tasks of his long career, from the founding of the first public library and the first fire-brigade in America, to the settlement of the terms of the Peace of 1782 with the ablest European diplomatists. We may conclude, however, with a specimen or two of his characteristic sayings, in the hope that they may lead our readers to the book. When his daughter writes to him for lace and feathers, amongst other articles, from Paris, he replies by sending everything else, but declines to foster "the great pride with which she would wear anything he sent," showing it as her father's taste, with "If you wear your cambric ruffles as I do, and take care not to mend the holes, they will come in time to be lace ; and feathers, my dear girl, may be had in America from every cock's tail." "You are young, and have the world before you ; stoop,

as you go through it, and you will miss many hard thumps." "The eyes of other people are the eyes that ruin us. If all but myself were blind, I should want neither fine clothes, fine houses, nor fine furniture." "A rogue hanged out of a family does it more honour than ten that live in it." "If there be a nation that exports its beef and linen to pay for the importation of claret and porter, while its people live on potatoes, wherein does it differ from the sot, who lets his family starve and sells his clothes to buy drink?" His opposition to the creation of the Order of the Cincinnati in the States at the close of the war, and his suggestion that if "the Cincinnati go on with their project the badges should ascend to their fathers and mothers, instead of descending to their children, in obedience to the Fourth Commandment," is a delightful specimen of his method of preaching simplicity of life to his countrymen, but too long for quotation, as are the well-known papers on the "Whistle," and his "Conversation with the Gout," and "The Wreckers."

The ideal American, as he has been painted for us of late, is a man who has shaken off the yoke of definite creeds, while retaining their moral essence, and finds the highest sanctions needed for the conduct of human life in experience tempered by common sense. Franklin is generally supposed to have reached this ideal by anticipation, and there is a half-truth in the supposition. But whoever will study this great master of practical life in the picture here painted by himself, will acknowledge that it is only superficially true, and that if he never lifts us above the earth or beyond the domain of experience and common-sense, he retained himself a strong hold on the invisible which underlies it, and would have been the first to acknowledge that it was this which enabled him to control the accidents of birth, education, and position, and to earn the eternal gratitude and reverence of the great nation over whose birth he watched so wisely and whose character he did so much to form.

THOMAS HUGHES.

THE LAST JEWISH REVOLT.

I.

AFTER a sojourn of two years in Rome, the great Emperor Hadrian grew weary of repose and began afresh to dream of travel (A.D. 131).

First he visited Mauritania, then turned his steps for the second time in the direction of Greece and the East. Athens held him fast for nearly a year. He consecrated the buildings he had ordered on the occasion of his first journey. Greece was in a festive condition, and lived on him and his doings. Classical memories everywhere revived. Hadrian rendered them permanent by monuments and *cippi*; founded temples, chairs, libraries. The old world previous to dying made a pilgrimage to the places whence it sprung, and seemed to celebrate its last festivals. The Emperor presided as pontiff at these harmless solemnities, which hardly continued to amuse any but the empty-headed and the idle.

The august traveller next pursued his course through the East; visited Armenia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Judea. If we look only to externals, he was everywhere received as a tutelary divinity. Coins struck expressly for him welcomed him to every province. We still possess those of Judea. Alas! how false they were! Beneath the legend ADVENTUI AUG. IVDAEAE appears the Emperor in a noble and dignified attitude graciously receiving Judea, who presents her sons to him. We can trace in the Emperor that fine, gentle, philosophical expression of countenance that belongs to the Antonines, and seems the very personification of calm civilization holding fanaticism in check. Children bearing palms precede him. In the midst a pagan altar and a bull symbolize religious reconciliation. Judea, a *patera* in her hand, seems to participate in the sacrifice about to be offered.

This is the way in which official optimism keeps sovereigns informed. At bottom, the opposition of the East and West was only becoming more sharply defined and felt; and soon infallible symptoms no longer permitted

the Emperor to doubt of it. His benevolent eclecticism occasionally received strange shocks.

From Syria Hadrian passed into Egypt by way of Petra. His dissatisfaction and annoyance with the Orientals increased at every step. Egypt had hitherto been but little agitated. The revival of the old faiths going on on all sides now led, however, to some ferment there. It was very long since an Apis had been seen; people began to forget those old chimeras, when all at once a clamour arose: the miraculous animal had been found; every one claimed it, contended for its possession. Christianity itself was less rigid in its attitude in Egypt than elsewhere, and many pagan superstitions were mixed up with it. Hadrian diverted himself with these absurdities. A pleasant letter, written by him to his brother-in-law Servian, has been handed down to us:—

“ This Egypt that thou didst use to boast of to me, my dear Servian, I find frivolous, suspended to a thread, fluttering at every breath of the prevailing fashion. There the adorers of Serapis are at the same time Christians, and those who call themselves bishops of Christ are devotees of Serapis. There is no president of a Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no Christian priest, who does not add to his functions those of the astrologer, diviner, and charlatan. The patriarch himself when he visits Egypt is forced by some to adore Serapis, by others to adore Christ. Seditious, vain, impertinent generation! Opulent, rich, productive city, where no one lives in idleness! Some blow glass, others make paper, others are dyers. All profess and practise a business of some sort. The gouty find something to do, the purblind have employment, the very blind are not without occupation, the maimed even do not remain inactive. Their only god is money. That is the divinity that Christians, Jews, people of every sort, adore. One regrets to find so little morality in a town assuredly worthy, both as to size and productiveness, to be the capital of Egypt. I have granted it everything; have restored its ancient privileges, have added new, have forced them to thank me while I was present; but no sooner had I left than they began to gossip about my son Verus, and to say on the subject of Antinous what thou I think knowest. For all revenge I wish that they may perpetually eat their chickens fecundated in a way that is best unmentioned. I have had forwarded to thee some *allassontes* glasses (of changing colour), offered to me by the priest of the temple; they are specially dedicated to thee and to my sister. Use them at dinner on festive occasions; but see, however, that our Africanus do not let himself make too much use of them.”

From Egypt Hadrian returned to Syria. There he found disaffection. People were growing bolder. Antioch received him ill; he regained Athens, where he was adored. There he heard of grave events. The Jews were arming for the third time. The access of furious madness of 117 seemed about to recommence. Israel felt a deeper repugnance than ever to Roman government. Every malefactor who revolted against authority was a saint. Every brigand became a patriot. To arrest a thief appeared a treachery. “ Vinegar, son of Wine,” said a Rabbi to a Jew whose function it was to hunt out malefactors, “ wherefore dost thou denounce the people of God?” Elias also meets this worthy gendarme, and counsels him to throw up his calling as soon as possible.

It would seem that Roman authority on its side erred in more ways than one. The administration of Hadrian daily became less tolerant

towards those Oriental sects which the Emperor turned into ridicule. Many priests were of opinion that circumcision as well as castration was a punishable malpractice. The cases in which such as had had recourse to epispaſtic measures were forced by fanatics to be recircumcised, especially afforded grounds for prosecution. To what point did Imperial justice advance in this wrong direction, contravening liberty of conscience? We are ignorant as to this. Hadrian was certainly not a man prone to excesses. In Jewish tradition all the odium of these measures weighs on Tineius Rufus, then the Pro-prætor legate of the province of Judea, whose name was changed to that of Tyrannus Rufus.

These vexatious interferences, which it was easy to evade in the only cases of much importance to pious families—those, namely, connected with the circumcision of children—were not the principal causes of the war that ensued. What really placed arms in the hands of the Israelites was the horror occasioned them by the transformation of Jerusalem; or, in other words, the progress of the building of *Ælia Capitolina*. The contemplation of a pagan tower rising on the ruins of the Holy City, of the site of the Temple profaned, of pagan sacrifices, of theatres built with the very stones of the venerated edifice, of strangers dwelling in the city that God had given to the Jews,—all this seemed to them the very climax of sacrilege and defiance.

Far from desiring to return to this new and profaned Jerusalem, they shunned it as an abomination. The South of Judea, on the contrary, was more than ever Jewish land. There a number of large villages had grown up, all capable of defending themselves, thanks to the arrangement of the houses, which were crowded in a compact mass on the summit of the hills. Bether had become for the Israelites of these districts a second Holy City, an equivalent for Sion. The fanatical population procured themselves arms by a singular stratagem. They were bound to furnish the Romans with a certain quantity of warlike weapons; these they made badly, so as to insure their being rejected, and the condemned arms remained at their own disposal. In default of visible fortifications they constructed immense subterraneous works, and the defences of Bether were completed by advanced works in small stones. The Jews left in Egypt and Libya hastened thither to swell the mass of the rebels.

We must do this justice to the enlightened portion of the nation, that they took no part in a movement involving prodigious ignorance of the world and complete blindness. The Pharisees in general maintained an attitude of suspicion and reserve. Many of their doctors fled into Galilee, others into Greece, to avoid the impending storm. Many made no secret of their fidelity to the Empire, and even attributed to it legitimate claims. Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah seems to have acted in a conciliatory manner up to extreme old age, and it was after his time, say the Talmudists, that good counsel and reflection were lost. We can observe in the circumstances under consideration what might have

been invariably seen for more than a hundred years—the people easily duped by the faintest breath of Messianic hope, rushing forward in spite of their doctors, who for their part had no thought save for their casuistry; and if indeed they died, did not die fighting, but guarding themselves from any failure in respect to the law.

The Christians resisted temptation even better. Although revolt might, indeed, have gratified the enmity of some of them against the Roman Empire, an instinctive mistrust of whatever proceeded from fanatical Israel arrested them on the dangerous incline. The Christian course had already been decided on. The form their resistance to the Empire took was not rebellion, but martyrdom. They were pretty numerous in Judea, and, unlike the orthodox Jews, even permitted themselves to inhabit *Ælia*. Naturally the Jews sought to influence these their quasi-countrymen, but the disciples of Jesus were already very far removed from all terrestrial policy. Their Master had for ever buried the hopes of a material patriotism and Messianism. The reign of Hadrian was anything but unfavourable to the Christian churches. They did not stir. Nay, there were even found among them voices predicting to the Jews the consequences of their stubbornness, and the extermination that awaited them.

II.

All Jewish revolts had connected themselves more or less with Messianic hopes, but no one had positively claimed to be the Messiah. This was what now happened. Doubtless, under the influence of Christian ideas and in imitation of Jesus, a personage gave himself out as the long-expected celestial envoy, and succeeded in seducing the people. We can only discern as through a cloud the history of this singular episode. The Jews, who alone could have told us what was the real intimate idea and secret motive of the agitators, have only afforded us on this subject a series of confused images resembling the recollections of a man who has come through a fit of delirium. They had no longer any Josephus among them. Barcochebas, as the Christians call him, remains an insoluble problem, upon which imagination itself cannot work with any chance of hitting upon the truth.

The name of his father or of the place in which he was born was Coziba, and he was never called anything but the "Son of Coziba" (Bar or Ben Coziba). His true proper name is unknown. Perhaps his followers were led intentionally to conceal his name and that of his family in the interest of the Messianic part he had to play. He was, it appears, a nephew of Rabbi Eleazar of Modin, an *agadist* of great reputation, who had lived much with R. Gamaliel II. and his companions. Perhaps the memory of the Maccabees, which was a still living one at Modin and consecrated by a superb monument, excited a patriotic heroism in Bar-Coziba. His courage seems to have been beyond doubt, but the paucity of our historical data does not allow us

to say more. Did his character indeed possess seriousness, religious enthusiasm, fanaticism? Was he a late but sincere Messianist? Or ought we rather to see in this equivocal personage a mere charlatan, a perverted imitator of Jesus, a gross impostor, nay, a scoundrel, as Eusebius and St. Jerome declare him to have been? We are quite ignorant on this head. The one circumstance which might weigh in his favour is that he obtained the adherence of the chief Jewish doctor of the time, one who, from his mental habitudes, ought to have proved the most opposed to the chimeras of an impostor: we mean the Rabbi Aquiba.

Rabbi Aquiba had been for long years the highest authority among the Jews. They likened him to Esdras, and even to Moses. In general, the doctors were little partial to agitators. Occupied with their own discussions, they made the whole destiny of Israel to consist in the observance of the law; their Messianic dreams were limited to the realization of the Mosaic ideal by scrupulous devotees. How, then, was Aquiba able to involve the people, whose confidence he possessed, in a positive act of madness? Perhaps his popular origin and democratic tendency to contradict the Sadducean tradition contributed to mislead him. Perhaps, too, the absurdity of his exegesis deprived him of all practical rectitude. One can never with impunity trifle with good sense or strain the springs of the mind at the risk of breaking them. In any case the fact appears certain. Difficult though it be to conceive, Aquiba did recognize the Messiahship of Bar-Coziba. In some sort he bestowed on him investiture in presence of the people by solemnly committing to him the rod of command, and holding the stirrup for him when he mounted his war horse to inaugurate his reign as Messiah. The name of Bar-Coziba was unfortunate and lent itself to unlucky allusions. Aquiba, regarding, as he did, the one who bore it as the predestined Saviour of Israel, is said to have applied to his Messiah Numbers xxiv. 17, "A star" (Kokab) "shall come out of Jacob,"—a verse to which was ascribed a Messianic meaning. Thus, the name of Bar-Coziba was changed into that of Bar-Kokaba, "The son of the star."

Bar-Coziba, being thus recognized by the man who, without official title indeed, but in virtue of a kind of general acceptance, passed as the religious guide of the Israelitish people, became the head of the revolt, and war was decided on. At first the Romans took no notice of these foolish agitations. Bether, in an out-of-the-way situation, and far from the great roads, attracted little of their attention; but when the movement had spread over all Judea, and the Jews everywhere began to form threatening groups, they were obliged to open their eyes. Attacks, ambuscades against Roman authority multiplied and became murderous. And moreover, the movement—like those of 68 and 117—had a tendency to spread all over the East. The Arab brigands, on the borders of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, given back to anarchy by the destruction of the Nabalian kingdom of Petra, discerned a prospect of pillaging Syria and Egypt. The commotion was general. Those who had

practised epispasm in order to escape from the capitation, now submitted anew to a painful operation in order not to be excluded from the hopes of Israel. Some so entirely believed that the Messianic time had indeed come, that they considered themselves authorized to pronounce the name of Jehovah as it is written.

During Hadrian's stay in Egypt and Syria the conspirators dissembled, but no sooner had the Emperor left for Athens than the revolt broke out. It appears that a rumour was circulated of the Emperor being ill and stricken with leprosy; Ælia, with its Roman colony, was strongly guarded; the *Legio Decima Fretensis* continued to garrison it; and no doubt the road between Ælia and Cæsarea, a town which was the centre of Roman governments, remained equally free. Hence Ælia was never hemmed in by the insurrection. It was easy to maintain its communications, thanks to a belt of colonies established to the west and north of the city, and especially thanks to the situations of Nicopolis and Lydda, of which the Romans were secure.

It is therefore probable that the rebels in their march towards the north did not go beyond Bether, and never reached Jerusalem. But all the villages of Judea which were not garrisoned proclaimed the independence of Israel. Bether, more particularly, became a kind of small capital—a Jerusalem in expectation—on a level with the greater, which it was hoped would soon be conquered. The situation of Bether was one of the strongest possible; it was the head of a line commanding all the valleys of the insurgent district, and rendered almost impregnable by enormous works, the remains of which are still to be seen.

The first care of the insurgents was the monetary question. One of the daily tortures faithful Jews had to undergo was the handling of money bearing the effigy of the Emperor and idolatrous images. For religious offerings, more particularly, coins of the Asmonean princes, which still circulated in the country, were assiduously sought out, or else those struck in the time of the first revolt, when the Asmonean coinage had been imitated. The new insurrection was too poor and too ill provided with tools to issue new types. Its members were contented to withdraw from circulation such pieces as bore the images of Flavius and Trajan, and to strike them anew with orthodox types that the people were familiar with, and which had in their eyes a national significance. It is probable that some ancient coins were discovered and facilitated the operation. The beautiful coins of Simon Maccabeus, the first Jewish prince who ever coined money, were especially chosen for this purpose. Their era, which was that of "the liberty of Israel," or "of Jerusalem," pointed them out as expressly made for existing circumstances. Still more appropriate were those that displayed the temple surmounted by a star, or those presenting the simple image of the two trumpets, destined, according to the law, to convoke Israel to the holy war. The superimposed impression was coarsely done, and in a great number of coins the primitive Roman type is still visible.

This coinage is called "the money of Coziba," or "the money of the revolt." As it was partly fictitious, it lost, later on, much of its value.

The war was long and terrible. It lasted over two years, and the best generals seem to have been worn out by it. Tineius Rufus, finding himself outnumbered, asked for help. His colleague, Publicius Marcellus, legate of Syria, joined him in all haste, but both were baffled. In order to crush the insurrection, it was necessary to summon from his command in Britain the first captain of his day, Sextus Julius Severus. On him was bestowed the title of Legate of the province of Judea in the place of Tineius Rufus. Quintus Lollius Urbicus seconded him as the legate of Hadrian.

The rebels never showed themselves in the open plain, but they were masters of the heights, where they raised fortifications, hollowing out between those crenelated villages of theirs covered ways and subterranean communications lighted from above by openings admitting the air. These secret tunnels served them as places of refuge when they were driven back, and enabled them to go and defend another position. Poor race! Chased from its own soil, it would fain sink into the bowels of the earth rather than quit it, or suffer it to be profaned. This mole-like warfare was an extremely bloody one. Jewish fanaticism equalled in intensity its outbreak in 70. Julius Severus never ventured to come to an engagement with his foes; seeing their numbers and their despair, he feared to expose the heavy Roman masses to the dangers of a war of barricades and fortified mounds. He attacked the rebels separately, and thanks to the number of his soldiers and the skill of his lieutenants, he almost always succeeded in hemming them in in their trenches and starving them.

Bar-Coziba, at bay before the impossible, became daily more violent. His sway was regal, he ravaged the whole country round. As to his part of Messiah, it would appear that in order to sustain it he did not shrink from gross imposture. The refusal of the Christians to admit his Messiahship and make common cause with him was a source of much irritation. He ended by persecuting them most cruelly. The admitted Messiahship of Jesus was tantamount to the denial of his, and formed a grave obstacle to his plans. Those who refused to deny and blaspheme the name of Jesus were slain, scourged, tortured. Jude, who appears to have been at the time bishop of Jerusalem, may have figured among his victims. The political indifference of the Christians, and their loyal fidelity to the empire, must, to the fanatic Jews, have borne the semblance of a want of patriotism. It appears, indeed, that reasonable Jews themselves frankly expressed their discontent. One day when Aquiba exclaimed, on catching sight of Bar-Coziba, "Behold the Messiah," Rabbi Johanan ben Torta replied to him, "Aquiba, the grass shall have grown between thy jaws before the Son of David shall come."

Rome, as always, ended by overcoming. Each centre of resistance fell in turn. Fifty of the improvised fortresses that the rebels had built

for themselves, and nine hundred and fifty-five villages, were taken and destroyed. Beth Rimmon, on the frontiers of Idumea, retained the memory of a fearful slaughter of fugitives. The siege of Bether was particularly long and difficult; the last extremities of hunger and thirst were there endured; Bar-Coziba perished there, but nothing is known of the circumstances of his death.

The massacre was horrible. One hundred and eighty thousand Jews were killed in the several encounters. As to the number that perished by hunger, fire, and disease, it is incalculable. Women and children were slaughtered in cold blood. Judea literally became a desert; wolves and hyenas entered its dwellings howling. Many of the towns of the Darom were ruined for ever, and the desolate aspect that the country presents at this day is the living witness of a catastrophe that took place seventeen centuries and a half ago.

The Roman army also had been severely tried. Hadrian, writing to the Senate from Athens, does not employ the customary Imperial preamble: *Si vos liberique vestri valetis, bene est; ego quidem et exercitus valemus*. Severus was recompensed as he deserved for this well-conducted campaign. The Senate, at the suggestion of Hadrian, decreed him triumphal ornaments, and he was raised to the dignity of Legate of Syria. The army of Judea was laden with rewards. The Emperor received the imperial salutation for the second time.

Those of the conquered who were not killed were sold at the same price as horses at the annual Terebinth fair near Hebron. This was the spot where Abraham was supposed to have been encamped when he received the visit of the three divine personages. The field where this fair was held, marked out carefully by a rectangular boundary, still exists. Thenceforth a fatal memory was associated in the mind of the Jews with the spot, hitherto so sacred in their eyes. They no longer spoke of the Terebinth fair but with horror. Such as did not find purchasers there were taken to Gaza, and exposed for sale at another fair that Hadrian had instituted. As for the unfortunates that could not be got rid of in Palestine, they were transported into Egypt, numbers were shipwrecked, others died of hunger, others again were slaughtered by the Egyptians, who had not forgotten the atrocities committed by the Jews in those very regions eighteen years before. Two brothers who still continued their resistance at Kafar Kharouba were, with their partisans, annihilated.

Nevertheless, the caverns of Judea still contained a crowd of unfortunates who did not dare to quit them for fear of meeting their death. Their life was a horrible one; every unusual sound seemed to them to denote the approach of the enemy, then in their panic they rushed off, crushing each other to death. They had nothing to satisfy their hunger, except the bodies of their kindred, and of these they ate. It would appear that in certain cases Roman authority, in order to render the sense of chastisement still more vivid, forbade the burying of the dead. Judea

was like a vast charnel-house. The wretches who succeeded in reaching the desert esteemed themselves the favoured of God.

All, assuredly, had not deserved this severe chastisement. On this occasion, as too often happens, the wise had to pay for the fools. A nation is a solidarity; the individual who has in no way contributed to the faults of his countrymen, who has even groaned over them, is no less punished than the rest. The first duty of a community is to hold its absurd elements in check. Now the notion of retreating out of that great Mediterranean confederation created by Rome was absurdity itself. In proportion as the gentle and pacific Jew, who only asked liberty to meditate on the law, is worthy of the sympathies of the historian, our principles oblige us to be severe upon a Bar-Coziba plunging his country into an abyss of woe, or upon an Aquiba lending the support of his authority to popular folly. Respect is, indeed, due to whosoever sheds his blood in a cause he deems righteous, but this does not entitle him to approbation. The Israelitish fanatics were not fighting for liberty, but for the theocracy, for liberty to vex pagans and exterminate whatever they judged to be evil. The ideal they sought after would have been an unbearable condition. Comparable for intolerance to the melancholy Asmonean epoch, it would have been the reign of zealots, radicals of the worst sort. It would have been the massacre of the infidels—in short, the terror. All the Liberals of the second century viewed it in this light. A man of high intelligence, belonging, like the Jews, to a noble and conquered race, the antiquary Pausanias expresses himself thus, "In my time reigned that Hadrian, who showed so much respect to all gods, and had the welfare of his subjects so much at heart. He never undertook any war without being forced to it. As to the Hebrews, neighbours of Syria, it was because they rebelled that he conquered them."

III.

The immediate consequence of this insane rebellion was a real persecution of Judaism. A tribute still heavier than the *Fiscus Judaicus* imposed by Vespasian now weighed on all Jews. The exercise of the most essential portions of the Mosaic religion, such as circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath and of Feast days, even simple customs apparently insignificant, were all forbidden under pain of death. The one fact of teaching the law led to prosecution; Jewish renegades, turning spies, tracked the faithful who gathered together in the most secret places they could find to study the sacred code; they were reduced to reading it on their house-tops. Doctors were pursued with inveterate animosity; rabbinical ordinations subjected the confirmed and the confirming alike to pain of death. There were numerous martyrs in Judea and in Galilee; to be a Jew was looked on as a crime throughout Syria. This seems to have been the time of the execution of the two brothers Julianus and Pappus, who remain

celebrated in Jewish tradition for having preferred death to an apparent violation of the law publicly committed. They were offered water in a coloured glass that it might be supposed they had drunk pagan wine; they refused to drink.

It is about this time that we find the schools of the Casuists most occupied with distinguishing between the precepts that may be infringed to escape death and those for which martyrdom has to be suffered. The doctors generally admit that in times of persecution all observances may be given up, and three prohibitions only observed—idolatry, fornication (that is, illegal marriages), and murder. Prominence was given to the not unreasonable principle: "It is suicide to resist the orders of the Emperor." It was admitted that religious services might be kept secret; and instead of a noisy celebration of infant circumcision, it was held enough to announce it by the sound of hand-mills. Further, it was pointed out that, according to Leviticus xviii. 5, the observance of the law produces life, and that consequently he who dies for the law is responsible for his death; hence, when placed between two precepts, observance of the law, conservation of one's own life, one is bound to obey the second as the most imperative, at least when death is certain, just as in a grave illness one may take medicine into which impure substances enter. Another point which was equally agreed on was that death must be met rather than consent to the public violation of the least commandment.

Finally, all agreed in placing the duty of teaching above every other obligation. It was at Lydda especially that these questions were agitated, and this town had, indeed, celebrated martyrs who were called "the slain of Lydda."

What rendered the position of these martyrs singularly painful was that great doubt as to Providence which harasses the mind of the Jew the moment he is no longer prosperous and triumphant. The Christian, entirely depending on a future life, is never more firm in his faith than when he is persecuted. The Jewish martyr has not the same certainty. "Where is now your God?" is the ironical question that he always believes himself to hear from the mouth of the heathen. Rabbi Ismael ben Elischa never ceases his conflict with the thoughts that rose in his soul and in the souls of his companions against the Divine justice. "Hast thou still confidence in thy God?" was the question put to him. "Though He should slay me, I should hope in Him," answered Ismael, using a wrongly interpreted expression of Job's.

Aquiba, who had been long a prisoner, never ceased, spite of his captivity, to maintain his relations with his disciples. "Prepare yourselves for death, dreadful days are at hand," were words always in his mouth. Some private teaching of his of which the Romans received information led to his being put to death. He was flayed, we are told, with red-hot iron hooks. While he was being torn to pieces he

went on crying, "Jehovah is our God; Jehovah is the *only* (*éhad*) God." His voice dwelt lingeringly on this word *only* till he expired. Then a celestial voice was heard: "Happy Aquiba, who died pronouncing the word '*only*!'"

Israel did not arrive at the idea of immortality till late and through successive experiences. Martyrdom, by a kind of necessity, brought about that belief. How could it be pretended that those scrupulous observers of the law who died for it had their recompense here below? The answer that sufficed for such cases as those of Job and Tobias no longer sufficed here. How speak of a long and happy life for heroes expiring in atrocious torments? Either their God was unjust, or the saints thus tortured were great criminals. We see, indeed, mediæval martyrs sustaining this last thesis with a kind of despair, and declaring when led to the stake that they had deserved it, having committed all kinds of crimes. But such a paradox was rare. The reign of a thousand years reserved for the saints was the first solution essayed for this formidable problem. Later, it was a received doctrine that ascensions to heaven in spirit, apocalypses, contemplation of the sublime secrets of the Cabala, were the martyrs' rewards. But in proportion as the apocalyptic spirit died away, the *tikva*, that is to say, the invincible trust of man in the justice of God, assumed forms similar to the permanent Paradise of Christians. Still, never did this faith become an absolute dogma with the Israelites; there was no trace of it in the *Thora*, and how could it be supposed that God had purposely deprived the ancient saints of so fundamental a dogma?

Henceforth all hope of seeing the temple rebuilt was lost. The very consolation of dwelling near the holy places had to be renounced. The kind of reverence that the Jewish people had for the soil that they believed had been given them of God, was the evil that Roman authority was determined to cure at any price, so as to cut for the future at the root of all Judaic wars. An edict drove the Jews from Jerusalem and its environs on pain of death. The very sight of Jerusalem was denied to them. On only one day of the year, the anniversary of the sacking of the city, they obtained an authorization to come and weep over the ruins of the temple, and to anoint with oil a certain pierced stone, which they regarded as marking the site of the Holy of Holies. And even this permission was dearly bought. "On that day," says St. Jerome, "you might see a mournful crowd of people—miserable without availing to win pity—assemble, approach. Decrepit women, old men in rags, all weep—and behold, while the tears are running down their cheeks, while they raise their livid arms, and tear their dishevelled hair, a soldier draws near and bids them pay for the right of weeping a little longer." The rest of Judea was also forbidden to the Israelites, but less rigorously, for certain localities, as, for instance, Lydda, always retained their Jewish peculiarities.

The Samaritans, who had taken no part in the war, hardly suffered

less in consequence of it than the Jews. Gerizim, like Moriah, had its temple of Jupiter, the prohibition of circumcision hampered them in the free exercise of their cultus, and the memory of Bar-Coziba appears to have been laden with maledictions among them.

The building of Ælia Capitolina went on more actively than ever. All efforts were made to efface the memory of a past fraught with menace. The old name of Jerusalem was almost forgotten. Ælia replaced it throughout the East, and a hundred and fifty years later Jerusalem was a term of ancient geography that no one knew any more. The town became filled with profane edifices, forums, baths, temples, theatres, tetranymphea, &c. Statues were abundant everywhere; and the subtle mind of the Jews found in them ironical intentions that Hadrian's engineers assuredly did not entertain. Thus, over the gate which led to Bethlehem, there was a marble sculpture in which it was thought swine might be distinguished, and this was considered a cutting sarcasm against the conquered people. But they forgot that the boar was a Roman emblem, and figured on the standards of the legions. The outer boundary of the town was slightly changed on the south side, and became nearly what it is at the present day. Mount Sion remained outside the walls, and was covered with market-gardens. Those parts of the town which were not rebuilt, afforded masses of displaced masonry, which served as quarries for new buildings. The substructure of the temple of Herod (the present *Harâm*) excited amazement by its solidity; the Christians early pretended that those colossal foundations would only be shaken asunder at the coming of Antichrist.

On the site of the temple, as we have already said, rose the temple of Jupiter Capitoline. Bacchus, Serapis, Astarte, the Dioscuri were associated therein with the chief divinity. The statues of the Emperor were, as usual, numerous; one at least of these was an equestrian one. The statues of Jupiter and Venus were likewise raised near Golgotha. When, at a later epoch, the sacred topography of the Christians became fixed, this proximity occasioned great scandal, and was looked upon as an intentional outrage. It was even supposed that the Emperor had meant to profane Bethlehem by installing there the worship of Adonis.

Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and Verus occupied themselves with the embellishment of the city and the amelioration of the roads leading to it. These public works irritated true Jews. "After all, the works of this nation are admirable," said Rabbi Judah-bar-Ilai one day to two of his friends who were sitting with him. "They establish forums, construct bridges, build *thermæ*." "A great merit truly!" replied Simeon-ben-Jochai; "it is because of their utility that they do all this; forums for brothels, baths for amusement, bridges for the sake of toll." The hatred of Greek life, always lively in the Jew, was redoubled at the sight of a material renewal which appeared its dazzling triumph.

Thus ended the last attempt of the Jewish people to continue a nation possessing a city and a definite territory. It is with good reason that

the war of Bar-Coziba is called in the Talmud, "The war of extermination." Some serious commotions, and as it were revivals of quenched fires, occurred, indeed, in the first years of Antoninus; but they were easily repressed. From henceforth Israel has no name nor country, and begins the wandering life which is, during centuries, to mark it out for the world's wonder. In the Roman Empire the civil position of the Jew was lost irreparably. Had Palestine so willed, it might have become a province like Syria; its fate would neither have been better nor worse than that of the other provinces. In the first century many Jews had attained to posts of extraordinary importance. This will no more be seen; it seems as though the Jews had vanished under the earth. They are only heard of as beggars who have taken refuge within the jurisdiction of Rome, seated at the gates of Aricia, assailing chariots and clinging to their wheels in order to obtain some trifle from the compassion of travellers. They are a flock of *rayahs*, having, indeed, their statutes and personal magistrate, but outside of the common law, forming no portion of the State, occupying a position somewhat similar to that of the Tzigani in Europe. There was no longer a single rich, notable, respected Jew to be found dealing on equal terms with men of the world. The great Jewish fortunes only reappeared in the sixth century,—especially among the Visigoths of Spain,—in consequence of the false ideas spread by Christianity about usury and commerce. The Jew then became, and continued for a great part of the Middle Ages, a necessary personage, without whom the world could not accomplish the most simple transaction. It was reserved for modern Liberalism to put an end to this exceptional position. The decree of the Constituent Assembly of 1791 re-made the Jews members of a nation and citizens.

ERNEST RENAN.

COMPULSORY PROVIDENCE AS A CURE FOR PAUPERISM.

IT may be within the knowledge of some of my readers that an essay bearing my signature was published in November last, under the title of "National Insurance," in which I ventured to indicate what appeared (and still appears) to me a possible means of vastly diminishing our poor rates, and the pauperism which they promote as well as relieve, by making every unit of our population, at a reasonable cost, and by a reasonable method, personally independent of parish relief, in times of sickness and old age. Starting from the consideration that young single men's wages are not very much lower than those of married men, who are able generally to support not only themselves but wives and children, I ventured to assert, what few persons acquainted with the condition of young wage-earners have been found to deny, that the average earners, even of the lowest wage, might, somewhere between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one, make, *if they chose*, a lifelong provision against want in sickness and old age.

I pointed out some present difficulties in the way of thrifty youths securing such a provision, and sketched out the plan of a National Universal Benefit Club, which might obviate the present insecurity of provision by giving an absolute national security, and might meet possible objections against its cost by making that cost vastly less than the ordinary amount necessary, in an ordinary club, to secure such benefits as I proposed.

But there was something more to point out than how thrifty young men, desirous of securing themselves from potential or actual pauperism, might easily effect their purpose. I had also to consider the case of the thriftless, who, relying on what they falsely imagine their inalienable

right to rate relief whenever they choose to throw themselves, as destitute, upon their parish, will take no steps of their own accord to obviate destitution.

With regard to these two classes of young men, I laid down the following positions:—If the labouring classes can make their own provision, and will do so, they should be shown how. If they can, and will not, they should be compelled.

This latter position, as I expected, has met with vigorous objection from some most excellent men; to no one of whom I would yield (as I feel no one of them would yield to me) in heartfelt sympathy for the noble efforts many of our working-men make for independence, and in heartfelt pity for the wretchedness that wilful paupers bring upon themselves and the nation.

One of the most deliberate expressions of such objection was made in a lecture delivered on the 2nd of May in Exeter Hall, by Sir G. Young, who is reported by the daily papers to have said, “he would not deal personally with Mr. Blackley’s tremendous position: ‘If the labouring classes can make their own provision, and will not, they should be compelled.’”

It struck me, in reading the report, that the epithet he used was a singularly happy one; but, of course, in a different point of view from the lecturer’s; for feeling, as I do, that no rational being can prove it to be as just to compel a thrifty man to provide for his thriftless neighbour as to compel the thriftless neighbour, if able, to provide for himself, I feel my position to be indeed tremendous, not in its novelty, but in its self-evidence; not in its audacity, but in its logic; not because it is tyrannical, but simply because it is true.

I, therefore, without the slightest irony, thank the author of the epithet “tremendous” for the suggestion, as well as for the care with which, in the interests of what he believed to be the truth, he applied his great abilities and long experience to the criticism of a proposal, with which (I trust only till he have read this paper) he has found himself unable fully to concur.

I hope to have, if it can be obtained, an opportunity of answering his objections *seriatim* before an audience similar, if not identical with that to which he addressed his lecture; and, therefore, postpone till that occasion a reply to some parts of his paper. But several of the objections adduced by him were made by others before him, and are treated in the present essay.

Of course I cordially welcome even adverse criticism of my proposals; it is the proper and patriotic contribution which every well-informed and thoughtful man should bring to the solution of a problem of so great difficulty and gravity as the diminution of our enormous pauperism; but as the things said on either side of the subject are of far more importance than the persons who say them, and as some of the objections I shall meet have been offered by more than one speaker or writer, I shall

abstain, in the following pages, from the unnecessary introduction and reiteration of names of gentlemen who have paid me the compliment of examining my proposals.*

It will dispose very briefly of several of the objections made if I first point out two facts which some opponents of my plan have entirely overlooked: firstly, that I never proposed the application of compulsion to any single individual whose age should be or have been above twenty-one years at the date of introduction of the measure; and, secondly, that the plan I proposed is advocated entirely on the ground of its being, in the fullest sense of the word, a national accomplishment of a national duty, and is not to be regarded, and consequently by no means to be justly described, as a matter of *Government* interference or policy, of *State* provision or aid. Readers who did me the honour of attentively perusing my former article will remember that (except in quotation from documents which I had no power to alter) I carefully avoided the terms *State* and *Government*, and I venture to refer specially to this point at the outset of my present writing, to guard against embarrassment of the discussion by confusion of terms.

For, if my plan is to make every member of our nation independent, I might surely be ashamed to construct it on a basis of beggary. It was for this reason that I emphasized my statement that "*It need not cost one shilling of public money*," since its doing so would stultify at once the logic of the proposal, and diminish the good it was intended to effect.

In a word my plan amounts to this: every unit of the nation *to make his own provision, with his own money*, against destitution in sickness and old age; to make it in such a way that every man, for the same sum, secures the same provision for himself as every other man; and that the whole function of the State in the matter should be to act, *by consent of the nation*, as collector of each man's own insurance fund, and as banker to that fund when once collected.

Here it will, I hope, be seen once for all, that in advocating this change I repudiate every notion of seeking State charity or causing

* Want of space obliges me to relegate to a foot-note a brief notice of earlier literary labourers in the field of national insurance, with whose writings I was generally unfamiliar at the time my former essay was written. The Rev. J. Y. Stratton, the Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P., Mr. Lamport, and Mr. James S. Randell (author of an able Paper read before the Social Science Congress at Cheltenham last year), are well known as strong advocates for the establishment of a Post Office Friendly Society, of a voluntary, not a compulsory sort. The last-named gentleman, on reading my article, immediately did me the great kindness of sending me all his notes, calculations, and memoranda made on the subject, during a number of years past, a kindness which I most gratefully acknowledge. Mr. Charles Ashby, a working plumber, enclosed me (in a communication touching several points of the subject, and written in a style that would do credit to the pages of our best Reviews) the printed announcement of a set of resolutions propounded by him before the London Mechanics' Institute in 1869, containing many of my chief suggestions; and the *Mark Lane Express* brought for the first time to my knowledge the fact that the Rev. C. D. Francis, vicar of Tysoe, read a Paper before the Banbury Chamber of Agriculture, in January, 1873, which, though not including two leading features of my plan (payment *in advance* and *in early manhood*) would, I doubt not, had he been as fortunate as myself in obtaining public hearing for his views, have antedated the discussion (and, as I dare to hope, the adoption) of this great and pressing measure by nearly six years of valuable time.

State expense ; and make the plan as truly independent as I desire its adoption to make the people who adopt it.

This, then, will meet, and I hope finally dispose of, an objection which some persons have advanced against my plan—namely, that “Government should not incur so much additional responsibility.” For this is an objection made from not understanding my proposal.

Government is to undertake *no money responsibility* whatever in the matter. If we take (for discussion’s sake) £10, a convenient round number, as the sum likely to be needed for each individual’s *minimum* providence (on the supposition that *everybody* is compelled to insure it) and it be found on valuation in five, ten, twenty, thirty years (or at any time, for, if requisite, the fund might be annually valued), that that sum were too little to secure the required benefits, the law might immediately redress the balance by requiring, instead of £10, say £10 5s., £10 15s., or whatever might be declared needful from *all future* insurers. This is the course adopted in all really good friendly societies at the present time, and could be done without any possibility of ignorant objection in the case of a compulsory society, such as the national one would be. In fact, the executive could run no risk if it had always the simplest possible means at hand of remedying deficiencies. All this was suggested in my first article by the statement that the national club should be a mutual club. As, however, some eminent men have overlooked this special point in objecting to the possible risk “Government” might be undertaking, I have been obliged to recur to it, and hope that my doing so may prevent the discussion of this subject being ever complicated again by importing into its consideration the question—which need never arise—of possible Government loss consequent on its undertaking the *management* (not the *supply*) of the national insurance fund.

I now proceed to examine, firstly, objections of principle which have been made against my plan, and may be permitted to take the easiest first.

And the fact of its being the easiest is an omen which fills me with confidence as to the ultimate success of the system I propose. For I had expected compulsion to prove the most difficult point of all ; that we should have had some reason assigned against it, remote, abstruse, subtle, hard to comprehend, perhaps, but finally convincing and irresistible ; that the gigantic prejudice existing in this matter might, after all, unmask some unexpected battery of logic, and, with one volley of unanswerable argument, blow the mad notion of compulsion into indistinguishable atoms. Nothing of the kind—the battery proves to be mounted with dummies, the fort is empty, the garrison is gone! Literally there is *no* objection ; not one of my multitudinous critics have touched the point at all !

King George IV., on his Irish visit in 1821, held an installation of knights in St. Patrick’s Cathedral. The organist, in the enthusiasm

of the occasion, was tempted to use the grand swell of the organ, the tremendous effect of which it had been believed for a hundred years would be to level the whole building with the ground. As he played, and the grand procession filed past beneath his seat, and his heart swelled with the splendour of the scene, "Well, be it so," he thought—

"Si fractus illabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinæ!"

He pulled the fatal stop—the grand vibration, so long unheard, beat full through the old building, and shook the hearts of all the hearers—but no harm was done—and every organist since then has used the swell without a thought of fear.

If, as may be supposed, a curious sense of disappointment mixed with that organist's exultation, his feelings correspond exactly with my own at finding, when the necessity of compulsion in national providence has been sounded forth at last in very reasonable trepidation, that it has awakened no injurious echo, has met no wave of contradiction, and has done no particle of harm.

But, it may be asked, if no objection be made, what am I here answering? So I must distinguish. No sensible objection has been expressed against which rational argument can be directed. But the sentimental one is still whispered here and there, which says, "I do not like compulsion."

Let this be met once for all by a reminder from the British classics, or even from Martial,* that some one also said, *with exactly equal reason*, "I do not like Dr. Fell;" or by calling attention to the fact that, sentimentally, many children object to medicine, while, sensibly, their parents, who know better, insist upon its administration.

I suppose nobody ever ventured on the public suggestion of something new who did not, as a result, meet with specimens of what, if collected, might form a vast and interesting volume, the "Curiosities of Criticism."

On this account, though my space is very limited, I must note the following two opinions, put forward as conclusive against National Insurance; I presume in pursuance of the adage, "Give a dog a bad name and hang him!"

One writer says, "This would be a poll-tax under another name!" and another, "This would be a poor-rate under another name!" Now I admit the one statement and shall disprove the other; but to condemn a thing in itself good, because a name not necessarily bad may or may not be fitly applied to it, is hardly reasonable. For my own part, if we get the *thing* required, individual independence secured to each man by his own money, I shall care very little whether the method which secures it be called a poor-rate, or a poll-tax, or a parallelo-piped.

* Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare
Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.

It is, however, important to show that National Insurance is very different from a poor-rate. For a professed writer on poor-law subjects has lately confounded the two things, and made it necessary (as error is contagious) that I should distinguish them. He says: "A poor-rate is a compulsory provision by the whole community for the relief of its destitute members, and such would be the National Club Fund." Both definition and inference are wrong. A poor-rate is a compulsory provision by the provident or provided *part* of the community for the improvident or unprovided *part*. A widely different thing.

And such *would not be* the National Club; for it would be a compulsory provision by *every unit of the community for his own needs*, not for other people's destitution.

Again: "The National Fund would be created mainly by compulsory contributions from persons having no right to share it."

An entire mistake. Every member would have a right to share it, when sickness prevented his earning wages.

Once more: "Only the destitute might receive it." Another entire mistake. The person entitled to receive it *need* not be destitute at all. He might own his house, or half-a-dozen, have money in the bank and money in his pocket, and still, if a wage-earner, be able to claim his own sick pay. And, moreover, he *could* not be destitute in my objector's sense, namely, as qualified for parish relief.

But the objector continues: "The recipient from the National Club would be receiving from a fund, his claim to which depends on his destitution [no, his sickness], a fact to be proved to the satisfaction of those who administer it; how, then, does he differ from a pauper?"

A person who cannot see the difference should leave a subject like this alone.

For the supposed recipient differs from a pauper *in not being one*; he is self-provided, and independent (as my plan would make every man) of poor relief, which a pauper is not. ||

If we substitute in this last statement of objection the words, "any sound friendly society" for the words "National Club," we shall see the fallacy at once; for the writer's inference would be that there was no difference between a Forester or Oddfellow on sick pay and a pauper!

I meet another objection of principle, expressed in the following words, coming from a gentleman whose opinions, when well weighed beforehand, always deserve respect. He says:—

"People cannot be made good by Act of Parliament. Even if the scheme were practicable, he should doubt its having a good moral influence. Compulsory thrift! How can it exist? There is no virtue in a man saving against his will. Thrift and providence will be made disgusting to those disposed towards them; and as for those averse to them, greater harm will be done."

Now I must eliminate much of this from the discussion. Whether people can be made good by Act of Parliament has nothing to do with the question. I never said they could. Whether *compulsory thrift* can

exist is equally irrelevant; I never used the terms. I spoke of *compulsory providence*, which is a different thing, and which certainly can exist. Whether there be virtue in a man's saving against his will I need not answer, for I never said there was.

The only point remaining as at all germane to the discussion is the possible moral influence of it, suggested in assumptions that "compulsory providence will make providence disgusting to those disposed towards it, and do yet greater harm to those averse from it."

These assumptions I confidently challenge. Let A represent a wage-earner "disposed to providence." We offer to him in the safest, the cheapest, the earliest, the easiest way possible, at least an important proportion of the very provision he is toiling to make for himself. We diminish the cost of that provision by at least 33 per cent., and we multiply his security at the same time by infinity. I think the man whom such treatment would disgust must have much less human nature than average human beings; for they would regard this aid to their own efforts as a blessing rather than a curse. I cannot conceive a sailor on a wreck feeling disgusted at the coming of a lifeboat.

But shall I be told that A, being provident, is naturally disgusted that wasteful B should be made provident too? The notion is absurd. The provident man is always counselling providence in others, and knows that, as sure as the sun gives light, the improvidence of others makes providence more difficult for himself; that the more money is spent on preventible pauperism the smaller is the wage fund from which his own earnings come; and he will welcome the change, and be the last to feel or express "disgust" at its introduction.

"Nay," is the rejoinder, "that is an assumption too." Even so. But it is quite as good a one as the other. And I will back the opinion by asserting that I will find twenty such men as I have described, welcoming the plan, for one who will have the confidence to say that its introduction would really be disgusting to himself.

And what else does the following statement mean, from the proprietor of an important provincial newspaper, himself a leading man among the Affiliated Orders:—

"You will be pleased to learn that our article on your plan sold nearly 1000 extra copies of the ——— last week, and that *the principal purchasers were Odd-fellows and Foresters*. My friends here are all delighted with the project."

I now touch the other assumption—that the enforcement of compulsory providence would do "yet greater harm" to those averse from providing for themselves.

Surely the question may be asked, what harm would it do? To say in reply that the wasteful lad of eighteen, required to make provision for himself, may *disapprove* of a limit being for a time put on his extravagance, would be too ridiculous. I grant it may interfere with his waste; but that does not harm him. It may interfere with his habits;

but only so far as his habits are bad. It may interfere with his liberty; but only so far as that liberty is licentious. Does it interfere with his rights? No, by no jot; for a man who will not fulfil his civil duty has no civil right to appeal to. "Oh! yes," I seem to hear, "he has a right to be kept from starvation; the law, at all events, secures thus much to the poor, persecuted, injured youth on whom this cruel plan would inflict 'still more harm.'"

I fully admit the claim: the law should keep him from starvation; let him have the law; but let him not claim to *make* the law. He must leave the law to take its own way of doing its own business. My scheme, if it become law, will at least as well as ever keep him from starvation, and do it, as it should be done, with his own money, which is just, not with other people's, which, if not necessary, is iniquitous.

I ask again, for form's sake, though I cannot say I expect any logical answer, what harm can it do a spendthrift to have laid by for him, out of what he would otherwise squander, a secure provision against want in sickness and old age? Will it make him more unhappy, more dependent, more degraded, more discontented, more dishonest, more mean than such a character is to-day, whether his father be a duke or a dustman? By no means. It is little to admit that it will make him no worse; and it is little to claim that such a change as I advocate will give him at least a possibility he never had before, of growing better in all these various directions.

One other little misconception I must remove; it is that of one of our most prominent exponents of practical thrift. He says of the plan: "Apparently the mistake has been made of confounding thrift with the saving of £15. The thrifty man is the man who has turned his money and time and everything to the best account. One main objection to Mr. Blackley's scheme is, that he would lead people to look to the State to do for them what they should do for themselves."

The whole of this arises from misreading of my article; it *nowhere* confounds thrift with the saving of £15. In it I spoke, and quite rightly, of unprovided men being *thriftless*, for so, in fact, they are. But the converse, that all provided men are necessarily *thrifty*, neither entered my mind nor appeared in my article.

But here is another charge to answer: "The scheme would lead people to look to the State to do for them what they should do for themselves." Heaven forbid! *That is exactly what they are doing now*; and any candid man who will read my article will say that that is *the very iniquity* I protested against, claiming that the *law* should *make people do for themselves* what they now "expect the State to do for them instead!"

And these objections, so-called of principle, which I have shown, one by one, to be most unreasonably attributed to the statement of my plan, come from excellent men who are veterans in the cause of humanity, and whose very notice (apart from their reasoning) is an honour! I

should despair, indeed, under their disapproval did they not supply me, all unconsciously, with a cordial of encouragement. They offer their misconceptions as objections,—most probably the only ones they entertain, at all events the strongest; if I succeed in removing the misconceptions, the objections founded on them must vanish, leaving the path of progress all the freer, both for those who now accept the plan and for the objectors themselves, whose candour must bring them to my side, once their objections are removed.

Another objection, which I suppose must be treated as one of principle, for it certainly is not a practical one, I have found couched in these terms: "The very simplicity of the scheme arouses suspicion."

As an objection, this is certainly unanswerable. The thing is so simple to me that I never thought of making it complex to other people. As a wise schoolboy when being caned rushes into his master's arms to get the *minimum* of hurt, I come to close quarters with this unexpected objection, which I certainly cannot refute, and simply say the suspiciousness is a reason for examination, not for rejection, and that the simplicity, as far as it goes, makes altogether in favour of the scheme.

Let me enforce this view by a citation from one whom I fear I must, till he have read this article, call an adverse critic. He says—

"If the scheme has its difficulties and drawbacks, on the other hand it has its advantages. These consist in its *simplicity*, economy, and the directness with which it effects the object. As a remedy against adult pauperism it is well nigh perfect, as it is obvious that you have only to provide for a man in the helpless times of sickness and old age, and you have done all that *should* be done for him by even the most indulgent of poor laws."

I proceed next to answer what I am by no means surprised to find one of the most generally entertained objections to the *detail* of the proposed National Insurance. I mean the *smallness of the provision made*.

I am told, for instance, "The sum you name, four shillings a week, will be totally inadequate to keep a man of seventy above public or private charity."

I have other suggestions: "That some artizans may desire to insure for even as high a sick pay as ten shillings a day."

But all these leave out of view the fact that once universal compulsion is applied it can only be applied to enforce a *minimum* provision. Four shillings a week will certainly procure for an agricultural labourer of seventy (who, in many cases, can still even add to his income by a little light occupation) a comfortable existence by some friend's or kinsman's fireside; and if this be so, a young agricultural labourer should not be compelled to insure for a higher scale of provision than he may think himself ever likely to require. Nor, again, can the richer classes who are called upon to make their legal provision, though infinitesimally likely ever to draw it, be fairly compelled to contribute more than the *minimum* sum. I propose to meet the objection in quite another, but a simple way; in

fact, I suggested as much in my first article. Let every man make his *minimum*, fixed, inalienable necessary provision, at the National Club cheap rate, and let him, if he will and when he will, make any further provision he may desire, without compelling others to provide for an amount they do not wish to secure.

One concession in this connection might be made—namely, to allow each contributor to the National Club the choice, before lodging his first instalment, of paying the relative sum necessary to secure benefits of ten shillings weekly in sickness and of five shillings in old age, instead of the compulsory minimum of eight shillings and four shillings.

This would, I think, meet the difficulty of the smallness of sums assured. Beyond this the National Club need not trouble itself; every man will be *forced* to insure sufficient to provide against destitution, while he will be *free* to insure, wherever he choose, enough to provide for his own estimate of comfort.

Before leaving this point of the smallness of *compulsory* provision, I must touch a theoretical criticism relating to it, which finds expression in the following terms:—

“I am afraid that the effect of the State exacting a minimum provision would be to give people the impression that they had done all they ought to do in the way of saving, and so make them less than ever prepared for the uncertainties of the future.”

I pass over the fact that to translate this opinion into logical language would amount to saying that “to insist on every person having a provision made would make him less provided than when he had no provision.” The meaning intended by the words probably is, that if *all* people were compelled to make a small provision, *some* people would not lay by as much as they would otherwise do. I traverse the inference altogether. Until proof be given to the contrary I may fairly assume that a man disposed to providence will not be less so because providence is made less difficult; and that a man averse from providence will not be less provided when he has been forced to make some provision, than he would be while unwilling to make any. But there is much, I think, to be said as to a far more probable effect on representatives of these two characters. The provident man will be more likely, from the experience of his power during minority, to provide against destitution, to use the same power which has become the *habit* of his vigorous manhood, for providing something beyond the mere necessities of existence for himself and family; and to lay by what may materially advance both him and them in prosperity and education, and insure for himself in his declining years the well-earned comfort of an honourable ease. And, on the other hand, I have no thought of doubt that many an ignorant young wastrel, whom a salutary compulsion blesses, on attaining manhood, with an independence he never dreamed of winning for himself, will take heart of grace when he finds he has done so much, to do something more in the way of saving, and something less in the

way of waste; ignorance and hopelessness make him a wastrel, enlightenment and independence, however given, may supply him with the first essentials for a change from degradation to self-respect.

Several correspondents have challenged my estimate of existing improvidence as excessive, judging, no doubt, from summaries of returns which they have adopted without sufficient examination. One speaker at the Cheltenham Social Science Congress, indeed, in opposing Mr. Randell's suggestions, stated that there were 80,000 friendly societies in the country with twelve millions of members (more than half the population of England and Wales!); and this absurdity was calmly accepted by the meeting! Such a statement, of course, needs no answer whatever amongst experts; but it is right to show how the general impression of more thoughtful objectors may be produced.

The summary of returns on national providence issued by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies is not framed on the exact model of the general summary given by the Friendly Societies Commission (Fourth Report, p. 79); but the Registrar so far adopts the latter estimate as to say that it was *decidedly under the mark*. The Commissioners, moreover, estimated the funds and membership of unregistered as well as registered societies, which the Chief Registrar, of course, is not expected to do; and we are, consequently, unprovided with means for accurately calculating the matter. If, however, to avoid all possibility of error, we add 10 per cent. to the Commissioners' figures, we find a total membership of four and a half millions, and an average provision of £2 18s. 5d. (say even £3) a-head. But is this a true measure of either the national providence or the national provision (for these two are different things)? By no means. Only a small proportion of these club members are providing, and a still smaller are provided, *against sickness and infirmity*. For, following the bases of comparison adopted by the Commissioners in their estimate, we find two-thirds of the membership (three million persons) insured *only in burial societies* for funeral expenses, and these, of course, we must strike off from our calculations.

Thus we have, at best, only one and a half millions really *providing* against sickness and old age. Now let us see how they are *provided*.

It may be laid down as a rule, that for a club really to *secure* to its members such benefits as my plan assumes, it should, when fifty years old, hold a reserve of between £8 and £9 per member. If the average amount of funds in reserve be £3 per man, then only a third of these members are provided, and the whole funds are only sufficient to provide for half a million persons, instead of four and a half millions!

Yet, it may be urged, if we cut off the burial club membership, we must remember that the burial club funds, also cut off, average far less than £3 per head; so that the funds remaining for calculation will be proportionably increased.

The objection is a fair one; but I fear there is far more than an

equivalent set-off to stand against any gain in calculation it may claim. For, whatever the amount per head remain for insurance, it will not all, or nearly all, be applied successfully in sick pay and pensions; a vast proportion of it will vanish as the weak clubs break and disappear, and, however it may aid some members for a little time, will be spent and gone without securing the independence of those by whom it was contributed.

Nor would the general aspect of the case be very much bettered if we estimated the provision already being made at £1 a-head higher than I have done, which would be the highest result we should attain by including, as some correspondents insist we should, the balance held by the Post Office Savings Banks in our estimate of existing providence. The aggregate sum held by the Post Office Bank* is £27,000,000—say 17s. 6d. per head of population—and being money not really set aside for such a provision as we speak of, but liable at any moment to be withdrawn and even wasted, could not be reasonably reckoned as part of each man's secure self-provision; even if the greater part of it did not belong, as no doubt it does, to thrifty and saving wage-earners who are already provided against sickness and old age *in addition* to being depositors in the Post Office Bank.

I proceed to touch another theoretical difficulty, which, of course, offers no reason against establishing National Insurance, but is supposed by some likely to be a great stumbling-block in its way. It is expressed by many correspondents in almost identical terms: "The opposition of existing societies will be the strongest obstacle to the plan."

Apart from the fact that I have never heard this difficulty urged by a member of any existing friendly society, I am inclined to believe that the objection will not arise—*openly, at all events*—from representatives of such bodies. The plan I suggest, if it enforced compulsion to-morrow on every man of twenty-one years of age, would take sixty years to come into full operation. Now, present societies are either good or bad. The good ones are good either financially or philanthropically, or both. Those that profess to be only financially sound, will have no cause for complaint, if their scales of payment be computed on really sound principles. Granting that my plan would cut off the youngest members from their number (supposing the worst case for the society to arise, that not one of these nationally-insured youths ever made an *additional* insurance with them), still, though this might affect the *extent*, it could not affect the *solvency* of the society, if those insured in it were paying, as they should do in any safe club, premiums proportioned to their age at entry. It is true the society would fade out in sixty years, but by that time all now interested in its success would have made and received their claims, and its officials would have gradually died out as well. Thus a really sound club would *not admit* that its

* The Post Office returns embrace the whole United Kingdom. The census returns I have used are only for England and Wales.

solvency could be affected by the establishment of the National Insurance.

Let us take next the case of a club, say a county society, absolutely good both financially and philanthropically. It exists really for the good of the people. It is administered, and we may be proud to acknowledge it, in most cases, by untiring zeal, patience, industry, and self-sacrifice on the part of gentlemen who have gained the confidence of the working men, taught them how to appreciate a good security, and guarded their interests from loss by many years of watchful effort. What will managers of such a society say to its members? What but this: "We have urged you for years to join this club for your own sakes. Now our work is done; a simpler, cheaper, better, and possibly a safer means than the very best we could secure you is put into your own hands to make; we will still take your extra savings if you wish extra insurances, and we have plenty of funds to keep our promise with our old members, but the National Club is of its nature better than our best, and we, as your friends, point you to that as the safest and most profitable investment for your money."

So much, then, for every sound friendly society of whatever class; so far as it is really what it professes to be, and subserves the one purpose which is the sole reason of its existence,—namely, to secure the providence of the poor,—its managers are logically bound to approve the principle of National Insurance.

Now let us turn to another class of society. To those, namely, which under the false name of Friendly are the poor man's bitterest foes; that exist to swindle, plunder, and defraud the ignorant and helpless; that look for large profits from the simplicity of the poor; that, in order to keep their funds high, cut off, as the newspapers lately recorded, the insurance of £7, due on his wife's death to a member of thirteen years' standing, because the poor woman's last illness, preventing her going to pay, had brought the contribution *one week into arrear*! In fact, let us look to the bad and unsound friendly society that lives by sucking the very heart's blood of would-be independent working men, while leaving them to the pauper's dole and workhouse in the end. I defy them to oppose the National Club on any ground but the plain and patent one of selfish interest.

Will they on that ground? I cannot say, for man cannot measure the possible audacity of fraud. I have heard some one even speak of the *vested interest* of such societies, for careless speech is no rarity among us; but, if this mean the interests of shareholders and officials to perpetuate a cruel swindle, I can answer that though the law may permit a man to open a dram-shop, it is not bound for ever to supply him with customers; while, if it mean that the establishment of National Insurance will break these fraudulent societies and injure their innocent members, I answer with a denial; I say they are insolvent now, when we are but beginning to name the notion of a National Insurance, and

that every one of them must die of itself, and fail its contributors, many a long year before the sixty shall have passed that will be needed to make National Insurance universal.

Briefly, then, as far as *managers* of existing friendly societies are concerned, those of good ones will not object,—their solvency is secure; those of bad ones dare not object,—their insolvency would be exposed by their objecting.

And as regards *members* of existing societies, I say those belonging to good ones are safe, and have no cause for fear; those belonging to bad ones need not lay their failure on National Insurance, since they *must* fail whether or no.

I now come to consider certain objections to National Insurance which have hurried many people who offer them into the error of pronouncing the scheme *impracticable*. The alleging of a difficulty or the urging of an objection cannot prove a plan impracticable unless the difficulty be proved insurmountable, or the objection unanswerable; and this is what no objector has yet attempted to do. No man would be silly enough to pronounce the getting from Middlesex into Surrey impracticable so long as the human intellect can conceive of the Thames being crossed by ford or ferry, by tunnel or bridge.

The objections made may afford fair reason, perhaps, for examination and inquiry, but *no reason whatever* for rejection of the plan; and if I show that these objections may be answered, I feel sure the gentlemen who have made them will frankly withdraw their assertions based thereon as to the impossibility of national insurance, and perhaps also join me in advocating its adoption. For few deny that the thing would be a good thing, *if only it could be done*.

The grand central objection, of practical kind, which I meet, is that based on the assumed impossibility of compelling unwilling persons to pay their insurance—in a word, the impossibility of collection.

It is admitted on all hands that there will be no insurmountable difficulty in dealing with the vast majority of the population. They will be in fixed occupations, and as easy to reach by the National Fund managers as they are now by the Inland-Revenue, the Income-Tax, or the Education officials. But it is the class of persons described by the census as “in undefined occupations,” which furnishes opponents of my scheme with an argument formidable enough at a distance, but losing much of its force on closer examination.

Men point at the vast number of rough, violent, apparently penniless, and possibly lawless men of all ages, to be met daily in our crowded cities, and say, “It will be impossible to get £10 out of each of these men, under any circumstances.” I reply that I never suggested we should; but that we should do it with youths *before they become* rough, violent, penniless, and lawless, which is certainly a very different matter.

The allegation, “that persons in indefinite occupation cannot be compelled,” is based on ignorance of the very small number of persons

against whom compulsion would have to be actually enforced; and seems to weigh chiefly with those who cannot yet realize that no one over twenty-one years of age on the first introduction of the measure will be compelled to contribute at all.

Let us assume that the compulsion is to begin at eighteen years. By the last census the whole number of persons of both sexes, under twenty years of age, in undefined employment is given at 178,373. Assuming all these to be over fifteen years (a very large concession), the proportion of individuals between eighteen and nineteen, that is, in their first year of compulsion (for after they have undergone compulsion for one year they will not resist it for the other two), will be about 35,000, or, briefly said, about one in 657 of the population, assuming further that every individual of the class is certain to resist and oppose the law! Is it conceivable that our national power of effecting an unquestionable good such as is suggested can be successfully thwarted by the opposition of such a fraction of the community as this?

The number, then, will be very small; but I am fairly bound to account for them.

Who, then, will they be, these unwilling juveniles, whose recalcitration can be supposed to impede the true domestic and social progress of an awakened nation? They will be young paupers, young thieves, young drunkards, and young vagrants. "Be it so," is the reply, "but how are they to be dealt with?" Their very condition makes the first step easy. Just because they are what they are, Society gets hold of them, has them in her hands, and should not let them go till she has made them do their share. The young pauper goes to "the House" in sickness; if the parish cure him, let the parish keep him, till he learn that in the stoneyard, or the mat room, in slow labour paid at the lowest rates, he *must* lay by his £10 in the national stock, to keep him always when he is sick again, unless he be willing to be bound over to work in freedom, for the wage he is really worth, till he have secured himself from destitution. He will be none the worse, the nation will be all the better, for his having learnt the lesson. And the young thief? The law lays hand on him, and sends him, for the first time, to jail. If he have no insurance card or book to show, let him work in the jail-yard till he have earned and paid his cost of keep and his contribution; he will be none the worse (it may save him from the gallows); Society will be all the better for having been free for three years from the plunderings of a thief. And the young drunkard? Even so, the police lay hands on him, the youth who can spend to the ruin, but cannot save for the sustenance, of his body (to put it on the lowest grounds). Why should he be let go till he be helped to do what he is unwilling or unable to do for himself, and have made his own provision? He will be all the healthier for his enforced abstinence, and the crime, the ruin, and the misery attendant on his drunkenness, if that *must* come, will be postponed and diminished by at least three years.

And the young tramp? Thank God! there are few of these; for the tramping vagrant is generally one who has come through long stages to the lowest degradation. "*Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.*" Yet if he come but one night to the casual ward, claiming pauper's shelter and pauper's food, and cannot show his National Insurance card, let him be treated as another pauper, and held fast till he have earned and paid his share. Who shall say that such a measure is too harsh, too cruel, too Draconian? If we admit, as nearly all do, the principle of compulsion, it is contrary to common sense to cry out against its practice, especially when that practice, stern though it may sound at first, will confer upon its objects a lifelong benefit, and be of simultaneous service to Englishmen at large.

Further, against whom do I suggest so stern a measure? Against those only who refuse (either in ignorance or wilfulness) *obedience to the law*. It will not be for a lad's drunkenness or his theft that this coercion will be inflicted; but Society, having the offender in her hands to punish for his drunkenness or theft, will wisely seize the favourable opportunity which he himself affords, of making the improvident, law-defying culprit a provident and independent man.

With regard, again, to the recalcitrant youths, I have been met with the objection from many: "They will enlist, and so evade their payment." "With all my heart," I answer, "I wish they would!" And certainly they should have the choice, if not the compulsion; but so far from thereby evading their payment they would be passing, as the proverb says, "Out of the frying-pan into the fire." For, up to a certain time of life, individual providence by deduction from wages (my very plan) is *compulsory* on every soldier in the service! He is obliged to put aside twopence each day from his pay, so that, when his six years' term of service is over, he receives his savings to the amount of nearly twenty pounds! Let the refractory young tramp or thief fly for refuge to the army to avoid insuring, and he does the very thing he is wanted. He will be well fed, and clothed, and taught; he will have a chance of a new start in life; he will be a member (he may become an honoured one) of an honourable profession; he will have learned cleanliness, comfort, and self-respect; and, if he like, when his three years are past, his own money which he never missed will pay his insurance, and the once poor, slouching, hopeless pauper vagabond may march forth an honest independent man, able morally to hold his head up among his fellow men, as he has learned to hold it up literally before his comrades on parade.*

Give him this opportunity, and in coercing a boy we may save a man. For, if we drag a poor wretch at all out of the horrible slough of despond, surely it is only charity to keep him long enough for the

* If it be said he may be below the standard, let the standard be lowered to meet his stature; why not, if necessary, drill a company of Liliputians as well as a company of Grenadiers.

mud of misery to dry and be brushed off, and then send him forth, clean and sound, to tread a firmer path; to give him what so many a poor, heartbroken, social failure has had to cry for all in vain—one trial more, one last, but hopeful chance of snatching from the very jaws of adverse Fate a new character, a new conscience, and a new career!

This answers, too, the question, also put to me, of how to deal with soldiers. In their case the whole work is done, if the law only permit the National Club to claim each man's provision from the deferred pay due to him on completing his term of service. It could not be better invested. The sensible men would welcome the measure; no greater kindness could be done to the foolish ones, who would still have ten pounds to waste.

Further, against the alleged difficulty of compulsion, Mr. Tremenhoe, in writing to the *Times*, has shown that the Factories Act, sec. 25, has made 100,000 individuals (children in factories) at the present moment liable to a compulsion for school fees, to be deducted by their employers, to the extent of one-twelfth of their earnings, without exciting the slightest national clamour; and there probably is not a single person at the present moment suffering imprisonment for choosing to oppose the Compulsory Education Act.

And one last consideration may reconcile objectors to the alleged cruelty of the coercion I advocate. It is contained in the following suggestive extract from the Local Government Return for 1877-8:—

"Mean number of paupers receiving relief, 719,849. Cost of relief given, £7,400,034."

A very simple division gives the annual cost per pauper to the nation as reaching £10 5s. 6d.! Let any one balance the cruelty of aiding a law-defying lad to lay by £10, once for all, for himself, against that of burdening the community with a larger sum on his behalf for *every year*, whether one or sixty, that he is allowed to remain a pauper. Surely I may fairly say, "*Cedit questio!*"

So much for the alleged difficulty and the alleged cruelty of the compulsion; one word as to its alleged impossibility.

Many other nations compel without trouble, for defence or aggression, for sorrow or selfishness, the whole earning powers of all their male subjects for three entire years of military service. Can it be called *impossible* for England to compel, for her people's own blessing, one-twelfth of the lowest wages during the same time? Surely not, while the "persecuted publican" compels, from most members of the class we are considering, a vastly larger payment, through every year of life, by the easy process of opening his door.

I will now turn to the actuarial part of my scheme, which is of very great, but far from being of the very greatest, importance. For let us bear constantly in mind that the question whether the cost of such insurance as I propose be a pound or two higher or lower than my rough estimate, however it may render the payment harder or easier to

accomplish, does not, by a single jot, affect the desirability or the duty of making provision.

The sum of £15, which I named as that for which a large, solvent, successful, and actuarially valued society would now undertake the assurance, might have been £20, for any obstacle it would have thrown in the way of my proposal. I took that rate as a presumably safe one, and proved to be so by the certified experience of more than half a century; and I named my authority, which is open to any man's examination. I utterly decline to discuss, as against this statement, certified by Mr. Finlaison, the Government Actuary, the mere guess of any unskilled objector, who chooses to assert his own unsupported opinion that such a rate, if generally used, would ruin the National Club. Let us have, in such a matter as this, skill set against skill and experience against experience; to presume to silence both by mere conjecture and ejaculation would, to my mind, be about as wise as to appoint Mr. John Cade Professor of Political Economy, and make attendance on his lectures a matter of national compulsion too.

Yet I am not unwilling to make a concession on this point for the sake of argument, and to abandon the typical tables I have quoted in favour of a set which have already a certain national authority.

I refer to the Parliamentary Paper (dated April 7, 1876, No. 167) containing, amongst others, the Third Report of the Actuarial Commission appointed under the Friendly Societies Act, 1875, and signed by its members, Messrs. W. P. Pattison, Ralph P. Hardy, and Alexander J. Finlaison, presumably three of the most eminent actuaries in the kingdom.

These gentlemen set forth a table of contributions which they recommend for temporary use, pending the preparation of new tables under the Friendly Societies Act, 1875. It excludes representatives of noxious and dangerous occupations—exceptions, of course, with which National Insurance would take proper means of dealing; and it recommends a provision being made to reduce the sick pay to half-pay after one, and to quarter-pay after two, years' sickness; but, be it noted, with this striking qualification: "*This condition, though not taken into account in the calculation of the rates of contribution, is rendered advisable*" in view of possible fluctuation; "*a fluctuation of this nature would have an untoward effect upon the finances of the society, when the number of members is not large enough to supply a steady basis for the operation of average.*"

Of course, the necessity of this condition vanishes in view of a society comprising every unit of the population.

Let us see, then, what rates these gentlemen suggest, remembering that in tables for temporary use they would be certain to leave an abundant margin for safety. I take the medium age of nineteen, and find that the rate of contributions for the proposed benefits would, if capitalized by the Hampshire rate, cost £18 7s. This seems at first sight an amount far above my original estimate; but this notion is speedily dissipated when we come to consider the fact that the rates in question are based

on an investment at compound interest of 3 per cent. per annum. Let us now bear in mind that of the money contributed for pensions, not one farthing will be required for fifty years; and, in the early stages at least, the current expense for sickness, as occurring in the healthiest years of life, will be relatively very small. It is manifest that the Commissioners to whom the management of the National Fund will be entrusted, requiring to keep very little money at call, will be able to invest on mortgage and public loans, instead of in the Three per Cents. alone, and to obtain as much as 4, or even $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for much of their money. We shall see in a moment what a cheapening of the necessary rate of contribution would result from such difference of investment, by noting that in fifty years £1 at 3 per cent. compound interest increases only to £4.30, while at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. it grows to £9.03—a feature which, if carried out even with regard to pensions alone, would reduce the cost of that part of the insurance by more than 50 per cent. on the calculation of the Actuarial Commission.

The foregoing considerations will, I trust, be found sufficient to warrant me in assuming, at all events till properly qualified experts prove me wrong, that the sum I roughly named, £10, as the basis of my general argument, is quite as likely to prove somewhat over as somewhat under the amount that will finally be required.

But the expenses of management? Well, that is relatively a small matter, but of course it should be estimated, and I believe, though I do not assert it, will even prove capable of inclusion in the rates suggested. For the number of transactions (which causes most of management expenses) will, on one side of the account, be vastly smaller than in any existing club. All present clubs carry on their business (so far as collecting funds is concerned) by weekly, monthly, or quarterly transactions *all through the life* of every member. But the whole collection of the national fund might be made by three annual, or quite easily by twelve quarterly transactions between eighteen and twenty-one; and, in a vast number of cases of the richer classes, will actually be effected by one. Putting the average number as paying quarterly, we should find that a pensioner on the National Fund on reaching seventy years of age would have made his payments in twelve transactions, while in an ordinary club they would have required no less than two hundred. This may show how much a smaller “loading” for management would be needed in the National Fund than some objectors imagine.

Another point is laid much stress on, which I must examine. It is that a compulsory deduction from wages will practically come out of employers’ pockets. The thing might be argued if the compulsion were lifelong, and the masters compelled to make payment in proportion to the weekly wage of every man.

But this possible effect of taxing *all labour through all lifetime* could not be produced by taxing *a small part of the labour during a small part of the time*. For the persons between eighteen and twenty-one under

compulsion (representing three years of work) would be unable to claim increased wages during those three years, being obliged to compete in the labour market with the aggregate of all other wage-earners (representing forty-seven years of work), who would be free from compulsion, and have no grounds for claiming higher wages.

But it may be instructive to go further, and see to what a mere flea-bite such so-called taxation would amount. Let us take roughly fifty (*i.e.*, from fifteen to sixty-five) as the number of working years. The extent of compulsion (on wages of 15s. a week) would be a twelfth of the wage. Its aggregate, therefore (if it all fell upon employers, which I deny), would amount to one-twelfth of three-fiftieths, or to a half per cent. on the entire wage bill, the effect of which would be to raise the general weekly wage by less than one penny per week!

Of course, it will be said that there are far fewer wage-earners in the later than the earlier years of work; but against this may be set all wages earned before fifteen and after sixty-five, with *all the money of all workers at all ages* spent at present (too often quite vainly) in voluntary efforts at such a self-provision as my scheme would infallibly secure.

Another important practical difficulty which has been alleged against the introduction of the plan is *the risk of loss by malingering*. I have taken pains to show (and I trust conclusively, as this belongs essentially to the proper independence my suggestions aim at securing) that the fear of loss to the "Government" may be set aside as an impossibility. So that, granting any conceivable amount of malingering to exist, the National Fund could never prove unequal to its financial engagements; its very constitution providing the means of immediately redressing any possible deficiency which might arise. Yet it would be the rankest folly to argue that, because the National Fund might be theoretically illimitable, it should reasonably be allowed to provide a premium for universal fraud. Of course, every care should be taken to guard against this, and I will admit to my objectors in this respect that the possibility of fraud by malingering is a good argument in favour of strict watchfulness over the administration of the fund, but no argument whatever against its establishment. For, if it were, unquestionably the same objection would lie against any friendly society or any insurance whatsoever. Even in our best and most trustworthy friendly societies serious fraud by malingering either does or does not exist. If it do, and be able to escape detection and punishment, it is evident that the scale of payment of such friendly society is framed on the expectation of having to pay for a certain amount of fraud; if, on the other hand, such fraud do not exist, it is unreasonable to assume that it *must* exist in a National Club; unless, indeed, in the nature of things, it be impossible for a National Club, in the funds of which every unit of our population is directly interested, to take the same precautions against feigned or avoidable sickness in its members, that an infinitely smaller organization, such as the Foresters or Oddfellows, is able to accomplish with success.

Of course, whatever means the affiliated societies adopt as a safeguard against fraud might be adopted also by the National Club. It would be a mere absurdity to suppose that any man should receive his sick pay on demand from a Post Office clerk, without affording proper, usual, and indisputable proof of his title and of his sickness. Moreover, it must be remembered that in every case, and during every week of the sickness, a medical certificate of the recipient's state is the indispensable condition of his receiving aid at all. And if to this we add the fact that no man's sick pay, so far as the National Club is concerned, can be much more than half his usual earnings, we shall see plainly enough that the only encouragement to his fraud will be that given, not by the National Club, but by some supplementary society which is foolish enough to allow him to make an additional insurance to an amount sufficient to tempt him to be dishonest.

Further, I will indicate a direction in which the existence of the National Club will tend to diminish sickness of the class which we may call *preventible*.

At present a member insured in any ordinary club, being debarred from receiving pay in cases of sickness caused by his own drunkenness and dissipation, can have recourse to the workhouse. With a National Club he might still, in such circumstances, claim workhouse relief, but he should be compelled, on or before leaving, to earn and pay the cost of his cure, in default of giving security for its early payment. And this knowledge surely would have some effect in the diminution of much preventible disease, and possibly act as a check on much habitual drunkenness. It seems to me that these considerations, added to those already adduced in my former article—namely, the proved fact that the larger the organization the less the average sickness, and the reasonable supposition that every man's having a direct money interest in the profits of the club would tend to expose and discourage fraud, may be held sufficient warrant for concluding, till something beyond mere assertion be adduced to the contrary, that no reason exists against a National Club being as well secured against fraud as any other.

Before leaving this point I will fortify my position by the following acute remark, given in his own words, by a simple working man:—

"Let me give you a strong reason—that is, what I have always considered such—why all the benefit societies of England should be brought under one head. Whatever might be said to the contrary, there is a great jealousy existing with the members of the different societies, and, I am sorry to say, not a friendly jealousy of rivalry which shall perform the greatest amount of good, but a green-eyed jealousy of each other's success. I have seen an Oddfellow chuckle and display gratification at seeing a Forester imposing on the funds of his society; and, again, I have seen a Forester countenancing and winking at a Patriot guilty of the same dishonesty. Now, if they were all under one head, the Patriot would act as a check upon the Forester, and the Forester upon the Oddfellow, and so on, because they would all belong to one organization, and each would be interested in the welfare and prosperity of the society. This, sir, is an idea I have entertained for many years, and God speed you or any other gentleman in

bringing about this glorious and happy state of affairs for the sober, provident working men of this grand old country, England."

I am further asked how the case of apprentices can be met; that most of these are unable to earn money till twenty or twenty-one, and therefore that the scheme must fail as regards them. We must remember that apprentices forego the early earning of money in order to qualify them for trades in which they expect to earn far higher wages than they would do as mere labourers. These are exceptional cases, and might be exceptionally treated. When they became journeymen, at twenty or twenty-one, they should be required to pay up their arrears at a much faster rate than others—say, within a single year—and at a slightly higher rate, proportioned to the lateness of their payment.

Lastly, as to my plan not meeting to perfection the case of a vast mass of misery to the able-bodied caused by sudden loss of labour and unexpected disasters, I can only say that no system can; and that in this respect even our present poor-law may break down. If its machinery remained (as I assume) we could be no worse, and might be better off than now; the exceptional need would require an exceptional remedy, and there would be an incalculable amount more of private charity available than to-day for meeting the necessity. But besides this there would be a vastly larger number of men than now who would have learned by their early discipline the power of saving, and carried it on to make, what so few succeed in at present, not only provision for old age, or sickness, but also for "a rainy day."

And yet I hope, if another opportunity be afforded me, to show that National Insurance in unexpected ways would be really found even in this respect to go further on the way to obviate, and so to dispose of, this great difficulty than any other plan at present known to man.

But consideration for the space at my disposal and the patience of my readers compels me to draw, for the present, to a close. I have tried to meet every important objection which has been offered against National Insurance. I do not believe there is one amongst them insurmountable, though it would be overweening self-confidence to hope I had made all my readers share this faith. But it is no reason, in a matter of such importance as this is, because I fail to remove an objection, that many wiser men than me should fail as well. This at least I claim to have made out so far, that the change I propose *is not impossible*, at all events till far stronger grounds for the contrary opinion than any yet adduced shall be brought forward.

Let any reader of this paper compare the vastness of the good which the scheme would effect, with the small importance and logical weakness of the objections to it we have considered, and I think he will agree with me that we have a right to ask some better reason for having to go bare-foot than that some day a boot-lace may be broken; or for having to sit always in darkness some better reason than that clouds occasionally obscure the sun.

W. LEWERY BLACKLEY.

WHY IS PAIN A MYSTERY?

TASSO.—Che rimedio potrebbe giovar contro la
vita?

GIUSTO.—Il sonno, l'oppio, e il dolore. E questo è il
più potente di tutti: perchè l'uomo mentre
soffre non si accorge per nessun momento.

TASSO.—In cambio di questa medicina io mi con-
tento di trascorrere tutta la vita.

LEOPARDO.

MYSTERY is a word very commonly associated with pain. Just as death is spoken of as a summons and sickness as a visitation, so pain is spoken of as a mystery! It can scarcely be doubted that the use of such phraseology is better calculated to conceal than to reveal the truth. I propose to inquire whether much of the mystery associated with pain is not artificial, and whether it would not be more in accordance with truth to regard pain as no more mysterious than most other accidental conditions of life.

Men grow accustomed so rapidly and insensibly to the altered and improved conditions of life which the labours of science achieve for them, that it may not be amiss to call to mind the fact that it is only within the last thirty or forty years, through the progress of experimental medicine, that pain has practically been removed from what were some of the most painful conditions of life, and human control over pain, in one great area of physical suffering, conclusively demonstrated.

The introduction of anæsthetics, and subsequently of antiseptics, into practical surgery, has removed suffering and even danger from what were formerly amongst the very gravest calamities of human life; while the simple adoption of the *hypodermic* method of administering certain remedies, together with the recent discovery of other new ones, has increased the certainty and rapidity of our means for relieving pain to an incalculable extent. Yet it is a curious and remarkable fact, that there may be found, even amongst our most eminent living physicians, some who, from a mistaken notion of the nature and purpose of pain, argued thirty years ago against the use of ~~anæsthetics~~ on so-called "theological grounds" were.

* Sir J. Y. Simpson mentions that Dr. Chalmers wrote the "theological part" of an article on *A*

By the introduction then of anæsthetics alone the popular attitude towards physical pain has been, necessarily, greatly modified; let us examine whether it may not undergo still further modification in order to bring it into harmony with facts.

Much of the mystery and confusion of ideas which have become associated with the consideration of pain owe their origin, first, to the prevailing tendency to confound together physical and moral or mental suffering, and, secondly, to the almost universal practice of regarding pain as the close and constant correlative of pleasure. Moral, or mental, and physical suffering are no doubt, in many instances, so intimately associated, that it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to regard them apart; but it is by no means so in all cases, and, if we desire to get clear and correct ideas of physical pain, it is surely desirable to study it, in simple and uncomplicated instances.

Again, there are many complex cases where pains and pleasures are no doubt commingled or correlated, so that they appear dependent on one another, probably to a much greater extent than they really are. But there is also no lack of simpler cases where pain exists without any correlated pleasure.

I propose, in the first place, to examine some of the generally accepted views as to the purpose of pain. It has been very generally maintained that pain is intended to serve the purpose of a sort of providential warning against disease and injury. But whoever chooses to take a wide and comprehensive view of disease and injury will at once be struck with the very conspicuous absence of pain, as a warning agent, in the vast majority of the gravest instances.

I am far from saying that pain does not occasionally and accidentally act as a warning against those injuries which it almost invariably accompanies, but when it does so it is so occasional and accidental, that it is impossible to regard it as a reason for the existence of pain.* With respect to disease, I fail to call to mind any malady which pain actually precedes as a warning, while in many of the most serious diseases pain plays no active part from beginning to end.

Is there any painful warning of the approach of any of the contagious disorders? Of the acute diseases that arise from exposure to cold, one would expect to meet with many instances in which some warning in the shape of pain was experienced, if it were the purpose of pain to act as a warning; but how rarely is this found to be the case, and how exceedingly common is it, on making inquiry into the probable cause of such a malady to receive as an answer, "I cannot imagine how I came by it!" The pain attending exposure to cold is always alluded to as a

"any theological part pertaining to it;" and when he was informed of the kind of arguments which were used against anæsthesia, after quietly thinking for a minute or two, he advised his friend that if some "small theologians" took such an improper view of the subject he ought not to "heed them!"

* It is necessary that I should say I am here thinking especially of the human race in civilized and social conditions, so that I am not necessarily in antagonism with Mr. Herbert Spencer's views, to which I shall presently allude.

typical instance of its warning purpose; but those currents of cold air which are so especially dangerous, are often grateful to those who have not yet learnt to associate them with danger; and at the very time when exposure to severe cold becomes most dangerous, it deadens sensibility and acts as an anæsthetic; indeed, extreme cold is a well-known anæsthetic.

So remarkable is the absence of pain or discomfort in one of the most prevalent and fatal of chronic maladies—viz., pulmonary consumption—that, amongst the poorer classes, this disease is constantly allowed to make irreparable inroads before medical aid is sought.

Pain, when it is found associated with disease, accompanies it as an accidental condition, but does not precede it as a warning. This fact is well illustrated in the history and growth of certain tumours. A tumour of precisely the same nature will in one part of the body be associated with severe suffering, while if it happen to grow in another part of the body it will be painless. Nor can we rely upon the presence or the amount of pain as affording any criterion of the severity of the disease. Pain is often severe in quite harmless and trivial disturbances of health, while, as I have already pointed out, it is frequently absent in some stages, and occasionally throughout the whole course of fatal maladies.

Indeed, so far are we from being warned off from disease by pain, that it would certainly be more correct to say, with regard to some of our acquired diseases, that we are in a manner lured on to them by pleasure.

“The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
Make instruments to plague us.”

It has been maintained that in infancy especially pain is necessary as a warning, and we meet in popular essays on pain with statements such as these:—“Every man owes his life to-day to the pains of hunger which he felt when an infant;” “If hunger were not painful, infants would not take food;” “If falling down were not painful, children would never learn to walk upright.”* But I would ask in answer to such statements—As a matter of fact, who ever thinks of trusting to pain as a warning to protect infancy from danger? I do not know of any infants, belonging to decent people, who are allowed to suffer the “pains of hunger.” I should say they more frequently suffer from the pains of repletion.

I shall contend presently that appetite is more of a pleasure than a pain—a pleasurable incitement: this the infant has, as well as the positive pleasure of feeding, to urge it. The infant’s danger rather lies in being allowed to indulge this pleasure too freely. Need I point out that falling down is not necessarily painful to children? an infant falls down many hundreds of times on his bed, quite painlessly, before he acquires the power and art of walking. Does any one really believe,

* Voysey: “Mystery of Pain,” &c.

I am tempted to ask, that if it were not for the pain of falling down, we should be going about on all fours? On the other hand, I may urge, that the child who, ignorant of the properties of boiling-water, drinks it from the spout of a kettle and dies in consequence, has had little useful warning from pain. It is not pain that prevents a child from falling out of a high window and being killed, or from walking into the water and being drowned, or from eating poisonous herbs or berries. In all these matters it is absolutely dependent on the knowledge and experience of its parents and elders, until it has acquired for itself a knowledge of the common properties of the things around it; and most of this knowledge is conveyed by direct instruction from its parents and others. Mr. Hinton* appears to have realized, though only partially, the weakness of this argument, for he says, "There is no adequate explanation to be found of pain in the beneficial effects which it produces in respect to our physical existence;" and then he adds, with something of self-contradiction, "It serves these uses—is benevolently meant to serve them, doubtless, as our hearts irrepressibly affirm." Now this is a typical example of a method of reasoning which not unfrequently commended itself to this often acute thinker. It is a strange mixture of appeals sometimes to the head and sometimes to the heart. He can appeal to the reason, and forcibly too, when it suits his purpose to do so; but the instant he feels he cannot convince the reason, he falls back upon the feelings. I know nothing more difficult to meet fairly than this on-and-off kind of logic.

It is simply through acquired knowledge of the laws and properties of things—in other words, by experience—that we learn to avoid what is hurtful; and the hurtful and the painful are by no means co-extensive; and notwithstanding even the accumulated teachings of experience, men are wonderfully slow to learn that certain indulgences are injurious in their consequences.

I contend, then, that pain is not necessary—nor, in civilized life, do we rely upon it—as a means for "our safety and protection." Men slowly learn by experience, by observation, by research, what are the conditions in life hostile to their welfare and preservation, and they avoid them whether they are painful or not. And we are certainly justified in saying that, in civilized life at any rate, those things which are most painful are by no means necessarily those which are most hurtful.

Of the evils to be avoided we account death to be the greatest; and we should take the same precautions to avoid the causes (if we knew them) of a fatal accident or disease that was painless as of one that was painful.

There is another popular view of the purpose of pain upon which I wish to offer a few comments: it is, that "pain serves as a punishment for sin;" that "suffering is the minister of justice." Here, again, I

* Hinton: "Mystery of Pain," pp. 26, 27.

would point out that when pain seems to serve such a purpose, it is by accident and not design. How can it be otherwise? For, like the sun's rays, pain visits equally "the just and the unjust." If pain has any preference it prefers the weak and the ignorant rather than the wilfully vicious. How common is it for pain to fall upon the innocent victims of crime rather than upon the perpetrators! I am still speaking exclusively of physical pain. No one could possibly maintain, in the face of facts, that sin, in the theological meaning of the word, is a clue to the distribution of suffering. Would any one mock a poor creature who was suffering from the pangs of cancer by assuring him that it was a punishment for sin? Or, on the other hand, would any one support this view in the presence of one of those men who, in a green old age, boast that they have "lived every day of their lives?" which usually means that they have denied themselves no pleasure, lawful or unlawful, and that they have suffered no pain. How commonly selfishness strives to avoid its fair share of pain, and succeeds in doing so!

It is quite true that pain and suffering commonly follow the ignorant or wilful infringement of physical laws. This is perhaps truer still of destruction or death, which may be quite *painless*; especially if we include the whole animal kingdom in our survey. Under this head, again, Mr. Hinton, after enumerating many arguments against his own conclusion, concludes nevertheless that "pain avenges the majesty of violated law, physical and moral."* In reply to this, I would say that the incidence of physical pain is so unequal when it follows the violation of even physical laws, that it is more correct to regard it as an accidental accompanying condition; and that with respect to the infringement of moral laws, facts are entirely against this view. I will cite a simple case to illustrate my meaning. Three men, let us suppose, steal peaches from a garden and eat them; one of them is stung in the mouth by a wasp concealed in one of the peaches; an inflammation of the throat follows, from which he suffers greatly, and finally dies. Now, this is by no means an unfair example of the purely accidental way in which physical pain occasionally follows the violation of moral law.

The same inequality of incidence may be traced in the infliction of physical pain as a punishment in the administration of the criminal law, and which is dependent on the relation of physical pain to physical sensibility.

Indeed, the unequal distribution of pain depends, to a considerable extent, on the unequal distribution of the power of feeling pain. Physical sensibility or sensitiveness,—by this I mean acuteness of sensation,—is a quality which varies infinitely in different individuals, and bears so close and necessary a relation to physical suffering, that it demands careful consideration in any thoughtful study of pain. Just as "what is one man's food is another man's poison," so may we say

* Hinton: "Mystery of Pain," p. 28.

that what is one man's suffering is another man's entertainment. "Pain is, in a certain sense, *entertaining*," has been quoted as the expression of a confirmed invalid. It is this entertaining property of pain for certain not over-sensitive natures that is alluded to by Leopardi, in the quotation prefixed to this essay. "What remedy," asks Tasso, "is there for weariness?" "Sleep, opium, and *pain*," replies the Spirit, "and this last is the most potent of all, for while a man suffers he can never feel weary." Then speaks out the *sensitive* nature in Tasso: "I had rather be wearied all my life than take this medicine." Shakespeare says, "He jests at scars who never felt a wound." He might have said, perhaps with more truth, "He jests at scars who never *feels* a wound." In the curious histories of malingering, which we receive from the medical officers of our prisons and public services, many instances of self-inflicted injuries occur which might doubtless be traced to the existence of a low standard of physical sensibility.* A remarkable instance came under my own observation many years ago in quite a young child, which makes it all the more striking, as infancy is very intolerant of pain. A little pauper girl presented herself one morning in the surgery of a country doctor, and lisped out a request to have a decayed tooth extracted. The tooth, which for a child was large and firmly fixed, was taken out without the smallest expression of suffering on the part of the child, and a penny was given her for being so brave. The next morning the little thing reappeared and asked to have another tooth out, this time pointing to a perfectly sound one, and it seems probable that she would have consented to the forcible extraction of the whole set at a penny per tooth.

There can be no doubt that a reputation for bravery and fortitude has often been the reward of physical insensibility, and the reproach of cowardice and timidity has, as frequently, brought unmerited contempt on an acutely sensitive organization. The suffering involved in a surgical operation may be a totally different thing to two different persons, and may well account for the confidence with which one person and the dread with which another submits to it. Before the introduction of anæsthetics there is no sort of doubt that many of these hyper-sensitives were actually killed by the suffering attending surgical interference. "Pain may kill," says Dr. Latham in one of his admirable essays: "it may overwhelm the nervous system by its mere magnitude and duration." Dryden deliberately preferred death to the pain of a severe surgical operation. This faculty of suffering—this exquisite refinement of the nervous system—has many compensating advantages;

* A writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on malingering remarks: "I have known one (a malingerer) stumble under a cart-wheel, and thus secure a broken leg—the more welcome since the fracture was compound, and promised to keep him many months under the surgeon's hands. I have known others to thrust their hands and feet into machinery, and at times even to lay open a muscle or lop off a finger or toe. Not long ago I saw a farm labourer of middle age, whom four months of a hospital had enamoured of that kind of life, and who had just shored off a finger with a hedging-bill, a few days after his restoration to liberty and work, doing this in order to return to the hospital!"

it is commonly regarded as the parent of refined taste, and, if combined with a certain robustness of intellect, it leads to the highest culture and the finest productions in literature and art. But this exquisite physical sensitiveness is a gift of doubtful value save in those rare instances in which it is accompanied by strong will and vigorous intelligence: without these companions, although it may yield a certain intensity to pleasurable and æsthetic sensations, it may even be doubted if it is best adapted, as it is often claimed to be, for true artistic appreciation. A little careful reflection will convince us that this hyper-sensitiveness, when not balanced by other qualities, interferes greatly with a true appreciation of the beautiful, and a just estimate of refined sensuous impressions. It often produces a state of mind which is not in itself pleasurable or admirable, an intensely subjective state, an attitude of attention to our smallest subjective sensations, a condition which absolutely preoccupies the observant faculties and renders impossible that keenly objective (receptive) attitude which is essential to accurate observation of the external, the foundation of all true artistic appreciation and all correct taste. Moreover, this acute physical sensibility is often self-indulgent, even when self-indulgence implies costly sacrifices; and, on the whole, it is a quality which we should endeavour, by education, to repress rather than to encourage.

Again: the infliction of physical pain as a punishment, in order to be strictly just, would have to be calculated according to the physical sensibility of the recipient; and as this is impossible in practice, it renders it a very unsuitable form of penal infliction.

I wish to contest the not uncommon opinion that physical pain is on the whole a good thing, and that without pain there could be no pleasure. "Pain in all its forms serves a purpose in the plans of God, as indispensable and sacred as that of His choicest gifts." "The suffering of humanity is on the whole necessary and beneficial." "To enjoy pleasure at all there must be alternation with sensations more or less painful."* Yet the same writer says on the very next page, "Pain is no sooner felt than we put forth every effort to be rid of it . . . one of the great ends of our being is to contend with, and, if possible, to annihilate physical suffering, to rid the world of it as soon as we can." But when this is accomplished, we shall be unable, according to the preceding statement, "to enjoy pleasure at all!" Either then, we are in a state of existence, "one of the great ends of which" we can never accomplish, or if we do accomplish this end, we shall "annihilate physical suffering," and with it all possibility of pleasure! A "great end" surely! Such are some of the self-contradictions which the apologists for physical pain indulge in.

To regard physical pain as a good thing, and yet to labour for its extinction, is surely an inconsistent attitude to assume, and would seem to point to some confusion of ideas. To write in panegyric of the

* Voysey: "Mystery of Pain," &c.

beneficent influence of pain, and to be, at the same time, an earnest searcher after anæsthetics, is not more reconcilable than most preaching and practice have ever proved to be.

Mr. Hinton also maintains that pain "disciplines and corrects the erring, chastens and subdues the proud, weans from false pleasure, teaches true wisdom;" and then his own clear insight, as well as his professional experience, urge him to add: "*Most often* in this sad world pain works, to our eyes, evil and not good; and where it works no good, it often falls most heavily." "There are pains *innumerable* which benefit neither the body nor the soul; which punish no moral wrong, which vindicate no material law against voluntary breach."* Was it wise, then, one is tempted to ask, to frame that first sweeping and high-sounding sentence? What is the meaning of these absolutely conflicting statements? These contradictions arise out of a desire to see design and purpose in what are simply accidental effects and conditions. For my own part, I am more in accord with another popular writer who says:—"I have but faint belief in the 'sweet uses of adversity.' I think they are about as mythical as the jewel in the toad's ugly skull, to which Shakspeare likened them. It is in prosperity that one looks up with leaping heart and clear eyes, and through the clouds sees God throned in light. In adversity one sees nothing but one's own dung-hill and boils."

Do we ever actually encounter any one (except in books and sermons) who appears to believe pain to be a desirable and good thing? Are there any who do not make efforts to avoid it? To bear pain with fortitude and patience, when it is unavoidable, is a manly and noble quality; but who has ever seen pain sought after as a genuine good, except in the self-regarding antics of religious fanatics? And to accept pain in this world as a sure guarantee of the joys of paradise is scarcely, to my mind, an elevated moral position. I doubt not that some natures are softened by pain, but many are hardened, "*eo immitior quo magis tolerarat*," and few indeed are strengthened. The weakening effect of physical pain on the moral nature of man was never lost sight of by those whose desire or interest it was to deceive or oppress him during the darkest ages of superstition and tyranny. Of its power to overcome the strongest moral resolution, the history of torture affords abundant evidence.

"La philosophie," says La Rochefoucault, "*trionphe aisément des maux passés, et des maux à venir; mais les maux présents triomphent d'elle.*"

Those who maintain that pain is a good thing, contend that it is especially so as the ground of sympathy and self-sacrifice. Now sympathy depends on two things: one is sensibility, mental or physical, and the other is imagination. Where there are sensibility, acuteness of sensation, and imagination, we shall find sympathy, quite irrespective of the

* Hinton: "Mystery of Pain," p. 29.

urgency of physical pain ; and no amount of physical hurt will call forth sympathy, where sensibility and imagination are absent. Then, as to the identification of pain with self-sacrifice, this seems to me to arise from defective analysis. Let us examine the case where self-sacrifice is associated with physical pain. Here we have to deal with two elements which are in emotional contrast :—

1st, The actual suffering from physical injury.

2nd, The pleasure and pride of self-sacrifice.

We must balance these two : if the former predominate, the sacrifice will be felt as a pain ; if the latter, as a pleasure. When self-sacrifice is not a pleasure I am inclined to doubt its moral beauty. Moreover, there are very strong grounds for believing that where there is great enthusiasm, or great mental exaltation and emotional excitement, such as accompany many forms of self-sacrifice,—as, for example, in cases of religious martyrdom,—ordinary physical sensibility is well-nigh extinguished.*

Those moralists who contend for the beneficent action of pain usually maintain also that pain and pleasure are inseparable. I have already quoted the writer who says, "To enjoy pleasure at all there must be alternation with sensations more or less painful." A French writer† on this subject is even more emphatic : "Ainsi, tout de même qu'il n'est pas possible de séparer la douleur du plaisir, tout de même il n'est pas possible qu'ils ne soient pas en proportion l'un avec l'autre. Les grandes joies ne sont qu'à la condition des grandes douleurs." In another place : "Il y a une connexion nécessaire entre le plaisir et la douleur ; il est impossible de concevoir que la douleur ne soit pas là où est le plaisir." It appears to me only necessary to say, in answer to this, that what is here stated to be inconceivable I and others can conceive. Indeed, I find no difficulty in conceiving an existence without pain. It is surely conceived in the doctrine of eternal felicity and in that of the Millennium. Montesquieu, in the *Lettres persanes* (cxx.), alludes in a spirit of raillery to the difficulty of finding pleasures wherewith to fill up eternity, but he does not hint that they should be alternated with pain, or that an eternity of pleasure is inconceivable. He says : "On épouvante facilement les méchants par une longue suite de peines dont on les menace, mais pour les gens vertueux on ne sait que leur promettre ; il semble que la nature des plaisirs soit d'être d'une courte durée, l'imagination a peine à s'en représenter d'autres. J'ai vu des descriptions du paradis capables d'y faire renoncer tous les gens de bon

* These peculiar mental states, the subjects of which make a "joy of grief," form of themselves a collateral study of great interest. Take the line in the *Stabat Mater*—

"Fac me cruce Christi inebriari !"

Such exclamations of states of emotional excitement, of strong disturbance of physical and mental sensation, represent the pleasures of states of mind which border on frenzy, on mania, or hysteria. These states of excitement of certain portions of the nervous system undoubtedly for a time paralyze ordinary sensation, and wounds and other injuries give no pain, which would, when the nervous system was in a state of calm equilibrium, be attended with acute suffering.

† Boullier : "Du Plaisir et de la Douleur."

sens : les uns font jouer sans cesse de la flûte ces ombres heureuses, d'autres les condamnent au supplice de se promener éternellement ; d'autres, enfin, qui les font rêver là-haut aux maîtresses d'ici-bas, n'ont pas cru que cent millions d'années fussent un terme assez long pour leur ôter le goût de ces inquiétudes amoureuses."

To say that there is no pain without pleasure is inconsistent with the commonest experience. What is the pleasure that accompanies or corresponds to the pain of sea-sickness ? What is the pain that accompanies or corresponds to the pleasure of a morning walk on the hill-side to a man in vigorous health ? I take at hap-hazard two of the simplest examples that occur to me. It has been argued that the pleasures of eating and drinking are dependent on the condition of having been preceded by the pains of hunger and thirst ; but hunger and thirst, when they are not pushed beyond what we call appetite, are not pains ; on the contrary, they are essentially pleasurable. This seems to me capable of being put very clearly. Want of appetite, absence of appetite, absence of hunger, is certainly regarded as painful. How, then, can the presence of appetite and the absence of appetite be both painful ? There has also been a contention among philosophers whether or not there exist states of indifference, neither pleasurable nor painful. Some maintain that there are such states, others that there are not. It seems remarkable to me that it should never have occurred to these gentlemen that their differences of opinion probably depended on differences of physical temperament or surrounding circumstances. Each man's conclusion was probably the result of personal introspection. He who was by nature cold and non-emotional would be familiar with states of indifference ; he who was of an ardent and emotional nature would know no such states. I well remember a gentleman who had arrived at middle age, and who had suffered much from dyspepsia, assuring me that only within the last few years had he known "the simple pleasure of existence!" What circumstances had made for him a state of pleasure would probably have been to some others a state of indifference.

There can be no doubt that some of those who argue that pain is, in itself, a good thing, extend its signification to cover an area far wider than I, for one, should accept ; and they seem, at times, to forget that pain is essentially dependent on conditions and circumstances. "I have known many a philosopher," says Dr. Latham, "outraged by his feelings, take to rating and chiding *his pain*, as if it were an entity or quiddity of itself." There are conditions of health in which food is absolutely a loathing, and when every kind of bodily exercise is wearisome and disagreeable. Would it be just, on that account, to say that there is an element of pain in taking food, and an element of pain in bodily exercise ? Yet Mr. Hinton seems to have fallen into this error when he argued that "a life from which everything that has in it the element of pain is banished, becomes a life not worth having ; or worse, of intolerable tedium and disgust ;" for by the context it is plain that he meant here by pain simply exercise, activity, work !

"Ascending mountains," he says, "seems to be a really painful task; cricket is associated with "roughness and fatigue," and a hard day's boating is "toil and even pain." Now whatever pain may arise in connection with these exercises is wholly accidental and not essential, and whenever they become painful to any individual concerned in them, it is because his efforts are not well within his powers; but even if no pain is felt, Mr. Hinton appears to maintain that it exists, for he adds, "pleasure will absorb pain and turn it to its own sustenance." This is indeed making a mystery of pain; for, according to this view, pain can exist in two states—one in which we can all recognise it by its familiar characters, and another in which we cannot recognise it, because it has none of its ordinary characters, being in a state of absorption!

The healthy exercise of our functions, the free play of all our bodily organs, is the chief condition of pleasure, and I, for my part, can see no necessary element of pain in this. One can find complex cases where the pleasure of exercise is mixed with the pain of fatigue, if search is made for them, but there is no lack of simple ones. Mr. Hinton goes on to speak of "the pains which are the very conditions of enjoyment to the healthy man." If any one desires to call these pains, then when such a person uses the word "pain" he is thinking of something that I am not thinking of. By pain I mean that which is in its nature essentially unpleasant, and I may borrow with advantage Mr. Herbert Spencer's suggestion, and "substitute for the word pain the equivalent phrase—a feeling which we wish to get out of consciousness, and to keep out."

The poets, with their natural delight in antithesis, seem, for the most part, to be on the side of those who think pain a good thing, or as closely correlated with pleasure; but they mix up the physical and the moral in these considerations—sensation and emotion, objective and subjective; and they do not aim at strict scientific analysis.

Lord Houghton has the following lines:—

"Who can determine the frontier of pleasure?
Who can distinguish the limits of pain?"

Pain has its Heaven, and Pleasure its Hell."

Voltaire has a somewhat similar thought—

"La peine a ses plaisirs, le péril a ses charmes."

And Lucretius says,—

"Medio de fonte leporum
Surgit amari aliquid quod in ipsis floribus angat."

Mr. Herbert Spencer has maintained, as an "inevitable corollary from the general doctrine of evolution, that pleasures are the incentives to life-supporting acts, and pains the deterrents from life-destroying acts." But he admits in the case of mankind—*i. e.*, in the particular case to which I have been referring—"there has arisen, and must long continue, a deep and involved derangement of the natural connections between pleasures and beneficial actions, and between pains and detrimental actions."

To examine fully Mr. Spencer's views would be incompatible with the necessary limits of this essay; but I take this opportunity of suggesting that the self-conserving sensations which he observes in the lower animals may be independent of either pleasure or pain. I would point to the common experiment of placing a drop of an irritating fluid on the skin of the thigh of a decapitated frog, and observing the efforts made by the animal to remove it; I would refer to Mr. Spencer's own statement that "there are also feelings yielded by the higher organs that are neither pleasurable nor painful, as are ordinary sensations of touch;" yet the "ordinary sensations of touch" are of the highest importance for self-conservation.

I would ask, too, What do we really know as to the capacity of feeling pain in the lower animals? Many have a nervous system apparently less adapted to feel pain than the frog, even after decapitation. The guidance of *sensation* is most obvious all through the animal world; but I doubt greatly whether we are justified in making pleasure and pain co-extensive with sensation, when looked upon purely from the point of view of self-conservation. Mr. Spencer seems to have too much respect for the guidance of inherited feelings, a guidance which is quite incompatible with civilization. Civilized society trusts to a higher guide—viz., to knowledge acquired by observation, experience, and research.

In considering the nature of pleasures and pains, Mr. Spencer recognizes at "one extreme the negative pains of inaction, called cravings, and at the other extreme, the positive pains of excessive actions," and implies "that pleasures accompany actions lying between these extremes." So he, like those poets I have quoted, conceives pleasures and pains as gradually running into one another, and therefore as alike in kind. If this view were correct, it would be scarcely practicable to study physical pain as a thing by itself, as I have been attempting to do. But there appear to me to be many considerations which invalidate this view of the nature of pleasure or pain. With what "medium activity" can we identify the very positive pleasure (to many persons) of repose and indolence? Xavier de Maistre says of his bed, "C'est dans ce meuble délicieux que nous oublions pendant une moitié de la vie les chagrins de l'autre moitié." To many natures all strong pleasures are essentially associated with excitement, with hyper-activity of function. There can surely be no difficulty in finding physical pleasures which are identified with high functional excitement, and certainly not with medium activities. The pain that results from excessive activities (if attended by excitement), is rarely felt at the time, but follows *after the excessive activity has ceased*. Mr. Spencer cites the common quotation, "Joy is almost pain" ("La joie fait peur" is another common quotation referring to the same theory), in support of the view that excessive activity is painful. But if we analyse the mental state alluded to in these quotations, we shall find that the wave of emotion is so strong that it overwhelms the will, and it is this con-

sciousness of the loss of self-control which is felt as painful, and this chiefly in certain naturally *self-contained* natures. But in reference to the commonest physical pains and pleasures, the very nerve-fibres through which they reach the sensorium appear to be distinct. The nerves which minister to the sense of touch yield us many pleasurable sensations, but the nerves which bring painful sensations from the surface of the body to the nerve-centres appear to be distinct from these; and certain persons suffering from nervous disease present this curious phenomenon, that they lose the power of feeling pain from a portion of the surface of the body while they retain the sense of touch! They suffer from what is called analgesia, but not from anæsthesia.

I maintain, then, that we are justified in studying physical pain as a thing by itself, and not as necessarily correlated with pleasure.

What, then, is physical pain? Physical pain is an accident of sensation. What happens if a cut be rapidly made with a sharp instrument into the flesh? There is a feeling of pain, not very severe if the instrument be sharp and fine, and if the cut is inflicted quickly; and there is also an outflow of blood. Here are two accidents, one dependent on the existence of organs of sensation, nerves, the other dependent on the existence of organs of circulation, blood-vessels. Why should one of these accidents be called a mystery and the other not? I will quote Dr. Latham again, who was one of the most thoughtful observers of the phenomena of disease. "Natural sensation," he says, "suffers offence from some cause or other; and hereupon it is altered, roused, exasperated, and so it becomes pain; but it is sensation still and nothing more." It must not be overlooked that the sensations the disturbance of which commonly gives rise to pain are sensations of which we are ordinarily unconscious; and it is only when they are raised or exasperated, that we become conscious of them. The skin, as I have already pointed out, is provided with special nerves ministering to the sense of touch, but it is also provided, as all parts of the body are, with nerves of common sensation, that diffused sensation which exists all over the body, and it is through these nerves that ordinary painful feelings are aroused. That general sense of *bien-être* (as opposed to general discomfort or *mal-aise*), which is the common accompaniment of perfect health, is, no doubt, derived from sensations arising in a diffused manner through the agency of these nerves of common sensation; so that there does exist after all a sort of latent consciousness of these sensations.

What, in the next place, are the offences that sensory nerves are prone to suffer, so that these sensations become heightened into pain? In by far the great majority of cases, pain is caused by mechanical compression of nerve-fibres, or, in other words, through the influence of physical pressure. Most of the cases in which *external* pressure is concerned are simple enough. The pain attending all external wounds and injuries falls under this head. I have already alluded to the well-known fact that wounds inflicted rapidly with very sharp and fine weapons, severing nerves with the slightest possible amount of mecha-

nical compression, are almost painless as compared with those produced by blunter and coarser instruments. Internal (and external) tumours are painless in the course of their growth, until they begin to exercise pressure upon (or stretch) nerve-fibres. The pain of inflamed parts is in direct proportion to the *tension* on the structures in or around the seat of inflammation, and anything which relieves the tension, relieves the pain. Inflammation of a hollow, spongy, highly elastic organ like the lung, into the hollows of which the inflammatory exudations can be poured without causing any tension, is painless, unless its covering, the inelastic pleura, is involved; and that is painful only when its opposite surfaces can *rub* together, and when they become separated by fluid effusion the pain mostly disappears. Then there is the pain attending muscular spasm; the muscle, stimulated to violent and irregular contraction, compresses unduly and unnaturally the nerve-fibres involved in it.

All these are common and obvious illustrations, as is also the case of peripheral compression of a nerve trunk (a bundle of nerve-fibres) from inflammation of the sheath enclosing it. But there is a less obvious yet extremely important manner in which compression of nerve-fibres, and therefore pain, may arise; and this I shall call *internal pressure*. By this I mean pressure arising within the nerve itself and exercised *in detail* upon its constituent fibres; for every nerve may, for purpose of explanation, be regarded as a cord composed of two kinds of very fine, thread-like tubes, intimately mingled; one set of tubes contain sensitive nerve matter, the other set of tubes contain blood. Now these latter, the blood tubes, are capable of *contracting* and *dilating*, and when they are in a state of undue dilatation they must *compress in detail* the nerve-tubes and their sensitive contents, amongst which they lie, and thus excite pain. There can be no manner of doubt that in very many instances of neuralgia or nerve pain—*i.e.*, pain limited to the course of some particular nerve—the pain is due to the temporary alteration in the calibre of the blood-vessels of the nerves themselves. Not unfrequently pain of this kind is throbbing or pulsating—that is to say, it is aggravated by each rhythmical impulse which the blood in the vessels receives from the heart's contractions. In the natural healthy state of the smaller blood-vessels they are provided with a power of converting this rhythmical, intermittent impulse into a continuous steady flow. But this power may be interfered with and disturbed, and it is to such disturbance that many painful conditions should be traced. I need not pursue this somewhat technical branch of my subject further, but so much was necessary by way of illustration, and to show how accidental in its origin physical pain may be.

There are many subordinate questionsⁿ of great social interest connected with the subject of pain; there are two especially that claim a brief notice now.

The first is the question of the infliction of pain on animals in the course of scientific research, a subject which I cannot help thinking

has been discussed, on both sides, with unnecessary vehemence and irritation. I am entirely in accord with those who sincerely desire to protect the lower animals, in every way, from unnecessary suffering, and I am quite satisfied that it is, on the whole, better that the Legislature should have taken upon itself the regulation of scientific experiments which involve vivisection. But, on the other hand, I have seen nothing of late years more painful, morally painful, than the literature that has been put forth by the so-called "anti-vivisectionists." There are few worse vices than systematic untruthfulness and wilful exaggeration; and these vices have been represented in this "movement" to a degree quite beyond my experience in any other. Men who are accustomed to value an argument exactly in proportion to its careful regard for truth, will naturally turn away altogether from such manifestations; but as some sensitive minds still appear to be exercised on this question, it may not be amiss to put forward a few plain considerations for their reassurance.

Let me say at once that I do not, for a moment, call in question the fact that vivisection has been practised in certain foreign universities with altogether unnecessary cruelty and disregard for animal suffering. Still less should I think of defending such practices, or desire to see them imitated in this country. Nor do I think it right or defensible to repeat painful experiments on animals in order to demonstrate that which needs no confirmation.

For all practical purposes the discussion may advantageously be restricted to the consideration of the two following questions:—Has civilized man a right, for any purpose, to inflict pain on the lower animals? Has the practice of vivisection brought any great advantage to men and animals?

To the first question there is this decisive answer:—That it has been the unvarying practice of the human race to sacrifice animal life (and as a necessary result to inflict pain on animals) whenever the safety, the necessities, the convenience, and even the pleasures of man required it. Whenever man has been brought into contact with wild predacious animals, the animals have been wholly or partially exterminated, certainly not without much necessary suffering.* The whale fishery must be attended with an enormous amount of suffering to animals very high in the scale of organization. What could be more cruel or

* Sir Joseph Fayrer in a paper read before the Indian section of the Society of Arts points out *per contra* to what a fearful extent wild animals prey upon man. He calculates that in our Eastern Empire, 20,000 human beings and 50,000 head of cattle are every year destroyed. In the year 1875—elephants killed 61 human beings and 6 head of cattle; hyenas killed 68 persons, 2116 head of cattle; bears 84 persons and 529 cattle; leopards 187 persons and 16,157 cattle; tigers 828 persons and 12,423 cattle; wolves 1016 persons and 9407 cattle; other animals, jackals, alligators, &c., 1446 persons; whilst snakes killed no less than 17,070 persons and 3466 cattle. Whole valleys have been at times depopulated, public roads and thoroughfares rendered literally unapproachable by human beings, even in broad daylight, and thousands of acres of once cultivated land have been entirely deserted and relinquished to brushwood and rank vegetation. He points out how much prejudice and superstition interfere with the destruction of these animals: "As long as men worship, and reverence with awe, the creatures which destroy them, the destruction of the destroyer is a most difficult end to attain."

painful than the methods we adopt to rid us of those creatures which we group together under the common name of vermin?

The pain inflicted in field and other sports has been too frequently urged to make it necessary for me to enlarge on that topic now, except to call attention to the singular assertion made by some anti-vivisectionist writers that the fox rather enjoys the chase that ends in his destruction, and that the salmon has a proud pleasure in his contest with the angler. How could these gentlemen have got so deeply into the confidence of the fox and the salmon? This is a ridiculous and lamentable example of the perversion of mind which controversy produces in certain persons. Seeing, then, that no effort has been made, and apparently no sympathy or excitement aroused, for the purpose of stopping the whale fishery, of preventing the boiling of lobsters alive, of preventing rats being caught by the middle or fore part of their bodies and slowly squeezed to death, or of diminishing the pain that the millions of victims of sport suffer; it really would seem that it is more from dislike of science than from love of animals that such violent agitation on the subject of vivisection has arisen.

To answer the second question fully—What have been the gains to humanity from careful and judicious experiments on animals?—would necessitate a detailed history of the progress of medical science for more than two centuries, and especially of the enormous progress of the last fifty years. It is simply a question of evidence. The case has actually been brought to trial before a highly competent tribunal, and both judgment and evidence can be found in the Report of the Royal Commission.

The pain, then, that is necessarily involved in regulated experimentation on animals is justified by its aims and purpose; a purpose which is of the very highest concern to humanity and civilization. Its objects are the diminution and even the extinction of disease and suffering; the prolongation of the vigorous period of human life, and therefore the period of intellectual activity and progress; the acquirement of a knowledge of the causes, and therefore the means of prevention, of the great scourges of the human race. These are the ends which experimental medicine has in view, and toward which, within the last half-century, more progress has been made than in the preceding millennium! Let me name but one disease, the secret of which experimental medicine is earnestly striving to discover. I mean hydrophobia, and I think I might safely say that any one who had stood by the bedside of a fellow-creature dying in the tortures of this disease would unhesitatingly sanction any wisely-devised experiments on animals calculated to bring to man a knowledge of the nature and the possibility of a remedy for this fearful malady. It is because medical men are brought face to face, in the urgency of actual fact, with sufferings such as these, that certain investigations, even though attended with animal suffering, appear forced upon them as a duty; a duty which cannot be so painful to any one as it is to those who are personally engaged in it. It is a fortunate thing for humanity that the progress of science is, to some extent,

independent of the shifting caprices of society, and that in every age men are to be found who pursue, by all legitimate means, truth and knowledge for their own sakes, and over whose lives popular clamour exercises little influence, and for whom popular favour has but small attraction.

Another very interesting question connected with the subject of pain is the one which was some time ago brought before the public with much ability by Mr. Lionel Tollemache, in a paper in the *Fortnightly Review*, entitled "A New Cure for Incurables."

Seeing that it is no longer contested that men have a right to evade physical pain whenever such evasion is possible, whenever its endurance can obviously do no good, provided that such efforts at evasion stop short of the destruction of life, an argument to the following effect has been put forward:—If it is lawful and right to relieve suffering at the price of insensibility for a time, or for any number of times consecutively, allowing only very short intervals of painful consciousness, why is it not lawful and right to relieve suffering continuously, by inducing that continuous anæsthesia which death insures? If a man is doomed to perpetual pain unless when unconscious from anæsthetics, why should he not be allowed, if he wishes it, to make that anæsthesia complete and permanent? Before I attempt to answer this argument it is pertinent to the question that I should point out that suicide under the conditions assumed is, as a matter of fact, very tenderly looked upon by the majority of people, and, probably, encounters more sympathy than reprobation; and that suicide to avoid a certain kind of shame and dishonour—a moral pain—has ever been defended as in the highest degree heroic!

But the legal sanction of homicide in order to set free from pain, as advocated by some writers on Euthanasia, should, to my thinking, be opposed, and chiefly on practical grounds. Nor can I avoid the conviction, judging from my own experience and that of many others, that the case for euthanasia has been greatly overstated by its advocates. It must be borne in mind that the last stage of fatal illnesses is generally much less painful than the preceding ones, and that in the vast majority of cases the act of dying is in itself probably painless, also that many fatal maladies are very commonly attended all through their course with a small amount of pain as compared with some less serious ailments. Any one who will take the trouble to walk through the wards of any large London hospital will be able to satisfy himself that the amount of acute suffering attending the most serious forms of disease is not nowadays very considerable. Much stress has been laid on cases of surgical injury, but these are the very instances in which it is often extremely difficult to say what cases are and what cases are not absolutely hopeless, recoveries having again and again occurred after the most extraordinary mutilations, and to the surprise of the most experienced surgeons.

It need scarcely be pointed out that it would be most inexpedient to attach much importance to the "wish" or "consent" of a person placed under the circumstances assumed by the argument.

Moreover, it is perfectly certain that we can, and do, promote euthanasia without shortening life. Continuous pain exhausts the physical forces, and actually kills; by relieving this pain—as every medical man would do, and his resources for this purpose are now very great—life would be prolonged rather than shortened, and yet euthanasia would be secured.

It has been maintained that a change in the law which would allow the premature extinction of a sick person by a concerted arrangement between himself and his friends would produce “benefits simply enormous.” It seems to me, on the contrary, that the risks and dangers and deceptions of such authorized poisonings would be so constant and appalling as to render the proposal absolutely impracticable. Nor can I personally feel anxious for the arrival of the time when nursing the sick, even the hopelessly sick, shall be looked upon only as “a nuisance” and “a danger.” But given a case which *must certainly* end fatally in a few hours or a few days, and *must certainly* be accompanied to the end with agony, no medical man, I apprehend, would hesitate to procure insensibility by all means in his power (and these are now many and efficient), and in the majority of cases life would be prolonged rather than shortened. To this extent it is a part of a medical man’s duty to promote euthanasia.

The question, to my own mind, is not so much one of morals as of public safety; and, although I am unable to admit the cogency of the arguments usually set forth by the advocates of euthanasia, I am equally unable to share the casuistical objections of its ordinary opponents. As a practical way of cutting the knot, I would suppose a case of injury received on the field of battle, which must certainly be fatal, and under circumstances that render removal impossible; is it better, in such a case, to allow death to be painful and conscious, or to insure that it shall be painless and unconscious? I cannot doubt what would be the conclusion of any humane mind in such a case. When there is constant acute pain associated with perfectly hopeless disease, and the end is certainly imminent, the plain duty of the medical man is to relieve the pain, whether by so doing he prolongs or shortens the few hours of existence that remain to the patient.

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to bring into prominence a view of the nature of physical pain somewhat at variance with that which is generally adopted by theologians and moralists, and also by many physiologists and physicians. It is a view which I believe to be far more in accordance with human progress and happiness than the one which at present prevails so widely. So long as physical pain can be regarded as a sort of supernatural infliction, the incidence of which is determined by some occult power, with the intention that it shall serve either as an improving, a warning, or a chastising agent, so long will it be impossible to rouse any general, vigorous effort for its permanent diminution, if not complete removal.

I. BURNAY YEO.

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION OF COMTE.

III.

IN a previous article I have tried to explain how Comte was led to treat Metaphysics and Theology as merely transitional forms of human thought, and to show that this view not only involves a false conception of their nature, but also necessitates an entire misrepresentation of the course of their historical development. To regard the history of Metaphysics and Theology as a purely *negative* process by which the first concrete fulness of religious conceptions was gradually attenuated till nothing remained but the bare abstract idea of Nature, and, on the other hand, to think of the history of science as the corresponding *positive* process by which the mind of man advanced from the general to the special, from the investigation of the simplest numerical and spatial relations of things to the knowledge of the complex social nature of man—this is a view of man's intellectual history, recommended by its simplicity and clearness, as well as by its correspondence with the most popular philosophy of the present time. But, as we have seen, it involves a one-sided conception of the movement of human thought in its scientific, and still more in its theological and metaphysical, aspects. Comte himself enables us to see that his first description of the history of science is incomplete, if not misleading; and that its movement is towards greater generality as well as towards more definite specification. And, as Metaphysics is only the clearest form of self-consciousness, and man's consciousness of himself deepens and widens with his consciousness of the objective world, we might expect to find that *it* also develops at once towards the universal and towards the particular; and when we look at the facts of the history of Metaphysics we find this expectation amply realised. Nor is it otherwise with religion—which is to the heart and the imaginative intuitions of man what philosophy is to his self-conscious intelligence; for the latest religion is at

once the deepest and the richest, the most complex and the most universal.

We cannot, however, give a completely satisfactory answer to Comte's criticism of Metaphysics and Theology without considering more fully the substitute which he would put in their place. For Comte is not simply an Agnostic, he does not deny the reality of the wants which Metaphysics and Theology have hitherto striven to satisfy; nor does he hold that these wants are, by the nature of things and of the human intelligence, for ever precluded from satisfaction. He does not, like some modern writers, reduce philosophy into a consciousness of the limits of the human mind, and religion into a vague awe of the unknowable. * On the contrary, he holds that Positivism for the first time supplies complete satisfaction to all the tendencies of the many-sided nature of man, whereas all earlier systems had been obliged to purchase one kind of culture at the expense of another,—to gratify the affections by the sacrifice of intellectual freedom, or to cultivate the intelligence to the neglect of the claims of the heart. To the Metaphysician he grants the necessity of a systematizing of knowledge in relation to one general principle, which shall furnish at once its first presupposition and its end. To the Theologian he grants that that inner harmony with self and with the world, which we call religion, can only be secured by a firm belief and trust in some being who transcends and comprehends our narrow individuality, "in whom we live, and move, and have our being." But while (in opposition to the tendencies of that scientific empiricism, which is often called Positivism), Comte thus recognises those claims of the intelligence and of the heart for which Philosophy and Theology had tried to provide, he still adopts as his own the empiricist condemnation of both, and seeks to show that, on the basis of empiricism itself, we may secure the complete satisfaction of all our spiritual wants. It is to this claim of Comte, to occupy in the name of Science the place from which Theology and Metaphysics have been expelled, that we must now direct our attention.

The contrast which Comte draws between his own philosophy and religion, and those of his predecessors, is expressed in the words "relative" and "subjective." His aim, he tells us, is a "subjective synthesis," while his predecessors had aimed at an "objective synthesis"—i.e., *they* had endeavoured to comprehend the world in itself, and in reference to a principle to which all its parts equally are related, and of which they are all the manifestations; while *he* is content to take his stand on the subjective unity of the human race, a unity which has grown out of the conscious or unconscious co-operation of all past generations, and which now manifests itself in the love and reverence of men for each other, and for the *Grand Être*, Humanity—of which they are all parts or members. For the existence of *this* Great Being is a fact which we can empirically verify, although we are tootlly unable to discover the meaning of that wider objective fatality, to

which ultimately the fortunes and life of mankind are subjected. Again, Comte contrasts his own philosophy with that of his predecessors as "relative" with "absolute." By this he means that Positivism takes account of the relations of the organism to the medium, of the individual to society, of the present to the past and the future; whereas it was the vice of Theology and Metaphysics to separate the part from the whole, the individual from his relations to other individuals and to the world, the present state of civilization from its organic root in the past. Hence, they tended to disjoin the ideal from the real, to judge things by an absolute standard, by which no room was left for modifying circumstances, and to lose sight of the attainable progress of humanity in the revolutionary pursuit of impossible Utopias. Now, as it is always best to criticise a writer by reference to his own principles and aims, we shall attempt to show that the main errors of Comte arise from his being not "subjective," not "relative" enough, even in the sense which he himself gives to these words. He is not "subjective" enough; for in the development of his theory he admits a kind of separation between thought and existence, which a logical development of his own principles must have led him to reject. And he is not "relative" enough; for he starts from philosophical principles which involve the denial of any necessary connection between man and the world, and even between the different elements in the nature of man, and he ends with a religion in which poetry is divorced from truth, and truth from poetry.

In the first place, however, we must clear up a certain ambiguity as to the idea of relativity. It is a commonplace of the sensationalist and empiricist school at the present day that we are confined to the knowledge of phenomena, and cannot rise to the knowledge of noumena, or things in themselves. Comte usually expresses this idea by saying that science is limited to the investigation of the laws of phenomena, and that it was the error of Theology and Metaphysics to seek to determine their causes. When, however, we try to ascertain the exact force of this opposition, we find that it may have two distinct meanings. For it is one thing to say, that Theology and Metaphysics gave false answers to a legitimate question, which was afterwards more correctly answered by science; and it is quite another thing to say that they attempted to answer a question different from the question of science, and which it is beyond the powers of the human mind to answer. Now, Comte sometimes speaks as if the error of the Theologians were simply that they sought to explain all phenomena by regarding them as the expressions of divine wills and intelligences analogous to our own; and as if the error of the Metaphysicians were simply that they repeated this explanation in a more irrational form, substituting personified abstractions for gods. At other times, he speaks as if the error of Theology and Metaphysics were that they attempted to determine the real nature of things, which can be known by us only in their phenomena. On the former view

Theology and Metaphysics are provisional hypotheses, in relation to the object of experience, which disappear when it is discovered that many of these objects which were assumed to be like man, are in many ways unlike him. On the latter view, they are pretended sciences, which do not relate to the phenomenal objects of experience at all, but to certain realities, supposed to be beneath or behind them. When we disentangle these two different views from each other, we find that they do not rest on the same logical basis and that they do not by any means imply each other. The former view implies only that our first idea of the world is confused and imperfect, and that it requires to be corrected by subsequent thought and experience. The latter implies that there are certain objects other than phenomena, the existence of which we know, but the nature of which we gradually discover ourselves to be incapable of determining. It implies, in fact, that our intelligence can discern its own limits, or, what is the same thing, can know that there is something beyond those limits. Now while, with certain modifications, we might not hesitate to grant the truth of the former of these doctrines, we should require some proof of the latter, or even of its logical possibility. For by it we are brought face to face with the difficulty of conceiving that we should be able to ask questions, which, not from external circumstances, but from the essential nature of our intelligence, are altogether unanswerable, and which therefore, we may say with certainty, we shall never be able to answer. This, which Mr. Spencer attempts to prove—by very inadequate reasonings, as it seems to me—Comte assumes without any proof at all. Hence, while he pretends to renounce metaphysics, he has committed himself to one of the most indefensible of all metaphysical positions. For the assertion that we know only phenomena, has no meaning except in reference to the doctrine that there are, or can by us be conceived to be, things in themselves—*i.e.*, things unrelated to thought; and that, while we know them to exist, we cannot know what they are. Now this dogma is simply the scholastic realism, or what Comte calls metaphysics, in its most abstract and irrational form. It is a residuum of bad metaphysics, which, by a natural nemesis, seems almost invariably to haunt the minds of those writers who think they have renounced metaphysics altogether.

The authority of Kant is often quoted in support of the doctrine of the existence of things in themselves: indeed, it seems to be the doctrine which is most generally associated with his name. But Kant was precisely the writer who, by the general direction and tendency of his thought, did most to free modern speculation from such an illusion. For it was his main aim and purpose to show that the determination of objects, as such, is possible only in relation to the unity of apperception, or, in other words, of self-consciousness, and by means of the universals, which he calls the Categories. When Kant says that things in themselves are unknowable, and that the things we know are phenomena, it is that he may call attention to the fact that it is only

through the universals of thought that objects are knowable by us as such. And he soon proceeds to point out that even the *existence* of things in themselves, is, for the Speculative Reason,* problematical; though the *thought* of them is forced upon us by the ideas of reason. Kant, in fact, insists on the unknowableness of things in themselves, mainly and in the first instance, in order that he may show the correlativity of object as such with the knowing subject. And the later idealists of Germany went beyond this only in so far as they pointed out that, if we take this correlation strictly, if it is impossible that we can transcend the unity of being and knowing, then it is only by a false abstraction that we can speak of the existence of things in themselves at all—*i.e.*, of an existence which is not thought or relative to thought—of a noumenal being which is the opposite of the phenomenal. There can be no opposite of that unity of thought and being, which is presupposed in all knowledge and experience, and to speak of its existence is to use words without meaning. As Heine wittily says, “the distinction of objects into phenomena and noumena—*i.e.*, into things that for us exist, and things that for us do not exist—is an Irish bull in philosophy.” Comte sometimes speaks as if he had a glimpse of this truth,† but when he comes to apply it, he shows that it is one thing to express an idea in general terms and quite another to see its philosophical bearing and value. Thus, in the passage quoted in a previous article,‡ Comte’s idea seems to be, that the images of things—individual objects as such—are immediately given in sense, that the mind reacts, in the processes of abstraction or generalization, to raise perception into knowledge, and that knowledge, therefore, *because* of its generality, is subjective. Now this is simply the old idea of Locke, that general ideas are fictitious, in so far as they imply the “work of the mind.” And it naturally leads to the doctrine that the reality of things is beyond the reach of knowledge; for the very process of generalization which is indispensable to knowledge removes us from the reality of the object. If, however, an intelligible object is impossible, as Kant maintains, except for an intelligence and through its universal forms, then the supposition of an object existing in pure individuality and without relation to an intelligence is a contradiction; and the incapacity of an intelligence to know such an object, is rather its inability to feed itself with the fictions of abstraction. It is the strength, and not the weakness of thought, that repels it from that which is irrational.

Now, if we reject, in the sense just explained, the distinction between phenomena and noumena—resting, as it does, on an irrational separation of thought and being—we must at the same time abandon Comte’s conception of the relation between metaphysics and positive

* It would be out of place here to speak of the importance of “things in themselves” for the Practical Reason in Kant’s theory.

† See especially Pol. Pos. i. p. 356 (Eng. transl.); cf. iii. p. 15.

‡ CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for June, p. 529; Pol. Pos. ii. p. 30. Cf. also Comte’s Analysis of the Intellectual Powers, Pol. Pos. i. p. 571—584.

science. For it is only from the point of view of abstract nominalism that we can oppose, as he does, the scientific inquiry into the laws of the succession and resemblance of phenomena, to the metaphysical inquiry into their causes as entities lying behind or beyond the phenomena. But modern metaphysics, while it has destroyed the idea of such entities by bringing into prominence the relativity of object and subject, has, at the same time, and by the same process of reasoning, shown that the individual cannot be separated from the universal. In other words, the world cannot be conceived, in the spirit of nominalism, as a collection of individual objects and events, related *merely* as similar or dissimilar, co-existent or successive, any more than it can be conceived, in the spirit of the false scholastic realism, as a mere phenomenal appearance of certain abstract, self-identical substances or entities. Objects cannot be determined as individual objects except through universal or necessary relations, any more than universals can be conceived as existing apart from, and independent of, individuals. Hence, if it is absurd to speak of causes which are not laws of the relations of individuals, it is equally absurd to speak of laws which are not causes; in other words to speak, as Comte does, of laws that indicate *only* the relations of similarity or succession between phenomena, as if phenomena had any existence as pure individuals apart from their relations. Comte's own best achievement was to show that, in one great department of science at least, this distinction does not hold good. It was to show that society, whether in the form of the family, of the nation, or of humanity, is *not* merely a collection of similar individuals, but a unity of organically related members; and that its development is *not* merely a succession of events, but the evolution of one life which remains identical with itself through all its changes. And in this he was not refuting metaphysic, but following directly in the course of the great metaphysicians of the preceding generation. It might, indeed, be shown, that none of the greatest names in philosophy—not Plato or Aristotle, not Spinoza or Leibnitz—was, strictly speaking, either a scholastic realist or a scholastic nominalist, though in all before Kant there were tendencies to one or other of these extremes. But the philosophy that took its origin with Kant—and which Comte should have criticized, if his criticism on metaphysic was to be, according to his own frequent phrase, “on the level of his age”—had set before itself as its distinctive purpose and aim, to transcend this opposition. In that philosophy Comte would have found just what he wanted—a way of asserting the reality of the universal, which should not involve the denial of the reality of the individual. For want of the knowledge of it, the end of his system is in contradiction with its beginning. For he begins with a vehement denial of the universal as existent in itself,—a denial which is expressed in the individualistic language of the school of Locke,—and he ends with an equally vehement assertion of the social universal against the individualism of Rousseau. And his “subjective

synthesis"—even its latest form—is embarrassed by hesitations and inconsistencies, which were caused by the fact that he could never shake himself free from that implicit nominalism with which he had started.

It is to this last point that we must now direct our attention. What does Comte mean by saying that the ultimate synthesis of knowledge is "not objective but subjective?" If we took the words in their most natural meaning, we should be led to suppose that Comte held that theory of subjective individualism, which was the logical result of Berkeley's so-called idealism, and the basis of the scepticism of Hume. Among later writers this theory has been most fully expressed in some of the works of J. S. Mill, and it is still offered by Mr. Spencer and Professor Huxley as one of the two alternative theories (the other being Materialism) between which philosophy must for ever fluctuate. According to this view, the individual directly knows nothing except the states of his own subjectivity; or, if he seems to know anything else, it is through a process of association, the result of which can never be verified, seeing that no one can go beyond the bounds of his own consciousness. Now it is obvious that, if this be the truth, "the subjective" and "the individual" go together and imply each other; for, if we cannot transcend our own individuality, so as to apprehend other things, or come into communication with other beings, then we must live a purely subjective life. And if, on the other hand, it can be shown that we know other things and beings as directly and immediately as we know ourselves, then our subjectivity is no longer a limit to us, but a "subjective synthesis" may be at the same time "objective." Now, it was one of the principal results of the German idealism to show that this latter view was the true one, and that thought is not merely a state of the individual subject as such. To speak of the consciousness of the individual as limited to the apprehension of its own states, is, indeed, the reverse of the truth; for the consciousness of self implies the consciousness of the not-self, and grows with it, and by means of it. We are "a part of all that we have known," and all that we have known is a part of us. Our life widens with our world, and is, indeed, the same thing from an opposite point of view. When we realize this correlativity of subject and object in knowledge we can no longer contemplate the thinking being as merely one individual, among the other individuals of the world. We are forced to recognise that the consciousness of self lifts him to a universal or central point of view—a point of view which is central, not merely in relation to his own feelings and states, but central also in relation to the objective world. The being who knows himself as an individual is, for that very reason, not merely individual; he can know a reality which is not merely that of his own subjective states or sensations, and he can identify himself with an end which is not merely his own pleasure or pain. The possibility of an intellectual life for us, indeed,

lies just in this, that we can regard—nay, that to a certain extent we cannot *but* regard—our own individuality from a point of view in which it has no more importance than other individualities; or, at least, in which all its importance is derived from its relation to the whole of which it is a part. And the poet who said,—

"Unless above himself he can
Exalt himself, how mean a thing is man!"

had truly discerned that moral life also is dependent on the transformation of man's individuality by this universal consciousness with which it is linked and bound up.

Now this view of self-consciousness, as objective in spite of its subjectivity, universal in spite of its individuality, necessarily leads to a conception of man, not merely as *one* of the many existences in the manifold universe, but as *the* existence in which all the others are summed up, and through which they are to be explained. On one side of his being, indeed, we must regard him as a "part of this partial world,"* and, in this point of view, we can understand his life only in relation to the other things and beings which limit him on every side. Nay, as he is the most complex and dependent of existences, we can only rise to a satisfactory knowledge of him, after we have laid a basis for this knowledge, in the study of the simpler phenomena of the organic and inorganic world. But, on the other hand, the possibility of all this objective science—of this science by man of that which is not man—lies in this, that he is not merely part of the whole, not merely the most complex existence in the whole, but that the universal principle, the principle which gives unity to the whole, manifests itself in him. It is because, as has been said, "Nature becomes conscious of itself in man," that man in his turn can read the open secret of Nature. In spelling out the meaning of Nature and history, he is taking the true way, and indeed the only way, to the knowledge of himself; but this knowledge would be to him impossible if the self-consciousness that makes him man were not also the principle of unity in the objective world. Comte himself has an obscure perception of this truth when he says that, "strictly speaking there is no phenomenon within our experience which is not in the truest sense human; and that not merely because it is man that takes cognizance of it, but also because, from a purely objective point of view, man sums up in himself all the laws of the world, as the ancients truly felt."† If Comte had only brought together the subjective and the objective unity—the unity of knowledge, and the unity of existence—both of which he here finds in man, and if he had recognized the necessary relation of the two, he would have reproduced the highest lesson of German idealism. For that lesson is just this, that the subjective unity, the unity of self-consciousness, which is presupposed in all knowledge of experience of the objective world, must at the same time be regarded as the objective principle of

* Cf. Mr. Green's Introduction to Hume's Works, § 152. † Pol. Pos. iv. 161 (Transl.).

its existence. The *macrocosm*, to use an ancient conception, of which Comte somewhere speaks with approval, can be comprehensible only to the *microcosm*,—which finds in the great world the means of understanding itself, just because in another way it has in itself the key for the understanding of the world. Man can know that which is not in himself, whether individually or generically, because from another point of view there is nothing in which he does not, or may not, find himself.

As a consequence of this, the last science, the science of man, in so far as it is also the science of mind, cannot merely be built upon and added to the sciences that go before it, but must react upon and transform them. For, though the knowledge of man presupposes the knowledge of Nature, yet, on the other hand, the knowledge of Nature which we get, when we abstract from it its relation to man, is imperfect and incomplete. The true view of Nature cannot be attained except by those who regard it in relation to that being who is at once its culmination and its explanation. Or, to put this in another point of view, the intelligence which appears in man is presupposed in every object of the intelligible world. Self-consciousness is, therefore, not an episodic appearance in a world, which is unprepared for it, and which might exist, or be understood, without it. It is the revelation of the meaning of all that went before. What was stated not long since as the modern view of Materialism, that in matter we find the "potency" of life, and even of mind, may be willingly accepted by idealists; for the converse of this proposition is, that mind is the "realization," and therefore the only key to the ultimate nature of matter. Hence all the sciences which treat of the mathematical, physical, chemical, and vital relation of things, must be regarded as hypothetical and imperfect, in so far as they start with an abstraction; for thought, spirit, mind, is implied in them all, and a complete idea of the relations of things cannot be obtained, until we have regarded humanity as, in this point of view, not only the last, but also the first, not merely the end, but also the beginning of nature. In this sense the analytic separation of the sciences from each other and from thought must be modified and corrected in a final synthesis, which is indeed "subjective," in so far as it brings into view the unity of the subject presupposed in all knowledge. But to one who has understood the full meaning of the process, this "subjective synthesis" is also objective; and, indeed, it alone is able to vindicate, while it explains, the limited objectivity of the other sciences.

Now it is Comte's merit that he altogether rejects that false subjective synthesis, which was the natural result of the principles of Locke and Berkeley. Denying the doctrine that we know immediately only the states of our own consciousness, and that, therefore, all science is based upon psychology, he takes his stand at an objective point of view, and arranges the sciences in an objective order, which begins with the inorganic world, and ends with man as the complex of all existences. And, on the other hand, it is also his merit that he sees the necessity of that

true "subjective synthesis" which arises from the reaction of the last science, the science of man, upon those that went before; or, in other words, from the perception that man is not merely the end, but also in a sense the beginning of Nature. But this ultimate correction and re-organization of science from a subjective point of view appears in Comte in a distorted and imperfect form, in a form that leaves "subjective" and "objective" synthesis still opposed to each other, or only gives room for an artificial or external reconciliation between them. For Comte does not recognize the subjectivity implied in our first objective knowledge of the world, and hence, when he introduces the subjective side of that knowledge, he seems to be starting from a new and independent point of view, and not simply to be bringing into clear consciousness what was presupposed in the previous movement of thought. In other words, the subjective synthesis of Comte does not arise from a perception that the subjectivity of men is universal, and therefore objective. On the contrary, he denies the possibility of discovering any principle of unity in the objective world, and maintains that the objective sciences, when left to themselves, tend towards the "régime dispersive" of a wayward and lawless curiosity. Hence the principle of unity which is necessary to bring order and system into our knowledge must be imported into these sciences from without. On this view, we can organize knowledge only in reference to the subjective principle supplied by the altruistic affections, which are innate in man, which bind men together so as to make all humanity through all space and time into one great organism, and which supply a definite end and aim to all the intellectual, as well as to all the active energies of the individual. This subjective principle has, Comte thinks, been the unconscious stimulus of all the efforts of the social and intellectual leaders of men in the past; it has been the source of all that organized co-operation of families and nations on which man's physical and moral progress has depended. Positivism has to make it into the direct and conscious purpose and aim of human endeavour, and thereby to check that vain and wasteful application of man's limited powers, which has prevailed in the past, and especially during the revolutionary period of transition, now coming to an end. Hence Comte condemns, not only the metaphysicians, for their researches into things altogether out of the reach of man, but also the scientific men, for their eagerness to extend the knowledge of their special subjects indefinitely and in any direction suggested by an empty curiosity, without regard to the practical end of all science. The Mathematician, who wastes himself in the discovery of forms and methods which have no known relation to the requirements of physics; the Biologist, who speculates on the origin of species, forgetting how little light such inquiries can throw on the development of man; even the Sociologist, who pursues remote investigations into the history of climate and race, "before such studies are made necessary by the practical difficulty of extending the civilization of the West, regenerated by

Positivism, to the populations that are less advanced in civilization" are all brought under the Comtist anathema as guilty of wasting the small powers of man on questions which are not immediately necessary or useful. "The public and its teachers should always refuse to recognize investigations which do not tend either to determine more precisely the material and physical laws of man's existence; to throw greater light on the modifications which these laws admit, or at least to render the general method of investigation more perfect." "It is necessary that the sciences should in the first instance be studied independently but this study should in each case be carried only so far as is necessary, to enable the intellect to take a solid grasp of the science next above it in the scale, and thus to rise to the systematic study of Humanity, its only permanent field."* With this view, the priests of Positivism are, as we have seen, to have no specialists among them; nor, indeed, any, who will devote their lives to scientific investigation alone; except, it may be, a few distorted and unbalanced natures, in whom an abnormal tendency to intellectual pursuits has stunted the growth of the moral sympathies. To make scientific men renounce the intellectual life as an end in itself, and to direct all their energies to the solution of those problems which seem to have most immediate relation to the improvement of man's estate, is one of the main objects which Comte has in view in restoring the spiritual power. A free development of each science for itself apart from the rest, and a free development of science as a whole, without reference to action for ends determined by social sympathy, are equally opposed to the Comtian ideal. The world and all objects in it are to be regarded by the Positivist merely as means, which we seek to know not for themselves, but only in order that we may use them for a predetermined end. For, according to Comte, the energies of the intelligence run to waste except when they are directed by an *esprit d'ensemble*, and the only totality, with reference to which such systematic direction is possible, is the "subjective" totality of humanity.

I have already indicated to some extent the grounds on which I would criticize this theory of "subjective synthesis." It implies, for one thing, that there is no natural convergence of the sciences, due to the unity of the parts of the intelligible world with each other and with the intelligence; but that the synthesis of knowledge is artificial, and forced upon it from without. Man, in Comte's point of view, is not a *microcosm*, who finds himself again in the *macrocosm*. He is like a stranger in a foreign country, who seeks to arm himself with such fragments of knowledge about it as are necessary for his protection and his own private ends. Yet this statement, without qualification, would not be altogether just to Comte; for, in his view, the individual man *does* find himself in the presence of one "object," which is also "subjective,"—of one Great Being, which he has not to treat as an external means to ends of his own, but rather in which he has to find his own end. The synthesis

* Pol. Pos. i. 370, 383.

of knowledge, therefore, is not subjective so far as Sociology and Morals* are concerned, whatever it may be in regard to the other sciences. The unity, in reference to which knowledge is to be organized, is not merely the unity of man's nature as an individual, but rather as a "collective" being (a bad adjective surely to apply to mankind, when they are regarded as "members one of another"). Comte thus repeats the "*homo mensura*" in the sense that Humanity is for each man the measure of all things (though things in themselves escape all our measuring). We can transcend ourselves so far as to take the point of view of humanity, though not so far as to take the point of view of the objective unity of the world. Nay, it may even be said that we *must* so transcend ourselves, for Comte denies that the individual can separate himself from his race, except by a forced and illegitimate abstraction. "Man, as an individual," he declares, "cannot properly be said to exist except in the too abstract brain of modern metaphysicians;" and the same principle on its ethical side leads him to condemn the doctrine of absolute personal rights, and to say that "individuals should be regarded not as so many distinct beings, but as organs of the one Supreme Being." According to these principles it would be impossible for us either to know what we are as men, or to live a life in accordance with our nature as men, if we were confined within the limits of a purely individual consciousness. Our consciousness of ourselves is essentially social, and the individualistic point of view is the result of a false abstraction, which can never be made complete. For, strive as we will, we cannot in thought, any more than in reality, isolate the individual from society, without at the same time taking from him all that characterizes him even as an individual. To speak, therefore, of knowing man, except as a member of the family, of the nation, or the race, is irrational. The science of man would be impossible if we were not able to get beyond our individuality, and to look at it, as well as at all our other individualities, from the point of view of the unity of humanity.

To such a conception of the nature of man as essentially social, few, we think, would nowadays object. But a "metaphysician" might wish to carry it a little further, and to recognize not only the essential relation of man to man, but also the essential relation of man to the universe. If it is a fiction of abstraction to separate the individual from society, is it a less fiction to isolate him from the world in which he lives, and in relation to which all his powers and tendencies have been developed? To ask what humanity would have been in a different world is surely as absurd a question as to ask what he would have been had he not lived with his fellow-men. If it be allowed and asserted that the objective or universal point of view is possible, or even necessary, in relation to humanity, there is no ground for denying that it is possible and necessary in relation to the universe. Once admit that the individual can,

*The distinction made in the "*Politique Positive*" between Sociology and Morals, depending as it does on the opposition of the intellect to the heart, will be discussed afterwards.

and even must, so transcend his own individuality as to regard himself as part of a greater whole, and to measure his actions by another standard than his own pleasures and pains, and there is no ground left for denying the possibility of an objective synthesis. If the relativity of man to man makes it impossible to know him except from the point of view of humanity, the relativity of man to the world makes it impossible to know humanity except from the point of view of the unity of the whole. To stop short with the universal of humanity is a mere compromise, which, like many compromises, is less rational than either of the extremes between which it stands. All knowledge implies the universality of thought—i.e., implies that man, as a thinking being, can, and indeed must, apprehend the world from a subjective, which is also an objective, point of view. For man's consciousness of himself is at the same time a consciousness of the Not-self, and of the unity to which both these correlative elements belong. From the dawning of consciousness he is thus lifted above his own separate and partial existence as an individual; he lives a life which is not merely his own life, but the life of the world. He is and can become more and more completely the organ of that universal spirit which transcends and includes all things, which

"Lives through all life, extends to all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent."

It is only in this way that he is capable of science, or morality, or religion; for so far as he speaks his own words, or does his own deeds, or thinks his own thoughts, he speaks and acts and thinks folly and evil; and it is only in so far as he makes himself the instrument of some universal power or interest, that his individual action, or thought, or utterance can have any dignity or value. It shows an imperfect apprehension of this truth to say with Comte that Humanity and not God is the universal power in whose service the individual is to find spiritual freedom; and that, therefore, the ultimate synthesis must be subjective and not objective. For the only philosophical difficulty is to conceive how man can transcend his individual subjectivity, and, if *that* is shown to be for him possible, and even necessary, there is no reason whatever to deny that he can rise to the knowledge of God, the absolute or objective unity of the world.

Comte, however, is hindered from recognizing this unity by another class of considerations. In opposition to that external optimistic teleology, which was so common at the end of last century, and at which the Encyclopedists aimed so many blows, he was led in his *Philosophie Positive* to dwell upon the fact that, from the point of view of human happiness, the arrangements of the universe, astronomical, physical, and biological, are anything but perfect. Poetry, indeed, may be allowed to imagine that the powers of Nature are the friends; according to Comte, must recognize that the world as it is cast is far from furnishing the best conceivable development; and that it has only become

it at present is, by the long "providential action" of man himself. At this point, however, there is no little crossing of opposite lines of thought in Comte's philosophy. For it is one of the leading conceptions of the *Politique Positive* that the influence of an external limiting fatality, which forces upon man the surrender of his natural self-will, was the necessary condition of the development of all his higher powers of intelligence and heart. Comte is never weary of showing that the growing preponderance of the altruistic affections, which alone can give unity to human life, is dependent upon the existence of those limits which are put upon the desires of man by the external world. "Without this continual ascendant," he declares, "man's feelings would become vague, his intelligence wanton, and his activity sterile. If this yoke were taken away, the problem of human life would remain insoluble, since altruism would never conquer egoism. But assisted by the supreme fatality, universal love is able habitually to secure that personality should be subordinated to sociality. All the sophisms of pride could not hinder the positive spirit from recognizing that all revolt springs from egoistic impulses. A forced submission tends indirectly to make altruism prevail by the very fact that it represses egoism. But this moral reaction is supremely efficacious when obedience becomes voluntary, because then sympathy is directly developed, and no murmur any longer hinders us from getting the benefit of our subjection."* From this point of view the external fatality can no longer be called unfriendly, or even indifferent to man; or rather its immediate appearance as his enemy is the condition of its being, in a higher sense, his friend. Kant, in his short treatise on history (with which Comte was acquainted, and which probably had no little influence upon the *Politique Positive*), applies the same thought to the struggle and competition of mankind with each other. The selfish rivalry itself, he contends, is in the long run the means of developing a higher sociality than could have existed among a race of beings with whom personal feeling was at first less intense. Egoism itself becomes the means of elevating men above egoism. Thus in both cases, conditions which, in the first instance, seemed to be hostile to the intellectual, and still more to the moral, development of man, become, because of the inner reaction which they call forth in his nature, the best means to that development. "Out of the eater comes forth meat; out of the strong sweetness." On such a view it seems a fair criticism to make that it looks very like a proof that those things which seem in the first instance to be evils, and which, taken by themselves are evils, are the necessary, though negative, conditions of higher good. But a negative condition is still a condition, and the gods are not envious because they refuse man a lower good in order to make him seek one which is higher. No conclusion unfavourable to Optimism, in any high sense of the word, can be founded on the fact that the world is not arranged for the immediate happiness of man, if

* *Synthèse Subjective*, p. 16.

that immediate happiness would have been purchased by his moral degradation ; or even if it would have been less powerful to call forth the higher energies of his nature. If the noblest love is a transmute and transcended egoism, then even an infinite benevolence would not seek directly to stop the unlovely and selfish struggle which darkens and poisons the life of man on earth. The best kind of optimism—the optimism, if we may so term it, of the deepest and tenderest spirit who have called themselves Christian—has not been based upon a shallow and imperfect view of the misery, still less of the moral evil, of man's life. Rather it has been attained through the clearest perception of both. It has been an Optimism that "descended into the grave" of human happiness, and even, if we might so interpret the creed of Christendom, into the "hell" of human guilt, that it might rise again "bearing captivity captive."* And Comte, who in his primary opposition to theology and metaphysics, had rejected all absolute or theological conceptions of the world, is led by the natural development of his thought to find a higher design in the immediate negation of design, and to extend to the universe that idea of unity which in the first instance he had applied only to humanity. But, as he could never quite forget the negations with which he had started, his recognition of this unity was imperfect, and he was ultimately forced to cast upon poetry the office for which science seemed to be inadequate.

The truth to which these inconsistencies of Comte point, is, that all unfavourable criticism of the system of things to which we belong is, from a truly "relative" point of view, irrational. For the critic, and the standard by which he criticises, cannot be separated from that system. To criticise things as particulars is not unreasonable, because we can test the particulars by the universal ; but to criticise the general system of which they and we are parts, and by which our development—and of course among other things, the development of our moral standard—is made possible, is to stand on our own heads and to leap off our own shadow. If, indeed, we could assume an individualistic point of view, if we could isolate ourselves at once from the world which is our only sphere of activity, and from the social life of the race which is the source of all our culture, we might then take the pleasures and pains, the feelings that belong to us as sensitive individuals, as a standard by which to criticise the world. But in any other point of view, criticism is possible only as a reference of the individual to the universal, of the part to the whole, of the various elements and phases of the system of things to the idea which forms the unity of that system, and the principle of its development. It has often been pointed out that a logical scepticism cannot be universal, for every intelligible view of things implies an ultimate unity of thought and of existence, of the *esse* and the *intelligi*. Doubt must rest on a basis of certitude, or it will destroy itself. But it is not less true, though it is less frequently noticed, that

* Cf. Von Hartmann's *Selbst-Zersetzung des Christenthums*.

all criticism of the evils of the world implies an ultimate optimism. For, if such criticism pretends to be more than the utterance of the tastes and wishes of an individual, it must claim to be the expression of an objective principle; a principle which, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, is realising itself in the world. If, as Hegel said, the "history of the world is the judgment of the world," then, conversely, every true moral judgment is an anticipation of history; it is a discovery of hidden forces that are certainly working out their triumph in the world, often by means of that which seems most to oppose them: it is a prophetic sympathy with the "spirit of the years to come," which is "yearning to mix itself with life." It is this objective character which often makes the words of genius carry with them such weight and power. "He spake as one having authority, and not as the scribes," could be truly said only of one whose speech was like some natural force in its independence of merely individual and of temporary influences. On the other hand, it is the limited and subjective character of many of the ordinary moral judgments of men—of much of their fault-finding with the conditions of existence, the defects of their neighbours, and the errors and evils of the time—which makes us treat such judgments with indifference. We feel that they are in great part the expression of personal likes and dislikes, though clothing themselves in the lion's skin of a moral censorship; and that the only answer which they deserve is, that "there is no disputing about tastes." Much of the superficial pessimism of our day is the offspring, not of deep sympathy with the real evils of humanity, but of a weakness of moral fibre, which might tempt us to cut the knot of difficulty with the apparently unfeeling words of St. Paul, "Shall the clay say to Him who has formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?" But there is another moral judgment than this, which is not the mere expression of the tastes and wishes of individual classes, but of the inner law and the necessity of things, or in other words of the universal spirit of man, which in the long struggle of development is becoming more and more clearly conscious of itself and of the law of the world. It is only as the organ of this spirit that the individual can claim to "judge the world;" nor can he make that claim without taking up the ground of a philosophical optimism, and acknowledging that the "soul of the world is just." For the sentiment or idea of good implied in such judgment, must either be the last result of the development of man in the world—in which case the system of things which conditioned the result cannot be criticised by it; or it must be the pure utterance of individual feeling, in which case it has no objective value whatever. To suppose with Comte that it is *objective*, as being something which belongs not to the individual but to the race, yet *subjective*, as being something that belongs to human nature and not to the nature of things in general, is a hopeless attempt to combine in one two inconsistent points of view—the point of view of the philosophy of Locke, by which the

individual consciousness is conceived as confined to the apprehension of its own states, and the point of view of modern idealism, according to which the consciousness of the thinking subject as such, is universal and objective.

At this point it may be useful to look back and to sum up the various contradictions, or let us rather say, the various forms of the same contradiction, which appear and reappear in different parts of the system of Comte. Beginning with the rejection of metaphysics, because it treats universals as real entities, and with the individualistic definition of science as having to determine *only* the successions and resemblances of phenomena, Comte soon has to point out that in cosmology and even in biology we have to deal with existences whose parts and successive phases are indefinable, except in and through each other and through the whole to which they belong. Beginning with objective science, and thus unconsciously assuming that the subjectivity of thought is not inconsistent with the knowledge of objects as such, he ends by asserting that only a "subjective synthesis" is possible. Yet this subjective synthesis is itself objective, for its point of view is determined, not by the sensations and feelings of the individual subject as such, but by the idea of humanity as a corporate unity. Thus, the opposition between subject and object reduces itself to a dualism between the world and the man. Hence, in place of the worship of God, the absolute unity to which all thought and existence are referred, Comte would substitute the worship of Humanity, "the real author of the benefits for which thanks were formerly given to God." Finally, even this dualistic view of the world is practically withdrawn. For the negative relation of the external fatality to man's immediate wishes, is proved to be instrumental to his ultimate attainment of a still higher good. And as if this were not enough, poetry is invoked to give completeness to the synthetic view of the world, and to reconcile the two independent sentiments which must combine in order to produce a religion, submission and love. For, although Comte at first thinks it sufficient to say that the necessity of nature is mediated to us by Humanity, yet in the end he feels that there is an essential imperfection in a religious system in which the ultimate fatality to which we must submit cannot be identified with the Great Being whom we love and serve. On this point a few additional remarks may be useful.

Comte defines religion (and we cannot but acknowledge the substantial truth of the definition) as the concentration of the three altruistic affections—of Reverence towards that which is above us, Love towards that which helps and sustains us, and Benevolence towards that which needs our aid. It is impossible to give the highest unity and harmony to the inward and outward life of man, except by devotion to a Being in whom these three affections are identified. Nor can it be denied that a faith which has more or less perfectly fulfilled these conditions has been the mainspring of human life in all those periods of history in which man has shown the

highest powers of his spirit. "The deepest, nay, the one theme of the world's history," says Goethe, "to which all others are subordinate, is the conflict of faith and unbelief. The epochs in which faith—in whatever form it may be—holds the rule, are the marked epochs of human history, full of heart-stirring memories, and of substantial gains for all after-times. On the other hand, the epochs in which unbelief—in whatever form it may be—gains its unhappy victories, even when for the moment they put on a semblance of glory and success, inevitably sink into insignificance in the eyes of a posterity which will not willingly waste its labour on that which is barren and unfruitful." The tenderest harmonies of affection, the highest achievements of passionate energy, the deepest glances of insight into men and things, the greatest powers of inspired utterance, cannot be reached except in periods, and by minds, which are consciously at one with themselves and with the law of the world; and this *oneness* is what we call a religion. Man can do his best work only when he feels that he is the organ and instrument of a power or spirit which is universal, and therefore irresistible; which embraces and transcends even that which seems to resist it. Whether such a faith in its widest sense is still possible to man, or whether Christianity was the last vanishing form of it, and we have now to look about for such substitute for it as may still be within our reach, may be a question. But what we think unquestionable is, that the Comtist worship of Humanity is only such a substitute, and not the thing itself. Religion, as Comte himself maintains, implies a combination of spontaneity in the worshipper with complete submission and self-surrender to the higher power that controls his life—a combination which can be attained only by one who loves the power to which he submits. But man's life is ultimately limited and regulated by cosmical and physical conditions, in which Comte sees only a fatality which cannot possibly be made the object of love. This difficulty, as we have said, he tries to escape by showing that the ultimate fatality is mediated to us by Humanity, which, in the long process of its history, has been gradually adapting the sphere of our existence to our physical and moral necessities. He feels, however, that this is only a partial answer, and that the idea of an indifferent outward necessity must be a hindrance to the complete combination of submission and love. Hence he calls in the aid of poetry to revive the spirit of Fetichism, and to reanimate the dead world by the image of benevolent divine agencies. "The Cultus of Space and of the Earth, completing that of Humanity, makes us see in all that surrounds us the free auxiliaries of Humanity." Comte therefore ends in what some one has called the system of "spiritual book-keeping by double entry," in which imagination is allowed to revive, for practical purposes, the fictions which science has destroyed. In this way poetry has not merely to give sensuous form and life to our creed, by enabling us to see in the part what reason could otherwise find only in the whole; it has also to supply the defects of a

truth which is too hard and painful to satisfy the heart of man. It has to make us forget in our worship the dualism of Nature and Humanity, and to reconcile us to fate by giving it the semblance of a Providence. It is obvious that poetry is thus made into a kind of deliberate superstition, which stimulates the outflow of religious feeling by hiding from us, for the moment, the realities of our position. But the explanation is that Comte was driven by the ultimate development of his own thought to seek for a kind of synthetic unity which yet he could not attain without recognising the error of his original presuppositions. There is what some have called a kind of "objective irony" in the process of unconscious dialectic, by which Comte, the enemy of theology, was led to set up that strange "Trinity in Unity," which is the last word of Positivism.

In Comte's construction of religion there seems to be something artificial and factitious, something "subjective," in the bad sense. It is a religion made, so to speak, out of *malice prepense*. "We have," he seems to say, "derived from the experience of our own past, and from the past of humanity, a clear idea of what a religion should be: and we also know from the same experience that, without a religion, we cannot have that fulness of spiritual life of which we are capable. Go to, let us make a religion as nearly corresponding to the definition as modern science will let us make it. 'Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost.' God, the Absolute Being, is hidden from us, but Humanity will serve for a 'relative' or 'subjective' kind of God: or rather not Humanity, but the selected members of the race, whose services entitle them to our recognition, and whom therefore *we* incorporate in the 'Great Being.' And as for the inscrutable fatality that bounds all our views, and on which in the last resort the fate of humanity must depend, to *it* we can but submit, or (since such a separation of submission from love is so far irreligious) we can invoke the powers of imagination to hide it from our eyes. To Humanity, as represented to us by the good and wise of the past, we can present the old offerings of praise and prayer, in a spirit that is perfectly disinterested, for we have no reason to believe that *they* exist except in our memory of them, or that the 'Great Being' in whom they are incorporated has any gift to bestow upon us in the future except a similar life in the memory of others. For, after all, the 'Great Being,' who alone makes things work together for our good, and whom alone we can love, is not absolute or objective, and of the Absolute Being or principle, whatever it may be, we know nothing, except perhaps that *he* or *it* is not what men call *good*."

In the earlier part of this article I have tried to show that Comte's view of the limits of knowledge cannot be maintained except on principles which would be fatal to the existence of knowledge altogether; and, on the other hand, that the possibility of a subjective synthesis, such as he demands and supposes himself to have achieved, would involve

also the possibility of an objective or absolute synthesis. Here I wish only to point out, that if Comte's general view of things be admitted, religion, according to his own definition of it, is impossible. A "relative" religion is not a religion at all: it is at best a morality, trying to gather to itself some of the emotions which were formerly connected with religious belief. If there is no warrant for the Christian faith which finds God in man, and man in God, which makes us regard the Absolute Being as finding his best name and definition in what we most reverence and love; or, what is the same thing from the other side, makes us see in that growing idea of moral perfection, which is the highest result of human development, the interpretation or revelation of the Absolute, then we must give up the hope of the renewal of religion, and of that harmonious energy to which religion alone can awake the soul of man. In this point of view Mr. Spencer and Comte seem to divide the elements of the truth between them. Mr. Spencer, regarding the Absolute as unknowable, and perceiving that religion implies a relation to the Absolute, reduces religion to the bare feeling of awe and mystery. Comte, also regarding the Absolute as unknowable, seeks to find an object nearer home for the emotions that hitherto have been directed to God. But the religion of Mr. Spencer, if it ever could become reality, would be a renewal of the superstitious pantheism of India, the worship of a power without moral or spiritual attributes. And the religion of Comte could scarcely become more than a pious aspiration, unless the poetic licence of worship were carried to the point of self-deception. Of this Comte seems to be partially aware, when in his latest works he insists so strenuously on the theme that art rather than science is the true field for man's intelligence, and that it is a desirable and useful thing to allow our minds to dwell on ideal conceptions, which are beyond the reach of scientific proof, provided these conceptions are favourable to the development of altruistic sentiment. "The logic of religion," he declares, "when freed from scientific empiricism, will not restrain itself any longer to the domain of hypotheses which are capable of verification, though these alone were compatible with the Positive preparation for it. It must in the end find its completion in the domain, much wider and not less legitimate, of those conceptions which, without offending the reason, are peculiarly suited to develop the feelings. Better adapted to our moral wants, the institutions of true Poetry are as harmonious as those of sound Philosophy with the intellectual condition of the relative synthesis. They ought therefore to obtain as great extension and influence in our efforts to systematize our thoughts; and Positivism permits of their doing so without any danger of confusion between the two distinct methods of thinking, which it openly consecrates, the one to reality and the other to ideality."*

* *Synthèse Subjective*, p. 40.

to combine the advantages of believing and of disbelieving in the accordance of objective reality with our highest feelings and aspirations? But a worship of fictions, confessed as such, is impossible. Art, indeed, is kindred with Religion; and Art, as Plato said, is "a noble untruth." This, however, means only that Art is untrue to the immediate appearances of things in order that it may suggest the deeper reality that underlies them. But in Comte's view the service of imagination is to supply wants of the heart, which *cannot* be supplied by reality, either in its superficial or in its deeper aspect; it is to nurture our moral nature on conceptions that are purely fictitious. It is not difficult to prophesy that the schism of the head and the heart thus introduced must end in the sacrifice either of the one or of the other; either in the dogmatic assertion of the optimism of poetry, or in a violent recoil from it, which will separate not only man from the world but also the individual from the race, and which must ultimately reduce Humanity from an object of worship into a purely moral ideal. For religion, as Comte himself rightly saw, cannot exist except where thought and feeling, intelligence and heart, are harmonized, in a consciousness of the highest *subjective ideal*, as being at the same time the ultimate *objective reality*. What, indeed, is the use of religion, if it does not plant our feet upon the "Rock of Ages," but leaves us still on the "sandbank" of the contingent and the temporal? "All the nations," says Hegel, "have felt that the religious consciousness is that in which they possessed *truth*, and it is for this reason that they have ever regarded it as that which gives dignity and consecrated joy to their lives. All that awakes doubt and anguish, all sorrow and care, all the limited interests of finitude, the religious spirit leaves behind on the sandbank of time. And as, on the highest top of a mountain, removed from special views of the earth below, we peacefully overlook all the limitations of the landscape and the world, so, to the spiritual eye of man in this pure region, the hardness of immediate reality dissolves into a semblance, and its shadows, differences, and lights are softened to eternal peace by the beams of the spiritual sun." If we cannot any longer have this consciousness of things *sub specie æternitatis*,—in that highest truth and unity in which all difficulties and dissonances are lost,—without self-deception, it would be better for us to forswear it altogether than to connect our highest feelings with a poetic illusion.

It is a natural question to ask whether and how far the history of Comte's philosophy illustrates any of the difficulties and contradictions which we have found in the writings of its author. The first schism in the ranks of those who are commonly called Positivists, is that which is connected in France with the name of M. Littré, perhaps the most distinguished of Comte's disciples; and in England, with the names of Mill and Lewes—who, however, were never, strictly speaking, his disciples at all. These writers broke away from Comte whenever Comte decidedly broke away from the individualistic philosophy of the last century. In

their eyes Comte's great achievement was the law of the three stages of mental development and the arrangement of the sciences; and if they accepted his sociological speculations—even those which appear in his first great work—it was with many reserves. Mr. Mill regards Comte's continual denunciation of metaphysics as objectionable, so soon as he finds it to be directed against the individualists* as well as against the scholastic realists; and he thinks Comte's "inordinate demand for unity and systematization" only an instance of "an original mental twist very common in French writers, and by which Comte was distinguished above them all."† M. Littré finds little to object to in Comte's first great work, and is not unwilling to admit that the "individual man is an abstraction, and that there is nothing real but humanity;" but he recoils when Comte begins to speak of the "Great Being," and to change his philosophy into a religion. Both attack the "subjective synthesis" as a new variety of metaphysics, seeing clearly that, as Comte states it, it involves a desertion of the point of view of science; and neither of them is able to rise to any other point of view from which the subjective unity might itself be seen to be objective.

A less important schism has recently occurred within the Positivist Church, or, in other words, among those who accept the system of Comte in its entirety, as a religion no less than as a philosophy. Mr. Congreve, and those who think with him, have broken away from the general body of Positivists under M. Lafitte, who was appointed to be its head, or, at least, its provisional head, after the death of Comte. The difference, however, is one only of policy, and not of principle. "There exists no difference," says Mr. Congreve, "in regard to the doctrine, taken as a whole; it is only as to the manner of presenting that whole that we are at variance." At the same time this "schism," though, as M. Lafitte says, it is not a "heresy," might easily lead to one, if there be any truth in what has been said above as to the ultimate opposition of poetry and philosophy in the system of Comte. M. Lafitte contends that the Positivist priesthood should, in the first instance at least, seek to address the heart through the intelligence; "for it is clear that their direct sentimental (or moral) action would want a basis, and could indeed have no serious result, unless previously general opinion had been to a certain degree modified by Positive teaching." On the other hand, Mr. Congreve argues that Positivism must triumph in the first instance—like Christianity—by a direct "appeal to the women and the proletaries;" which means, of course, that an address must be made to "the heart," without waiting for the intelligence; and that, in the words of Comte himself, the "weapon of persuasion is to be used in preference to that of conviction." "What we seek to constitute," says Mr. Congreve,‡ "is a union of the faith-

* Comte and Positivism, p. 73.

† Id. p. 140.

‡ I translate from the French, as I have not seen the English edition of Mr. Congreve's Circular.

ful, a Church in the highest sense of the term, *i.e.*, a society in which the religious element will preponderate; will, indeed, be so decisively and boldly accented, as to leave no doubt of our intentions; a society which can rally to itself all who feel the need of shelter or support, of the consolation of an active and sympathetic faith. It is thus that we conceive ourselves bound to commence the preaching of Humanity, as a principle of union, with the view of gathering together a solid body, made up mainly of the women and the populace, which may serve as a foundation for the rest. In this body the order of instructors could find their support (and by an order of instructors I mean naturally a priesthood and priests, and not what seems to be offered in its place, professors and a professoriate), as, on the other hand, without the stimulating reaction of such an audience, they would want a solid basis as well as a sphere of activity." It would be an impertinence for any one who is not a member of the Positivist Church to say anything on the personal or semi-private questions, which are necessarily involved in such a division as this between those who are otherwise united. But there can be no intrusion in saying, that if Positivism is ever to become an effective Church, it must find some such direct way of addressing the people as Mr. Congreve suggests, without waiting for those who have time to be instructed in the principles of the six or seven sciences of the Positivist system; and Mr. Dix Hutton* has sufficiently shown that Comte himself would have approved of such a policy. "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty," and it may be safely said that no great moral or spiritual movement will ever be accomplished, if its leaders wait till they have convinced the mass of the educated classes. The only question which suggests itself to one who has considered the difficulties of the "subjective synthesis" is, whether the appeal made to the heart would not necessarily contain elements which afterwards it would be impossible to justify to the head. For if it were so, "the old quarrel of the poets and the philosophers," of faith and reason, would repeat itself again in the Positivist Church, and it would not be less bitter from the fact that that Church was founded expressly with the design of putting an end to the quarrel altogether.

Can there be a division of the intelligence against the heart, which is not more properly described as division of the intelligence against itself? This is a question which is inevitably suggested by the whole tenor of Comte's later works. In my final article I shall say something upon this question, and shall then try to show how Comte's defective answer to it naturally led to other defects in his view of the history of the past, especially of the Christian era, and also in his view of the social ideal of the future.

EDWARD CAIRD.

* I have to offer to Mr. Dix Hutton my best thanks for his courtesy in furnishing me with copies of the circulars and letters of himself, of Mr. Congreve, and of M. Latitte, on the subject of the division among the Positivists.

GEOGRAPHY AND THE UNIVERSITIES.

AMONG the various Academical studies, the organization of which is under the consideration of the Oxford and Cambridge University Commissions, that of Geography has been till lately overlooked. Its claims have been recently put forward in a memorial addressed by the Royal Geographical Society to H. M. Commissioners of the University of Oxford, to those of Cambridge, and to the governing bodies of either University. The memorial defines what is meant by the word Geography as "a compendious treatment of all the prominent conditions of a country, such as its climate, configuration, minerals, plants, and animals, as well as its human inhabitants; the latter in respect not only to their race, but also to their present and past history, so far as it is intimately connected with the peculiarities of the land they inhabit."

This definition is further drawn out and illustrated, and the memorial proceeds to state: "Geography, thus defined, does not tend in any degree to supersede the special cultivation of the separate sciences, but rather to intensify the interest already felt in each of them, by establishing connections which would otherwise be unobserved." Scientific Geography may, in fact, "be defined as the study of local correlations."

The memorial meets the objection which is sure to be made by those who do not understand the scientific treatment of Geography, "that it is too wide a subject, and that its limits are too uncertain, to justify its recognition at the Universities by a special Professorship." It shows that the same objections might be urged against a Professorship of History. It shows further that "Professorships have already been established with excellent results in many places on the Continent. Seven such Professorships exist in Germany; at least three in Switzerland; and seven in France, endowed by the State, supplementary to the instruction given in the Lycées."

The duties of such a Professor are set forth in the memorial as twofold—"first, to promote the study of scientific Geography as defined above; and, secondly, to apply geographical knowledge in illustrating and completing such of the recognised University studies as require its aid."

"The claims of Geography to occupy a central place among the physical sciences" are confidently stated; and it is added that "since the introduction of more liberal methods of teaching into the classical and historical schools, its position in respect to them is little less essential." In proof of this, reference is made to the examination papers and the list of subjects for prize essays at Oxford during the last twenty-five years.

The importance of geographical knowledge to travellers is next set forth. Not only those who travel after leaving the Universities with a view of completing their education, but those who go out as missionaries, would benefit greatly from sound geographical training. It is further shown that "the establishment of a Professorial Chair, and the example and scholarly writings of a University Professor, would give a much needed impetus to the progress of the art of teaching Geography in schools and elsewhere;" an observation which derives additional importance from the fact referred to, "that of all the subjects handled by those graduates of Cambridge who hold the office of lecturers in the great provincial towns, in connection with the Cambridge University Extension Scheme, none has been so popular as Physical Geography." Besides, therefore, the incentive to Academic study which it is hoped would be the result of the establishment of a Professorship, "a supply of lecturers, well instructed in Geography by a University Professor, would confer a real benefit on the education of the country, and one which could not fail of being widely appreciated."

The formation of a collection of maps, models, and diagrams, and of geographical publications in the University libraries, is pointed out as a part of the duties of a Professor.

The memorial ends with a statement of the claims which Geography has upon those to whom the interests of education are committed, not only on scientific but on imperial grounds. "The interests of England are as wide as the world. The colonies of England—her commerce, her emigrations, her wars, her missionaries, and her scientific explorers—bring her into contact with all parts of the globe; and it is therefore a matter of imperial importance that no reasonable means should be neglected of training her youth in sound geographical knowledge."

Such is the important memorial addressed by the Geographical Society to the University Commissioners, and to the governing bodies of both Universities. It has evidently been drawn up with great care, and it will be seen from the above summary that it enters into most of the questions which will be considered in reference to the establishment of Professorships.

It has already been brought before the governing bodies of either University, and has been ordered to be printed, with a view doubtless of bringing its claims and recommendations prominently before the Academic bodies. There can be little doubt that now, if ever, the claims of Geography to be considered as a branch of Academic study will be carefully considered. And taking into account the readiness which the Universities have shown of late years to entertain any proposals which have for their object the extension to a larger number of the benefits of Academic teaching, and which seek to adapt University studies to the wants of the age, it is not too much to augur a favourable reception on the part of the governing bodies to the suggestions urged in such weighty words by the Royal Geographical Society.

In the following observations an attempt will be made to show in greater detail how the suggestions of the Royal Geographical Society may be advantageously carried out; first, in reference to University teaching; and, secondly, in extending the art of imparting geographical knowledge.

The first point to be considered is, "What would be the functions of a Geographical Professor at Oxford and Cambridge?" In accordance with the definition of Geography given in the memorial, the aim and object of the Professor should be to promote in the University a comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the world we live in. This is comprised in the German word "*Erdkunde*," answering to which we have no single expression in our language.

Of the different branches of the study, Physical Geography, or Physiography, as some prefer to call it, has the best claims to be considered as a science. There is good reason for assuming that all geographical teaching at the Universities will be based on the laws and principles of Physical Geography, which have in them an element of invariableness. A few instances will suffice to show what is meant by

The invariable element in Physical Geography.—Among the features of geographical teaching which remain, in a broad sense, unaltered are—

(1.) The relation of the earth to the other parts of the solar system. Closely connected with this are the phenomena of the seasons, of night and day, of the tides, the periodical movements of the atmosphere, the constant direction of the great equatorial current of water, and, to a great extent, the phenomena of climate.

(2.) The distribution of land and water over the surface of the globe. Connected with this are questions deeply affecting the welfare of the human race, and of great importance generally to animal and vegetable life.

The direction of the Gulf Stream is due to various causes; one of the chief being the conformation of the American continent, which diverts the course of the great equatorial current in a direction highly beneficial to the countries of Western Europe.

The modification of the trade-winds, commonly called the monsoons, is due to the alternate influence on temperature, and consequently on

atmospheric motion, of adjoining continents, which attain their maximum of heat at different seasons of the year.

Generally, it may be said that most of the questions concerning climate which cannot be termed astronomical, are connected with the elevation of the different parts of the earth's surface; the masses of solid land and aggregation of waters, and their juxtaposition; the distribution of the forms of relief—i.e., mountain ranges, plateaus, and plains—and the adaptation of these respectively to the different forms of animal and vegetable life.

The knowledge which we possess on these subjects admits of being taught systematically. The great laws of Nature resemble the great moral laws of our common humanity—*οὐ γὰρ τε νῦν τε καὶ θές*—"For not to-day, nor yesterday, but ever, these laws abide."* And since the study of these laws involves the investigation of causes and the tracing out of results which are inseparably connected one with the other, a directly scientific purpose is attained.

It may be added, that the study of Geography encourages the habit of observation, which is the first stage in the inductive process. The world around us is full of "object-lessons," and those who are encouraged to derive instruction from them are led to accumulate stores of solid facts and interesting phenomena, which are well suited to form the basis of scientific reasoning. The union of such studies with the cultivation of art, literature, and philosophy in our Universities will tend towards making education more real, and may be expected to turn out men of wider grasp of mind, larger in their sympathies, more in harmony with the mass of mankind, and better balanced in their mental acquirements.

But besides the invariable element in Geography there is a *historical element*. The face of Nature undergoes constant changes by the action of water and of the atmosphere, and by the growth and decay of animals and vegetables in successive generations. These may be calculated, at least approximately. For instance, an experimental knowledge of the rate at which glaciers move enabled geologists to foretell the time when the remains of the guides who were lost in crossing the Glacier des Bossons in 1820 might be recovered. The growth of soil in a churchyard, in a primeval forest, or in a prairie, may be calculated. The nature of a country may be greatly modified by human agency. The planting or cutting down of trees alone is known to increase or diminish the rainfall, and to influence the temperature. Ritter has shown in an admirable essay† the importance of the historical element in Geography. He shows the changes which the earth undergoes in relation to man, as he, by improved instruments and other applications of mechanical power and science, places himself in a different position with regard to the conditions of time and space from those under which he was originally created. He points out the power exercised by man in partially overcoming or modifying conditions of space by the application of machi-

* *Soph. Antig.* 456.

† *Einleitung zur allgemeinen vergleichenden Geographie.*

nery; and in this way the primitive conditions under which man is placed in reference to time are also modified.

There are some physical changes which take place through volcanic or aqueous action, a record of which belongs to the history of the world. And there have been, and are now taking place, changes which are due to human enterprise; such as the voyages of the Phœnicians and Columbus, which opened out new lands. The field of geographical knowledge is ever widening, and it will naturally be one of the duties of a Professor to bring before the successive generations of University students the latest discoveries of geographers.

Besides the primary function of a Professor of Geography, which is to promote the study of geographical science, there is a secondary function of great importance—to apply geographical knowledge to the purpose of illustrating and completing such other of the recognized University studies as stand in more or less direct relation to Geography.

The most prominent of these is History. The value of Geography has been fully acknowledged by some of the most eminent men, who have filled the Professorial Chair of History at Oxford. Dr. Cramer contributed a valuable work on "Ancient Italy." Dr. Arnold, in his "Notes on Thucydides," his Lectures, and his "Roman History," gave life to past events by admirable descriptions of the scenes in which they took place. Two of his most distinguished pupils—Dean Stanley in his "Sinai and Palestine" and in contributions to the *Classical Museum*, and ex-Professor Halford Vaughan in his public lectures—brought out most vividly the features of the past by their masterly handling of geographical details. Dean Liddell, in his "Roman History," has some excellent chapters on Italian Geography; similar praise may be given to Bishop Thirlwall's "Greece," and to nearly every work of historical reputation.

If so, it may be asked, what is the necessity for a new Professor? Cannot we leave to historians the description of the countries which are the scenes of the events which they are recording? And if this argument is good for History, it is good for Geology, for Botany, for Zoology, for Mineralogy, &c. &c.

To such objections it may be answered—

(1.) That no one who has fully grasped the importance of Geography would wish to separate it into fragments attached severally to the several studies which have been enumerated.

(2.) No one can with advantage to his own mind or to his pupils dwell at one time upon every phase of a subject. A writer of History may trace the workings of the time which led to the insurrection of the Gracchi, without being reminded of the difference between volcanic and alluvial soil, or between tufa and travertine.

(3.) The making of maps and illustrative diagrams adds greatly to the trouble of preparation which a lecturer in History must undergo. Professor Vaughan, whose lectures overflowed from the Taylor Buildings into the Theatre, illustrated portions of early English history by very

clear and useful maps. Whether they were made by himself, or under his direction, I cannot say. But they must have cost both time and trouble. This kind of work might fairly be delegated to the Geographical Department. One or two assistants would be necessary to execute the diagrams required. And in this way a want might be supplied, which all teachers of history must have experienced—that of good wall-maps suitable for the use of classes, averaging, say, forty in number. The best maps of this kind that have been produced are German. Kiepert's historical and Sydow's physical wall-maps are for execution and moderate cost superior to anything of the kind produced in this country.

As Geology overlaps Geography more than any other science, it may be worth while to show more in detail the separate functions of each, or rather to show that Geography may claim for itself a firm standpoint, even on the side where its boundaries most nearly trench upon Geology.

It might appear at first sight that Geology covers most of the ground which Physical Geography claims, and therefore it might be argued that Physical Geography is a proper subject for a Geological Professor. In favour of this view, it may be conceded that Geography owes much to Geology. No one who professed a knowledge of the former would undervalue the merits and the benefit of such works as Sir C. Lyell's "Principles of Geology," &c. But it may be answered that in the case of the large superficial features of a country—*i.e.*, its mountain ranges, its valleys, lakes, hollows, alluvial plains, river deltas, gorges, cañons, cliffs, or shingle and sand along the sea-shores, volcanoes, geysers, &c.—it is questionable whether the geologist should take entirely to himself the explanation of their present appearance and shape. The physical geographer might fairly claim the function of dealing with the origin and mode of formation of the large existing superficial features; taking the country as it *now* is, and not going back in geological time or investigating the state of things which existed when the face of the country was unlike what it now is—perhaps, indeed, partially submerged. That he would leave to the geologist. Thus, if he finds a gorge in any country he is describing, he might fairly consider the cause or causes of its occurrence there—*e.g.*, erosion, or the wearing action of a stream, or the effects of weather, or the dislocation, by earthquake or upheaval, of stratified or crystalline rocks. But even granting that the geologist is the right person to cope with these matters of theory, and that they lie beyond the scope of the physical or general geographer, still this admission does not by any means close the field to the geographer. There is still an important function left for him.

The geologist certainly would not undertake to explain the formation of each individual peak, ridge, valley or gorge, or each stretch of flat alluvial deposit in every region of every country on the globe. He must therefore leave a very large number unnoticed and undescribed,

selecting only one or two for purposes of illustration. It is here that the geographer comes in, not necessarily as explaining the formation of each individual point on the earth's surface, but as calling attention to the existence of every individual feature and valuing it as such, cataloguing, grouping, and classifying. He would value the features of the earth's surface as such, and be careful not to lose any from his field of view. On the supposition that the geographer does not deal with *causes* (which on scientific grounds he would be the last to admit) the following would be an instance of the distinction between a geologist's and a geographer's standpoint.

In the geologist's mind the *theory* of the formation of gorges is uppermost: the geographer would consider the *facts* of gorges of chief importance from his own point of view. The geologist in illustrating his theory might select the Via Mala, or the Pass of Glencoe, or the Pass of Llanberis, or any individual gorge, but always with a special view to the purposes of illustration. He would deal with the specially selected gorge, and not mention the thousand others which exist. The geographer would not be so much concerned as to whether this or that theory of gorge-formation was applicable, as he would be to feel quite sure that he had an accurate knowledge of the configuration and geographical position of the various gorges. That there is a gorge here at the pass of Glencoe, or Llanberis, that there is one there at the Via Mala, are to him the important facts. It would be for him to register carefully the discovery of any new gorge in a hitherto unexplored region, and to put together all possible details of information regarding its size, direction, and general appearance, the general nature of the rocks in which it occurs, the volume and velocity of the river which flows through it, &c.

Any individual gorge is to the geographer important to a certain extent as illustrating the action of denuding agents, or any other theory, but chiefly as being a feature and factor in the general configuration of some particular continent or country.

So it is with ocean currents. The geologist does not concern himself with these till he is puzzled by certain phenomena in ancient sedimentary deposits, and driven to examine ocean-currents, as they at present exist, in search of a clue to the explanation of his difficulties. The geographer, on the other hand, jealously regards the whole domain of ocean, and watches rigorously all its movements, and registers and puts on record every appearance of the existence of currents, large or small, swift or slow, wherever they may occur, together with their distinctive qualities and peculiarities, their influence on one another, on the winds, on climate, and on Geography generally.

But few will be disposed to admit that Geography should be confined thus. It is nearer the truth that the explanations of the large features of a country are properly part and parcel of its function, and that if geologists have hitherto taken this upon themselves, it is

because the geographer, as a separate class of scientific teacher, has scarcely yet appeared on the horizon in this country; and the work which he could so properly and so efficiently perform is taken up now by geologists, as the late Sir C. Lyell; now by naturalists, as Darwin and Wallace; and now by physicists and mathematicians, as Huxley and Herschel. That the cause of Geography is advanced by the efforts of such eminent men is beyond all question. The services they have rendered are great, and have met with deserved recognition. But, as a rule, it will be found that there is need of special geographical knowledge, and of undivided attention to the subject, if Geography is to be introduced as a branch of higher education. It may even be doubted whether wide generalizations of Geography can be properly or adequately made as mere *tours de force*, or elegant diversions thrown off in the intervals of leisure which occur in a geologist's more special study. Indeed, the geologist has quite enough to do in his own line, and might well be grateful to be relieved of a portion of his widely ramified and daily extending study. The geologist may be indispensable to the geographer, and the geographer to the geologist; but there is room for both. The very existence of such works as Ritter's "*Erdkunde*" and Elisée Réclus' "*Géographie Universelle*" establishes the claim of Geography to an independent existence among our higher studies not less completely than the lectures and writings of Professor Max Müller established the claims of Comparative Philology in this country, and led to its Academic recognition.

The *modus operandi* would be left, probably, in great measure to the Professor. But it is reasonable to suppose that he would be called upon to give scientific instruction in Physical Geography; and to this would be referred all considerations of Political, Commercial, Military, or Historical Geography.

The main facts of primary instruction would be, on the one hand, explanations of the laws and phenomena of volcanic, glacial, marine, fluvial, and atmospheric agencies, considered with regard to the earth's crust at the present day; and, on the other hand, the past history of such agencies, so far as the present state of geological and physical knowledge will permit it to be accurately or even approximately traced.

In applying geographical knowledge to illustrate other University studies, the Professor would impress upon students of history the importance of a clear mental grasp of the topography of a district for a true appreciation of various historical events, such as the cause of military or naval operations, commercial development or decadence, political organizations or alliances, of which it has been the theatre; while in illustrating classical authors he would be in part occupied by the identification of sites, in part by descriptions of countries. A reference to the list of subjects for historical prize essays, proposed at Oxford from time to time during the last twenty-five years, will show

to what extent Geography and History go hand in hand in the studies of that University.

In the case of Oriental studies, it is hardly necessary to observe that a knowledge of the Geography of Eastern countries is indispensable, not merely from scientific but imperial considerations. India has produced of late years many men eminent in geographical knowledge, through whose exertions a larger field of inquiry has been thrown open, and the sum of our knowledge has been materially increased. Moreover, the requirements of the East India Civil Service include under one head the History and Geography of India.

So much has been done in the way of illustrating classical literature and antiquities by Niebuhr, K. O. Müller, Mommsen, Dr. Arnold, Bishop Wordsworth, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Professor Rawlinson, Colonel Leake, Sir A. H. Layard, Mr. Newton, Dr. Schliemann, and others, that it is needless to pursue this subject further. How much may be done in a short time by a historian whose mind is already well prepared to make topographical inquiries and register observations, has been recently shown by Mr. Bosworth Smith's "*Carthage and the Carthaginians*," while Mr. Tozer's "*Lectures on the Geography of Greece*" derive additional interest from the fact of his writing from personal observation of the country he describes.

As regards military studies, it is a portion of our duty, as an Imperial Power, to train up young men who leave our Universities for foreign service in a knowledge of the countries whither they may be sent; to teach them how to observe and make practical use of their observations, and promote, so far as opportunities offer, the extension of our geographical knowledge of countries which are practically closed to civilians, and can only be explored when military expeditions take place.

In reference to Ethnology, so much light has been thrown upon the early history of nations by Comparative Philology, that every help which Geography can give in illustration of the works with which University students are familiar is very desirable. Theories of the origin of nations have been formed on very insufficient data. How the various continents were peopled, and what modifications have taken place in their populations, are questions which can only be determined by the combined efforts of historians and geographers on the evidence of tradition, physical characteristics, monumental records, artistic and architectural remains, and last, but not least, geographical position. It belongs to the province of Comparative Geography to collect this varied evidence, to weigh it carefully, and to draw conclusions therefrom.

As regards Natural History and Botany, the *distribution* of animals and plants belongs to the province of Geography, and is an important item in our knowledge of the earth. The evidence of fossil plants and animals shows clearly that differences of climate existed in former times as compared with more recent times. Parts of the land are proved by geologists to have been formerly covered by sea; and the

similarity of the flora and fauna in countries now separated by the sea proves these countries to have been formerly joined in one continent. Leaving it to the Professors of Geology, Natural History, and Botany to describe and classify the different kinds of animals and plants, it will remain for the Professor of Geography to draw attention to their distribution, and to show what are the characteristics of organic life in tropical, temperate, and arctic regions.

Fortified by previous geographical knowledge, collectors would go abroad with great advantages, and be better able to direct their efforts towards the formation of natural-history collections, and the supplying of deficiencies, if any, in our museums.

The leading facts of Meteorology, especially as connected with climate, might well enter among the subjects of University geographical teaching.

In connection with Geology and Mineralogy the Professor of Geography may fairly deal with the questions—"Where are the most important varieties of rocks and minerals found? how do they influence the life of nations? and what is their commercial and political importance?"

Other subjects, such as terrestrial magnetism, may be approached from a geographical point of view; but it is needless to multiply instances in order to show how wide a field of studies may be aided or illustrated by Geography. At the same time, it cannot be expected that any single Geographical Professor could successfully deal with all these subjects.

The study of Geography, under an able Professor at each of our old Universities would not only help travellers, but greatly promote imperial interests. When small countries, like Switzerland, with no sea-border, have a scientific school of Geography,—as, *e.g.*, at Geneva, Neuchatel, and Zürich,—it appears a strange thing that England, with her vast colonial empire and extensive naval and commercial traffic, should not recognize Geography as a branch of higher education. In Germany it is far otherwise; and there can be little doubt that much of the recent military success and political influence of Germany is due to the fact that officers and civil servants of the Imperial Government are well acquainted with the Geography of other countries. Moreover, in France there are, as the memorial points out, as many as seven Professorships of Geography connected with colleges of higher education. It seems, then, that England, which of all countries would derive the most benefit from systematic geographical teaching, has been behind other nations in its recognition of Geography.

There is one branch of the subject which foreign geographers have recognized, especially Carl Ritter (see his work mentioned on page 674) and Oscar Peschel—namely, man's influence on external Nature. How to improve a country, and how to avoid wasting and destroying it, are practical questions well suited to the consideration of future statesmen, as well as emigrants and colonists. Arnold Guyot, in his excellent little

book, "Earth and Man," drew attention to this some twenty-five years ago; and "The Earth as modified by Human Action," by George P. Marsh (1874), is a book which might well take its place among the text-books of higher education. A resident Professor, with the requisite knowledge and the enthusiasm which would render his teaching effective, might do great good by pointing out to future governors of provinces and colonies how they might stamp an impress of their rule upon the land for good and not for evil, by aiding its physical development. It might be anticipated, moreover, that bodies which take an interest in missionary enterprise would regard with favour the introduction of a study which would help to make missionary labours more effective. And thus future Livingstones may be reared within the walls of our ancient Universities.

As regards the practical question, "What openings are there at Oxford and Cambridge for the introduction of a Professorship of Geography?" it is impossible to give a decided answer before the responsible bodies in those Universities have been respectively consulted, and have arrived at some conclusion. But from both Universities opinions have been expressed which would warrant the attempt being made.

Professor Rolleston, writing from Oxford, in a letter which I have his permission to quote, says:—

"I am sure that the Council, with which body the initiation lies, as you know, would give a most respectful reception to a proposition pointing to the founding of a Professorship of 'Erdkunde.' The subject has a scientific, an antiquarian, a literary, and an imperial interest attaching to it; and, besides all this, it is a subject which is attracting and will continue to attract diligent students henceforward for several generations. The little planet we live in is by no means exhaustively explored as yet, circumnavigatory ships notwithstanding. The activity which the study has excited can be judged of by the work of the Royal Geographical Society, or, from the purely literary point of view, by the publication of such books as those of Oscar Peschel,* a worthy successor of Ritter, even though he is much less voluminous. On these very obvious grounds, I think the University would be most ready to have a Professorship of the subject in question."

Since the date of this letter, the memorial of the Royal Geographical Society has been brought before the Council, and by their orders it has been printed in the *Oxford University Gazette*.

A similar reception has been given to the memorial at Cambridge, where it has been printed for general information in the *Cambridge University Reporter*. In connection with this, I may quote a letter from Professor Stuart, in which he says—

"For my own part, I think a Professorship of Geography would be an excellent addition to the University, and might be made very useful for intending emigrants as well as for historians and others. As I said to you, there is no scientific subject in which our lecturers in the great towns have been called on for so many courses as 'Physical Geography.'"

Geography, being of necessity largely a descriptive, as well as an

* Oscar Peschel has written articles in the *Mittheilungen* of 1867, 1869, 1876, and a book in English on "The Distribution of the Human Race."

explanatory and inductive science, is capable of receiving invaluable aid in the way of illustration from pictorial sketches and landscapes, diagrams, maps and models, and other means, which by appealing directly to the eye suggest many ideas and convey many impressions more swiftly, accurately, and completely than it lies within the power of verbal description to achieve. The Professor of Physical Geography would inevitably find himself in need of some such supplement to verbal descriptions or explanations of natural phenomena; and the more artistic and graphically suggestive such aids were, the more advantageous would he find them—for two reasons—first, as reinforcing and vivifying his power of illustration; and, secondly, as economizing his time by allowing him to compress more matter into a single lecture, and to display at one view a greater range of items from which to draw general conclusions.

Without particularizing the various appliances which may be made use of for illustrating lectures, it is sufficiently clear that both time and labour must be expended in designing, preparing, and perfecting such apparatus; and, in order that it might possess the maximum of efficiency, a large share of the Professor's attention would have to be devoted to it. For the purpose of lightening this labour the Professor might be aided by a demonstrator or assistant, who should help the Professor in the collection of materials and preparation of apparatus for illustration or experiment, and also, if necessary, by assisting in the practical work of teaching.

Though it may be premature to consider such a question, yet in the event of Geography becoming a subject of examination, as apart from Geology, for an ordinary pass B.A. degree at Oxford, or a B.A. degree without honours at Cambridge, regular geographical teaching of a more elementary character would become requisite; and this the Professor, if unable to find time for it himself, might depute to a demonstrator,* who should on his part be thoroughly qualified to give instruction in the subject.

The various illustrative or experimental apparatus might form the nucleus of a Geographical Museum.

But, important as the function of lecturing undoubtedly is, a Professor of Geography should not confine himself to that alone. During the Long Vacation he would have much spare time at his disposal, which he might devote to visiting foreign countries. He might employ part of such time in fortifying his own knowledge by independent travel and investigation, and part in accompanying a travelling class of students of Geography, which should visit interesting localities in this country, or on the Continent; such students paying their own expenses, or if, in certain cases, it should seem desirable, aided by grants from the University, or from such funds as the Radcliffe† or West's‡ Travel-

* See Cambridge University Calendar, 1878, pp. 16, 17, 18.

† See Oxford University Calendar for 1879, p. 51.

‡ See Cambridge University Calendar for 1878, p. 263.

ling Fellowships or Bachelorships. Such a travelling class should set out with the definite purpose of doing real work, and of sacrificing other objects thereto; not allowing the expedition to degenerate into a mere pleasure excursion flavoured with a smattering of science. But, whether accompanied by a class or not, the Professor should embrace every opportunity of travelling, with the view of studying with his own eyes and familiarizing himself upon the spot with those features which, as a lecturer, he may be called upon to describe; and also of making the acquaintance of foreign men of science, and of establishing friendly relations with them and with the various foreign Geographical Societies, so that on his return to this country he would be in communication with them, and keep himself *en rapport* with the progress of geographical work abroad.

Reference has already been made to the educational movement known by the name of the Cambridge University Extension System. One of the fruits of that system was the discovery that no subject of study was so popular as Physical Geography. Here is a point of convergence between Academic teaching and that general culture which is valued in provincial towns. University studies may or may not be too technical and special. Instruction given in the way of lectures in provincial towns may or may not be too vague and general. Here follow some hints for the adaptation of Academic teaching to a general audience, not specially prepared by scientific training, but of average intelligence. They are a reproduction of some suggestions made by a University man, who has had experience in provincial lecturing.

It will be found desirable to choose some district of not too wide extent, and to concentrate attention upon it; to display in as striking a light as possible the manifold details which give it its character; not from a mere statistician's point of view, but grouping and contrasting and bringing out their mutual connection so as to throw life into them, to awaken interest and stimulate imagination; and so to handle them, and bring them under review, as to present a vivid picture of the country, both in its present condition and its past history, almost as real, and almost as complete in its effect upon the mind, as if the audience had been actually taken on a tour over the very ground.

Having selected some district, the lecturer would do well to consider it as the theatre upon which many events have taken place; events of a geological nature, such as upheaval and subsidence; volcanic outbursts or earthquakes; river-floods, movements of ice, and inroads of the sea; changes of climate, fauna, and flora; events of human occupation and migration, of primitive warfare and industries, of later developments of civilization and government; of military campaigning; of commercial, engineering, and agricultural enterprise; of the building of towns, and of the formation of political boundaries.

In order that the lecturer might avoid the charge of giving vent to vague generalities, he would, of course, be ready to substantiate his state-

ments. For evidence of the series of what may be called *geological* events, he would point to the occurrence of crystalline and sedimentary rocks, the nature and value of whose evidence it would be part of his duty to explain; to the existence of glacial markings and moraines, and of fossiliferous strata, implying, by the variety of their structure and contents, mutations of climate and animal and vegetable life, and alternations of dry land, deep sea, and shoal. In accepting the evidence of events more recent, or historical in the ordinary sense, he would, of course, go less into explanations; but he should not omit to show how the human history is continuous with the physical; how the sequence of geological events has gradually led up to the present general configuration of the country, the rougher features of which have been blocked out by these powerful agencies, to be afterwards toned down by atmospheric action, and to be impressed with the lines of drainage; that the present distribution of mountain, valley and plain, of river and lake, and of the various kinds of soil, is the direct outcome of all that past history; and that, inasmuch as this distribution has greatly determined where the population shall settle and where build its towns, where draw its frontier lines and where erect its fortresses, the human and the physical history of the country are thus seen to be indissolubly connected. This, or something like this, would appear (to one who has had experience in lecturing) to be the only method of treatment by which the various points, commonly classed under the heads of Physical and Political Geography respectively, can be rationally or instructively brought together under one comprehensive science.

In lecturing to a well-instructed class, it may answer to assume a great amount of knowledge, and indulge in brilliant generalizations. But to a mixed audience it is better to assume a good deal of ignorance. Of course one has heard of people being pleased with a lecture they did not understand—like the old Scotchwoman who said, in answer to a question whether she understood the minister's discourse, "Wad I so presume?" One has also known cases of young ladies in pre-educational times reading through Humboldt's "*Kosmos*." But all this has changed now. An age of intelligence has dawned; an age of "payment by results;" an age in which false pretences are sifted, and ignorance is exposed by competitive examinations. Henceforth let no lecturer "shoot above the heads" of his audience, for if he does, the day of examination will reveal their ignorance, and his incapacity to gauge their powers.

One lecture in the year addressed to the *cognoscenti* would probably be enough, and would enable a Professor to deal with newly-ascertained facts, to discuss recent theories, and to invest the subject of Geography with that dignity and grace which a man of high culture and literary ability can give.

A lecture was recently given at the Royal Geographical Society by Professor Geikie, well known as an eminent geologist, who has applied his geological knowledge to the illustration of Scottish scenery, and whose

work on "The Scenery and Geology of Scotland" is too well known to need description. Whenever a man of such extensive knowledge, possessed of imaginative power and enthusiasm, and with a facility of expression, takes up a geographical subject, the result is sure to be an intellectual treat to those who are able to rise to the Professor's high level. But to many it must be—as was said to be the case with some of Burke's greatest speeches—disappointing; not because the matter and form of the lecture are below, but because they are above, the level of their intelligence and appreciative power. It is easy for those who are previously acquainted with the changes that have taken place in the earth's surface, or what Professor Geikie called "Geographical Evolution," to follow a description of the European Continent under the different forms it has assumed from early geological eras down to the present day. How, for instance, a time was when all that appeared above the waters was the main chain of the Alps and one or two islands, of which traces still remain in Bohemia. How France was once separated from Spain by a strait; and how the British Isles and Scandinavia were covered by an ice-sheet, such as now covers Greenland, which slowly kept slipping down to the sea, and flowing as a glacier, or as ice-floe and iceberg, down what is now the German Ocean and also across the Baltic, even upon German soil, where glacier groovings are still traceable on the surface rocks, pointing southerly; and how there was a period when volcanoes broke out simultaneously in France, the Eifel, and Hungary. Such generalizations can be appreciated by the instructed, who know that such a series of descriptions represents an immense range of research and amount of labour; and, what is perhaps of equal importance, rests upon some ascertained foundation of facts. Yet it may be questioned whether it is of much use to give to a less enlightened audience the very cream of geological and geographical research without explanations, for which no time would remain. It appears that such a lecture might be taken as a type of the annual lecture of a Professor, while there would remain for his everyday work the tracing out in detail of the data or elements out of which such a lecture was constructed.

In a word, descriptive Geography, in the hands of a Geographical Professor, would come in most usefully, and would be almost indispensable to a proper appreciation of the wider generalizations with which an accomplished geologist would deal. A dozen lectures might be devoted to the Auvergne district; a dozen to glacial action; a dozen to the alluvial plains, which constitute the riches of agricultural Europe; and so on.

The following is an attempt to illustrate in practice some of the principles which have been laid down above. An interesting subject for a lecture would be the plain of North Italy, with the rampart of the Alps or Apennines all round it, except on the side where it is washed by the sea. The crystalline rocks of the mountainous ram-

part have yielded to the frost and rain of ages, and produced the finer sediment which lies outstretched at their feet, carried down there by torrents and the tributaries of the Po, and now and again sifted and levelled by the inroads of the sea, which may occasionally have washed the very bases of the Alps. Further scouring has been effected by ancient ice, which flowed down the valleys of Piedmont, of Aosta, Ticino, Lake Garda, &c., in long glaciers, whose terminal moraines still lie out in the plain, at some distance from the mountains, near Turin, Ivrea, and Mantua; the latter form the hills on which were fought the battles of Solferino, Goito, and Custoza; a natural place for a decisive contest; for here the northern side of the Padane valley is very narrow, the river itself bending northward, and these moraine-hills encroaching far on the plain, with Lake Garda as a barrier behind them. Compare also the thickening of the battle sites about a similar narrowing of the southern plain, where, at the junction of the Maritime Alps and the Apennines above Genoa, a northwardly curve advances, and the Po comes southward towards Valenza, a little above the junction of the Tanaro.

In this narrowing space are Marengo, Novi, and, not far off, the Trebbia; and here is the strong fortress of Alessandria, just as in the other district are Mantua, Verona, Legnago, and Peschiera, the once-famed Quadrilateral. Leaving the domain of physical and strategical Geography, there would be much to be said about the irrigation-works and prosperous agriculture; the races which have come in from beyond the Alps to the east or west, and settled in Lombardy, Venetia, and Piedmont; and their energetic character compared with the more dreamy and less enterprising Southern Italian. This district has produced a great number of distinguished men, among whom are Virgil, Catullus, Livy, and, if we include Genoa, Columbus, and many of the greatest painters. A fair field for speculation as to its effect on national character and prosperity is afforded by the multiplying of tunnels which pierce the Alpine barrier at more than one point, letting through upon Italy the commerce and the industry of the Teutonic and Celtic nations.

A lecture on such a district would bring the reality of geographical generalizations more strongly forward by exhibiting the facts on which the generalizations were based; and this reality would be still more vividly presented to the audience if copiously illustrated by truthful landscapes of wide fields of view, or by minor features of detail, of which photographs would give a clear idea.

More might be added on the subject of the educational value of Geography; but it is time that this paper should be brought to a close. The action of the Universities in this, as in other matters, is looked to with great interest by the Public Schools of the United Kingdom. At present the case stands thus:—Boys at school are required as a branch of liberal education to learn Geography. They are further encouraged by the liberality of the Royal Geographical Society to undergo a special

training in order to compete for the medals given annually for excellence in Physical and Political Geography. At first the great schools stood aloof. Recently it is an exceptional occurrence if no candidates are sent in from the older schools. Boys from Eton, Harrow, and Winchester have won medals, and the soul of Sir R. Murchison must have been gratified. But though the medallists have won honours in classics and mathematics at Oxford and Cambridge, their knowledge of Geography has not greatly helped them. Some of them have complained that they found the time given to Geography had been—so far as academical success went—thrown away. Without agreeing to this, we may well wish to see the system of education adopted in the Public Schools and that sanctioned by the Universities brought into greater harmony. The Universities have shown of late years a liberality and a readiness to adopt suggestions from without, for which the country has cause to be grateful.

It would only be in accordance with what they have done in other respects if they gave a favourable reception to the memorial of the Royal Geographical Society, and established Geographical Professorships at Oxford and Cambridge.

GEORGE BUTLER.

WHAT ARE LIVING BEINGS ?

NATURAL history, in order that we may be able to appreciate what it teaches, requires to be considered in the light afforded by the theory of evolution : animals and plants should be studied together and treated as one whole, distinct from the world of non-living matter. Such were the conclusions at which we recently arrived.*

But in order that living beings, by which is meant the whole of the animal and vegetable creation, should be understood, a certain amount of knowledge of the inanimate creation is also needed ; for we cannot comprehend any object save by the knowledge of things related to but distinct from such object. We cannot appreciate a musical note except by contrast with other sounds or with silence, nor can we perceive the hue or scent of the violet save by analogous contrasts of colour or of odour. In order, therefore, that the world of life may be understood, it must be contrasted with the lifeless world which ministers to it and sustains it.

Moreover, as we shall hereafter see, it is not only that the former is sustained by the latter, but a continual give and take—a constant process of interchange—is kept up between these two very different worlds. Evidently, then, to understand animals and plants, we must know something of the various matters which they exchange with the inanimate substances around them.

In commencing the natural history of living beings it will be well, therefore, to start at once by distinguishing them from all bodies which are not living. The first question to consider, therefore, is that concerning the differences which exist between all animals and plants on the one hand, and the various inanimate constituents of this planet upon the other.

* See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for May, 1879 : "On the Study of Natural History."

This question may at first sight seem one so easy to answer that time would be unprofitably spent in answering it. Yet it is a question which needs a careful reply. Obvious as the differences referred to may seem ;—differences between the rabbit and the sandbank in which it burrows, between the fish and the water in which it swims,—they nevertheless really require serious consideration. The reader's indulgence is therefore asked for certain details, the mention of which may appear to him unnecessary, but which will yet be found to possess not a little interest and significance.

It is even desirable that we should note the characters and properties of such separable substances as enter into the composition both of living beings and of lifeless matter. For when we hereafter come to examine the life-processes of animals and plants,—the ways in which they breathe, nourish themselves, reproduce, &c.,—we shall find that the very properties of the various separable substances which compose living bodies bear interesting relations to the performance of such life-processes. Life is, as we shall see, made up of a series of constant and multiform changes, and these changes are rendered possible or easy by the various degrees of instability and innate tendency to change of state, which may be possessed by the very materials of which living bodies are built up.

We may then at once proceed to consider the question, "What are Living Beings?" by distinguishing between them and bodies which are devoid of life.

The solid earth (with its envelopes of water and air) is spoken of as "the inorganic world," while "the organic world" comprises the totality of plants and animals. The inorganic world, therefore, includes all rocks, metals, and the softer solid substances which compose the earth ; water (both as it exists in seas and rivers, and in the form of minute particles floating in the air) ; and the gases and vapours of our atmosphere.

Hardly any of these substances are pure, in the sense of consisting of one material only. It was long supposed that air and water were simple substances or "elements." But in the year 1777 Lavoisier showed that air is a mixture of two gases, oxygen and nitrogen,* and it was soon after ascertained that water is an intimate (chemical) compound of oxygen with the gas hydrogen.† These gases are three out of some sixty substances which, as yet, no chemist has succeeded in breaking up into other constituents, and which are therefore called "elements," though it may very probably turn out that they are themselves but compound substances. Some of these so-called "elements" (such, *e.g.*, as gold, silver, oxygen, sulphur) naturally exist in a pure and unalloyed condition.

* Air consists, as to its bulk, of about four-fifths nitrogen and one-fifth oxygen. Estimated by weight, there are twenty-three parts of oxygen and seventy-seven of nitrogen in each hundred parts of atmospheric air.

† Pure water can only be so resolved into its constituent gases, that twice as much hydrogen as oxygen shall be produced in volume for each portion resolved. Estimated by weight, every nine ounces of water will yield eight ounces of oxygen for one of hydrogen.

All mineral substances which are not elements can either be resolved directly into elements (as, for example, "rust" can be resolved into oxygen and iron) or into other substances which can (either directly or indirectly) be so resolved.*

Moreover, this process of resolution (or, as it is properly termed, of *analysis*) constantly takes place in such a way as to indicate that the elements are always combined in one exactly definite manner (as estimated by weight) in each kind of substance. Certain substances when placed in proximity with certain other substances undergo a spontaneous transformation, as if the elements of one had an overpowering attraction towards the other. In this way there takes place either a reciprocal interchange of elements,† or one substance is deprived of one of its elements, so that only a single element remains in the place of the substance decomposed.

These chemical changes are often greatly facilitated by warmth, and also, in the opinion of many, by the presence of other substances which are themselves undergoing analogous processes of change.‡

Very many substances can exist in three states—solid, fluid, or æri-form; as water may be in the form of ice, fluid water, or watery vapour. Even the gases, oxygen and nitrogen, have, after long resistance, lately been liquefied by cold and great pressure.

Solid substances may or may not be in the form of *crystals*. A "crystal" is a solid mineral substance which has assumed a definite geometrical figure, bounded everywhere by surfaces, or *faces*, which meet so as to form sharp edges and angles; and the angles formed by these faces are always constant in each crystalline substance, though there is no constancy as to the size of the crystals, or the proportionate size of their several faces. One familiar example of crystals is offered by snow.

If a crystal be suspended in water holding in solution as much as it can hold of the same material as the crystal, then, on evaporation of the fluid, fresh material will descend from the fluid upon the surface of the crystal, which will thus increase in size. If a crystal so suspended be mutilated by having one of its solid angles removed, then such injury will be repaired by deposition of material from the fluid.

Crystals may be so formed as to adhere together, shooting out into an arborescent mass and simulating the fronds of ferns and other vegetable

* As, e.g., sulphate of sodium (Na_2SO_4) can be resolved into oxide of sodium (Na_2O) and anhydrous sulphuric acid (SO_3). The former of these derivatives can be again resolved into oxygen and sodium, while the latter derivative (the sulphuric acid) can be resolved into oxygen and sulphur.

† Thus, if we place together nitrate of silver (AgNO_3) and hydrochloric acid (HCl), the chlorine will leave the latter to unite with the silver of the former, and produce chloride of silver (AgCl); while the hydrogen of the hydrochloric acid will unite with the nitrogen and oxygen of the nitrate of silver, so forming nitric acid (HNO_3)—a process of reciprocal exchange.

‡ The process of inducing chemical change by the mere proximity of other chemical change is called "Catalysis."

productions, as in the familiar example of "frost" upon a window-pane.

Some masses of mineral are formed of minute aggregated crystals, as is the case with marble. Another mineral may be of similar chemical composition but not crystalline, as chalk. Both of these can be resolved into a gas called "carbonic acid" and lime. Carbonic acid can be again resolved into oxygen, and a peculiar and very important element, carbon. Lime can be resolved into oxygen (its oxygen forming some other union) and a light metal, calcium; the rust of which is thus termed "lime."

But the same chemical substance may exhibit another diversity of condition—a diversity much more important for our purpose than the kind of difference which exists between chalk and lime.

Some substances, as, for example, "peroxide of iron," may be either in the form of a jelly and insoluble in water, or they may be in what is called a "crystalloid" state, and quite soluble in water. Moreover, they may be made to pass from the crystal-like state to the jelly-like condition by adding a minute quantity of certain substances.* In the insoluble and jelly-like condition these substances are called "colloids," and their condition is spoken of as "colloidal." In their other condition, they are spoken of as "crystalloids." Now colloids are not only jelly-like and insoluble in water, but they absorb and transmit water readily through their substance. Crystalloids are the reverse of all this, and not only so, but are specially remarkable for their diffusibility, while colloids can hardly at all diffuse themselves through the substance of other colloids. Colloids, again, not only readily absorb water and swell, but they also readily yield it up again by evaporation.

There is also a peculiar interaction of fluids which must be noted. If two fluids of different densities be so placed within a vessel that they are separated by a median porous partition, then some of both fluids will pass through the partition; but more of the less dense fluid will pass it than of the other. The consequence is, that if the level of the two fluids be at first the same on each side of the partition, then the level of the denser fluid will rise, while that of the less dense fluid will sink. This process of fluid transference is called "osmosis," and it is facilitated if the partition be a colloidal substance.

The air about us does not merely consist of mixed oxygen and nitrogen, but also contains some carbonic acid gas, ammonia, and the vapour of water, besides minute quantities of other substances.

Oxygen is a colourless gas which has a most remarkable tendency to unite itself with very many other substances; and every combustion (attended with the evolution of light and heat) which takes place in the air is an energetic act of such union, while a gentle union of the kind (such as takes place when iron rusts) may be called a slow combustion; yet oxygen is not itself combustible.

* *E.g.*, of an alkaline carbonate.

Nitrogen is a gas indistinguishable in appearance from oxygen, but is its very opposite as to most of its properties. It is extremely inert and indisposed to unite with other elements; and so far from promoting combustion it stops it—extinguishing a flame plunged into it. Neither is it itself combustible. It is also remarkable for the extreme instability of the compounds of which it forms a part—such as gunpowder, gun-cotton, nitroglycerine, and iodide, sulphide, and chloride of nitrogen, which form a series successively exploding with greater and greater violence and readiness.

Carbonic acid—a substance of extreme importance to the biologist—is another colourless gas, and is one of the results of the great affinity which oxygen possesses for other substances. It is a compound substance consisting of oxygen and carbon, of which latter it is thus a sort of “rust.”

Carbon itself is a solid substance even at the highest temperature yet applied to it, and thus differs from both the before-noticed elements. Carbon, like oxygen, is extremely abundant; it is, however, abundant only in a compound condition, while it is rare in its elementary state. In that state it may exist in no less than three conditions. One of these is a crystalline condition, known as the diamond. In another condition it is known as black-lead (or graphite). Its third condition is what we call charcoal. Carbon forms a very large portion of all living bodies, and that which enters so largely into the composition of plants is extracted by them from the carbonic acid in the atmosphere. It follows that there must be a vast quantity of this element therein, and, in fact, it has been estimated that in the entire column of atmosphere resting upon any square mile of the earth's surface there is contained as much as 371,475 tons of carbon.

Carbonic acid, however, forms but a very small part of our atmosphere. Ordinarily, there is only as much as from three and a half to four cubic feet of this gas in ten thousand cubic feet of air. The quantity may be much increased by exceptional conditions, as is notably the case in volcanic regions. In the well-known Grotta del Cane, near Naples, the air of the lower part of the cavern is so impregnated with carbonic acid that dogs sent in are rendered insensible by it, and would soon be killed if not withdrawn from it. Carbonic acid, then, is fatal to animal life, and, moreover (like nitrogen), it extinguishes any burning substance which may be plunged into it. It is a dense gas, weighing a little more than half as much again as an equal volume of common air would weigh. Its tendency to unite with other substances is feeble, and it may readily be displaced by a more energetic substance.*

Another gas, *ammonia*, is constantly present in the air in very small

* Thus, the substance formed by the union of this gas with lime—commonly called carbonate of lime—readily changes into another substance called acetate or citrate of lime, if acetic or citric acid be mixed with it—as in so many effervescing mixtures. The more energetically combining acetic or citric acid unites with the lime, displacing the inert carbonic acid, which escapes in the bubbles of gas given forth.

quantities,* and is the pungent gas which escapes from smelling salts. It is resolvable into two elements, nitrogen and hydrogen, three parts, by weight, of the latter to fourteen of the former. The compounds into which ammonia enters are easily volatilized, and some of them are decomposed by heat.

Hydrogen is a colourless and inodorous gas, which does not (like oxygen) support combustion, but which is (unlike oxygen and nitrogen) itself inflammable. It is the lightest substance known, one volume of air weighing more than fourteen times as much as the same volume† of hydrogen. It is a generally inert substance, combining with few other elements, by far the most important of its compounds being water. It forms also a large series of compounds, with carbon, which are spoken of as "hydro-carbons."‡ They are substances which have for the most part weak affinities, readily disuniting into their constituents when heated by themselves. When brought into relation with oxygen under proper conditions, their carbon unites with some of the oxygen, while their hydrogen unites with other parts of the oxygen and disappears as the vapour of water. Hydrogen is extremely abundant in nature, since any given quantity of water can be resolved into twice as much of this gas by volume as of the other constituent of water, oxygen.

The *vapour of water* is the last constituent of our atmosphere which needs mention here. It is excessively abundant therein, especially when there is an elevated temperature, the atmosphere's power of holding such vapour increasing with its heat. When a warm stratum of air containing much aqueous vapour has its temperature lowered, a certain quantity of the vapour immediately condenses into minute particles of water appearing as dew, mist, cloud, or rain according to the circumstances. When a glass vessel, containing very cold water, is brought into a warm room, its exterior rapidly becomes coated with dew, from the air in contact with it being cooled and therefore compelled to discharge its watery vapour.

We may now pass from the consideration of the constituents of the earth's gaseous envelope—the atmosphere—to that of its fluid vesture. *Water* is, for the biologist, the most noteworthy of substances, and the modern naturalist can well understand how the ancient philosopher Thales should have deemed it the origin of all things. For water is indeed the very mother-substance of life. Life was not only first conceived within its fruitful womb, but exists nowhere now, even in the most arid desert, except in water—in the fluids, that is, of animals and plants, the bodies of which are also so largely composed of that substance.

* There is about one grain in more than fifty thousand cubic feet (nearly 27,000,000 grains) of air.

† Of course at the same temperature and pressure.

‡ It unites in sunshine with chlorine with explosive violence, and unites with it quietly in diffused daylight.

§ Such are marsh gas, olefiant gas, amylene, paraffine, and mylene.

Water has been the great agent in forming the surface of the earth as we see it, and by its unceasing circulation over that surface renders the land a habitable abode for animal and vegetable tribes. Almost alone amongst inorganic matters in its retention of its fluid form under such wide differences of temperature, it may, considering all the functions it performs, be well called the blood of the earth. Water, whether salt or fresh, is ever resolvable into the same two constituent gases which are not merely mixed together (as are the oxygen and nitrogen of the air), but are so intimately (chemically) united as to form a new substance, which may be said to be the rust of hydrogen.

But water always contains suspended within it a greater or less quantity of other substances. Thus, in the first place, it contains a considerable quantity of air mixed up within it, a fact which, as we shall hereafter find, has a most important bearing upon aquatic life. Rain-water gathers in its descent all the air's soluble constituents—oxygen, nitrogen, carbonic acid, and ammonia.

The water of each river contains, of course, the salts of the springs which feed it, and it also contains the matters which it has dissolved out from the soluble materials which it has met with in its course. One of the noteworthy ingredients it thus acquires is carbonate of lime,* and another is flint in a state of solution. Sea-water notoriously contains much common and other salts.†

Sulphur is a solid element which may exist in two conditions. It may be either crystalline or non-crystalline, and it may be made to pass alternately backwards and forwards from one condition to the other by means of slight changes of temperature.

An allied element, phosphorus, can also exist in two distinct states. One of these is waxy or crystalline, the other is what is called its red or amorphous condition.

The elements which have been mentioned as forming by their more or less simple unions the most important inorganic substances are: oxygen, nitrogen, carbon, hydrogen, sulphur, and phosphorus. These five elements also enter into the composition of both animals and plants. And to them may also be added, as more or less frequent constituents of living bodies, the elements, chlorine, bromine, iodine, iron,‡

* This is greatly increased in quantity if the water contains much carbonic acid, the presence of which enables it to largely dissolve any limestone rocks it may traverse. Other substances which may be present in it to a greater or less extent are:—1. sulphate of lime (formed of lime and sulphuric acid or oil of vitriol); 2. common salt or chloride of sodium (for salt is a substance resolvable into a metal "sodium," and a green, strongly-smelling and irritating gas called chlorine); 3. chloride of magnesium; 4. sulphate of magnesia; 5. hydrous peroxide of iron (a combination of water, oxygen, and iron, into which a greater share of oxygen enters than into ordinary oxide of iron or "rust"); 6. sulphate of soda; 7. sulphate of potash; and 8. silica or flint, which is the rust of the metal silicon.

† In addition to its large amount of common salt, it may contain about a seventh part as much chloride of magnesium with less quantities of sulphate of lime and chloride of potassium, also some sulphate of magnesia with a little bromide of magnesium and carbonate of lime, with a minute quantity of ammonia and another element, iodine, which is found in seaweed and in combination with various metals.

‡ Iron exists very largely, and plays a very important part in the life history of organisms. It exists mostly in the form of red or brown hæmatite (which are forms of rust), or as iron

potassium, sodium, calcium, magnesium, silicon, manganese, zinc, copper, mercury, and arsenic.

Amongst the most important compound constituents of animals and plants are: water, air, carbonic acid, ammonia, and a variety of calcareous, siliceous, or ferruginous salts—that is to say, substances into which either calcium, silicon, or iron enter as component parts.

The action of water on the earth is a matter which should be carefully noted by the biologist as well as the geologist. The surface of the solid earth is being continually modified, and its elevated parts destroyed, by water in the form of rain, streams, or sea waves, and by the disintegrating action of ice, since in solidifying it expands as it freezes within the cracks and fissures into which it has insinuated itself as water. By these means the substance of the land is being slowly but continuously torn down and carried away to be deposited either in estuaries, or at the mouths of rivers, or in the bed of the ocean—

“The sound of streams, which, swift or slow,
Tear down Æolian hills and sow
The dust of continents to be.”

It is the deposits of mud in estuaries, and in those triangular accumulations of land termed “Deltas” (formed at the mouths of rivers), which are the most important for biological purposes; for in such deposits a certain proportion of solid objects which may fall into a river and be carried towards its mouth, may be expected to become buried in the successive layers of mud brought down. The mass of matter thus carried to the sea by some of the largest rivers is enormous. It has been calculated that the Ganges carries down every year as much mud as could be conveyed by a fleet of 2000 ships sailing down daily, and each freighted with 1400 tons of that substance. The deposit carried down by the Mississippi has formed a delta extending over an area of 30,000 square miles, and is known to be, at least in some parts, several hundred feet in thickness.

Should such deposits become hardened into rock, we might expect to find therein some remains of hard bodies (such as bones, shells, or dense fruits) which may have been therein enclosed. Experience has abundantly shown that such is indeed the case. We find remains thus preserved, which are called “Fossils.” But more than this: footprints of passing creatures, worm tracks, and even such impressions as are made by a sharp rain or hail storm on soft mud at low water have been preserved for ages, being covered over and protected by delicate films of fresh deposit. In some cases even the form of the rain-pits makes more evident to us what was the direction of the wind which blew on a day so distant that we cannot imagine the period which has since elapsed.

The lowering of the earth's surface, which is thus occasioned by an pyrites (FeS_2), or else as what is called “Black Band,” which is iron or a carbonate (FeCO_3) united with organic matter.

aqueous wear and tear, is more or less counterbalanced by a slow or rapid upheaval of parts of the earth's surface, through volcanic action. But *igneous action* has often had effects which the naturalist may well regret; for by it the structure of many rocks has become changed, or, as it is termed, *metamorphosed*, and such a change is destructive to remains or impressions which may have therein been antecedently preserved.

Passing now from the inorganic world to the world of life, the two may be seen to be in some respects closely allied, in others strongly contrasted. Creatures the most various, from man to the smallest fungus which may attack his crops, exhibit a fundamental uniformity in their physical composition. It is not meant to affirm that this physical basis is really the same in all, but only that it presents similar chemical and other characters. That it cannot be absolutely the same in all is manifest from the fact that very different kinds of animals (or of plants) may arise from two particles of living substance between which it is impossible for us to discover any difference of quality.

Every living creature has a body which, however soft it may be, however much fluid it may contain, or however hard and dry it may appear, is never entirely fluid and is always partly so. Every living creature consists in part (and that part is the most actively living part) of a soft, viscid, transparent colourless substance, called *Protoplasm** or "Bioplasm." Every living creature is at first entirely composed of such Protoplasm. This substance is resolvable into oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and carbon, with traces of different other elements in different cases, and, like the inorganic compounds of nitrogen, is of unstable nature and easily decomposed. The proportions of these four elements (as estimated by weight) are very different.† Possibly science may hereafter resolve this substance (protoplasm) into other compounds, but as yet it has not done so.

Protoplasm possesses four powers, which have no parallel in inorganic nature.

1. Currents are widely established in inorganic mixtures by differences of temperature, but in a portion of protoplasm an internal circulation of currents may continue in definite lines (as indicated by enclosed particles) without altering the external figure of the organic particle in which they occur. Such a motion, as it occurs conspicuously in certain vegetable structures (certain minute portions called "cells"), is termed *Cyclosis*.

2. Inorganic bodies expand with heat or through imbibing moisture, but living protoplasm has an apparently spontaneous power of con-

* A term proposed by Mohl to denote the soft interior of cells.

† Thus, if the whole human body be supposed to consist of a hundred parts, the elements will form the following proportions:—Oxygen, 72; hydrogen, 9.1; carbon, 13.5; nitrogen, 2.5. Lime and phosphorus a fraction above 1, and other substances the remaining fraction.

traction and expansion under certain external conditions, which conditions, however, if they exist in the presence of only non-living matter, never occasion in it any such contraction and expansion.

3. Under favouring conditions, living bodies have a power of performing chemical changes which result in the evolution of heat. This heat also is produced far more gently and continuously than by the combustion of inorganic bodies.

4. A crystal may, as we have seen, grow by external deposit when suspended in a suitable fluid, but living protoplasm has the power of converting other substances formed of the same elements united in different proportions (or of the same without nitrogen), into a material like itself, and then absorbing it into its own substance—a process called “intus-susception.”

The quaternary* substance forming protoplasm is often spoken of as a “protein”† or “albuminoid”‡ substance. Certain minute bodies which we shall hereafter know as “white corpuscles of the blood,” the small spheres which make up yolk of egg, and the minute creatures which are the lowest animals and plants, are examples of protoplasm.

Thus we find a uniformity of composition runs through all organic nature. For all animals and plants, from the lowest to the highest, differ from inorganic substances by the uniformity of their composition. They never fail to be resolvable into oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and carbon, whereas inorganic bodies may consist of the most diverse elements, may contain on one of the above four, or may (like gold or sulphur) consist of a single element only. There is a second chemical difference, which consists in the diversity of the proportions in which the constituent elements appear to be combined in organic and inorganic bodies. In organic bodies the proportions are very much more complex§ than they are in inorganic bodies.

Such being the fundamental basis of living matter, other distinct organic substances are derived from it—namely, all the various matters which living beings form, or of which their bodies consist. This must be so, since all such ultimately distinct matters have been originally derived by every living being from that minute particle of protoplasm, of which each living being at first consists, and which matters have been manufactured by it out of the various solid, fluid, and gaseous materials which it may have absorbed or incorporated.

There are certain substances which may be called “derivatives of protoplasm,” for from the simple primitive protoplasm are derived two

* “Quaternary” means consisting of four elements. Water (which consists of two) is a “binary” compound.

† This is Mulder’s term for the hypothetical *substantia communis* occurring in all the albuminous compounds, but such a substance has never been isolated or really found anywhere.

‡ So called because the substance is similar in chemical composition to the albumen, or white, of a hen’s egg.

§ Thus, e.g., any given quantity of albumen is said to be resolvable approximately into its elements in the following complex proportions ($C_{72}H_{110}SO_{22}H_2O$), but all the formulæ given of albumen are unsatisfactory.

classes of organic substances, one of which does, while the other does not, contain nitrogen.

To the former class belong albumen (the matter of white of egg, &c.), fibrin (the colourless part of a blood clot), gelatin (the substance of jellies), gluten (found in wheat and the main constituent of macaroni), with other matters.

To the latter class belong all fats and oils, sugar and starch, and a notable substance called *cellulose*,* of which a great part of all plants is composed, and the hardened form of which is wood.

But different kinds of organic substances co-exist in even the smallest particles of living matter, and probably every piece of albumen consists of more than one kind of albuminous matter, and has fat or other non-nitrogenous organic compounds, mixed up in, but not chemically united with it.

Organic matter, then, is of very complex nature, is specially sensitive, and extremely unstable.

As with organic, so also with inorganic matter, catalysis† induces changes—such as fermentation and other similar phenomena. Just as the same inorganic substance may exist in two different states, so also may organic substances. Organic substances (such as albumen, starch, and other matters) have their soluble or crystalloid, and their insoluble or colloidal, conditions,‡—a circumstance, as we shall see, of the greatest importance in animal nutrition. So far we have considered the distinction between living and non-living matter as regards mode of increase, spontaneous activity, and chemical composition. But other distinctions exist with respect to *external form* and *internal structure*. For, as we have seen, all crystals are bounded by plane surfaces or “faces,” which meet at definite and characteristic angles, and with one or two exceptions (such as spathic and hæmatite iron and dolomite) mineral bodies are not bounded by curved lines and surfaces. On the other hand, curved lines and surfaces are the characteristic boundaries of all animal and vegetable bodies.

Again, if a crystal be cut through, its internal structure will be seen to be similar throughout. But if the body of any living creature be divided, its interior almost always exhibits definite structures made up of different substances, while even the very simplest living creature shows, when thus divided, a variety of minute, distinct particles, called granules, variously distributed throughout its interior. So that its internal structure is never, like that of the crystal, similar throughout.

The most important distinction, however, remains yet to be noticed, which reposes on what may be called the *cyclical changes* of organic bodies.

The world of inorganic substances is commonly, and indeed truly,

* Resolvable into $C_6H_{10}O_5$. † See *ante* p. 690, Note †.

‡ As also various inorganic compounds have their different states in which their chemical composition remains unchanged (technically called isomeric states); so it is with various organic matters, as, for example, a variety of “essential oils.”

spoken of as a world of dead, relatively inert matter, and yet it is a world of active and incessant change. For, apart from oceanic waves and currents, the flow of rivers and the circulation of winds, from volcanic action and the gradual contraction, through ages bygone, of the cooling globe—apart from all this, terrestrial matter continually thrills with electric, magnetic, thermal, and chemical changes. But however vast or complex the changes which take place may be they never take place in any non-living body in a regular and recurring order. They never form a series returning upon itself and reproducing any state which we may have selected to regard as the initial state in a cycle (or recurring series) of changes.

Very different is the behaviour of living bodies. Thus, a bird's egg will in due time give rise to a bird, which may again produce an egg; or a silkworm will become a chrysalis, which will disclose itself as a moth, the moth will lay eggs, and these when hatched will once more present us with the silkworm which we have selected as our starting-point in the latter series of changes. It is the same with a fruit, the seed of which may be sown, producing in its turn a plant which grows and flowers, the flower maturing into a fruit once more.

The changes, then, which take place in living bodies may form a cycle. In order, however, that they should thus recur certain conditions are necessary. Thus, as every one knows, a bird's egg will not be hatched without heat, nor will it be hatched if it be kept in an atmosphere of nitrogen or of carbonic acid, or in any atmosphere deprived of oxygen or of moisture. It will not be hatched even in a suitable atmosphere if its shell be coated over with grease or any other material capable of cutting off its contents from the action of the air external to it. The cycle of change will be also interrupted if the hatched bird be deprived of needful nourishment or warmth, and analogous adverse circumstances will interrupt the series of changes in all cases. Thus, the cycle of changes which take place in all living bodies can take place only under certain fixed conditions—such as a certain temperature, the access of requisite gases, a certain degree of moisture, and due nutrition. But let such conditions continue to be supplied, and the cycle of changes appears capable of indefinite recurrence.

If, however, perfectly similar conditions be supplied to organic bodies which have once ceased to live, a regular series of changes also takes place, but such changes do not form a cycle—they never return to the stage from which they set out. They are the changes of decomposition, and ultimately result in the formation of inorganic substances, such as water, ammonia, carbonic acid, sulphuretted hydrogen, and various earthy salts. Thus, the existence of an innate tendency to go through a definite cycle of changes when exposed to certain fixed conditions, forms a distinction not only between mineral substances and living organic bodies, but equally between the latter and organic bodies which are dead. Here arises the great question as to the *Origin of Life*.

It has just been said that the cycles of change above referred to appear capable, under suitable conditions, of indefinite recurrence. They appear capable of continuing for a future eternity. Was it always so, and has life existed in our world for a past eternity? This we may from astronomy pretty confidently deny. But assuming that life had a definite commencement on this planet, did the first living creatures exhibit a series of cyclical changes, or was the recurring series an advance upon an earlier condition in which living creatures were directly evolved from non-living matter—lived and died devoid of any power of reproducing creatures like themselves? We could hope to answer this question more satisfactorily, could we determine whether or no life under any conditions spontaneously arises from amidst non-living matter now. As before remarked, it was the universally received opinion till within the last three centuries, that many lowly animals (such as flies, worms, and internal parasites) arose without the intervention of parent organism of their own kind. But the discoveries which have one after another been made, concerning the life-history of such creatures, have successively reduced the number of animals which might be supposed so to originate to a few of the very lowest and minutest kinds.

It has, indeed, been shown that life* will appear in a sealed vessel containing water with a little non-living albuminous substance, in spite of its having been exposed for twenty minutes to a temperature of 230° to 275° Fahr. It is generally admitted that such a temperature is high enough to destroy not only all adult living creatures, but also all their reproductive particles. If such is the case, we may then reasonably infer that life has in these instances appeared spontaneously. But it is urged, on the other side, that not only can some living creatures resist a much greater heat than others, but that some reproductive particles may resist a temperature of even 300° Fahr. Moreover, the reproductive particles, of at least many of the organisms referred to may be of such extreme minuteness as to place them beyond the reach of the highest known magnifying power. Thus, no absolute solution of the problem seems at present possible. It may be that invisible reproductive particles have (in the experiments above referred to) survived† any heat to which they have been exposed. It may be that the organisms spontaneously arise.

But whether or not living beings are at present produced spontaneously,‡ or whether now every separate living particle of protoplasm is the product of some antecedent living particle,§ it is generally conceded (and seems to be a necessary inference from the lessons of science) that spontaneous generation must at one time have taken place.

* In the form of very minute organisms called Bacteria, which are a group of Vibrios. Various experiments of the kind have been performed by Dr. H. Charlton Bastian.

† Of course, if there has been defective care in instituting these experiments, very minute organisms may have been allowed to enter the flasks before they were completely closed up by sealing.

‡ This production is called *Abiogenesis* or *Archebiosis*.

§ This mode of reproduction is often spoken of as *Biogenesis*, and the theory that it is the only mode in which reproduction takes place is called *Panspermism*.

Perhaps during the earlier stages of that process of cooling which this planet's crust has undergone, chemical compounds were temporarily developed which are never naturally formed now, and which have not yet been hit upon in any chemical laboratory—not at least under such conditions as may be necessary for the evolution of life. But the uniformity of Nature forces us to believe that if life was ever originated spontaneously from such compounds, then, if such compounds come to be formed by us hereafter under sufficiently similar conditions, life will again spontaneously appear in them. More than this: those who feel convinced that life did once so appear, have a strong *à priori* reason for concluding that it does so appear now, and will naturally and logically be inclined to favour the hypothesis of spontaneous evolution, rather than the hypothesis of the survival of reproductive particles (in the experiments referred to), for the existence of which there is no evidence save the apparently spontaneous appearance of the living creatures themselves. The controversy, then, may be said to have arrived at a stage comparable with "stale mate" in a game of chess.

But the theory of spontaneous generation is slightly favoured by the production now in our laboratories of a number of highly complex substances which long resisted all attempts made to produce them, and which were therefore supposed to be the products of living beings only. Such substances are, *e.g.*, lactic acid, indigo, alcohol, and urea.

If we may conclude that in some earlier stage of the earth's history, living creatures appeared spontaneously, we may also conclude (from the fact that all but the lowest existing forms are known to be produced by parent organisms) that such creatures must have been of the simplest kinds.

It is then certainly possible, that while the earth's early condition favoured (if it ever did favour) the spontaneous evolution of life, such earliest beings had no need of any reproductive agency beyond that implanted in the non-living matter whence they sprang. They may possibly, therefore, have been devoid of reproductive power. It is plain, however, that with the fading away of the terrestrial conditions favouring (according to this hypothesis) the production of life, either new forms must have arisen possessing such reproductive capacity, or life must have entirely ceased. All this, however, is pure speculation. At present the occurrence of spontaneous generation has not been conclusively demonstrated, nor is it easy to see how it ever can be, for we can hardly prove the non-existence of reproductive particles which must (from their minuteness) escape our senses if they exist. It is also certain that no kind of animal or plant known to us is altogether devoid of the powers of reproduction any more than it is devoid of the powers necessary to the carrying on of its individual life, and this reproductive capacity is, indeed, most intimately connected with mere growth and nutrition. To believe, therefore, that any kind of living being ever existed altogether devoid of reproductive capacity under due

conditions, would be a belief not only gratuitous, but one contrary to analogy and experience.

Certain other characters which are common to all living beings may be next adverted to.

Besides the characteristics already noted, all animals and plants further agree in four other common characters by which they bear certain fixed relations with the inorganic world.

1. In the first place, living organisms of both kinds help to augment the earth's crust, contributing in varying degrees to compensate for those destructive actions of air and water upon the solid earth which have been above referred to. For living organisms continually withdraw from air and water an enormous mass of matter. They have thus withdrawn and built up the matter of all the forests of the globe,* and of all other vegetation, together with the multitudinous forms of animal life which are directly or indirectly nourished on vegetable matter. Such matter has accumulated into masses of peat, extending for many square miles, and in our beds of coal, lignite, or shell we have important organic additions to the earth's crust. Besides these agencies there are the coral-building animals (mentioned in the former article) which steal from the water and build up, particle by particle, calcareous masses such as the various coral islands and reefs, one of which extends for upwards of a thousand miles along the north-east coast of Australia.

Other much simpler and more minute organisms have formed the great mass of our chalk hills and plains, and are now forming, at the bottom of the ocean, deposits extending over thousands of square miles. The bones or shells of other animals have also very sensibly augmented the earth's substance. An accumulation in our eastern counties† con-

* The largest forest areas in the world are probably to be found in Brazil. We have there one triangular forest expanse (having for its base the eastern slopes of the Andes) which measures 1200 miles both from north to south and from west to east—i.e., along its base, and from its base to its apex.

† With respect to this matter Professor Owen has been so kind as to send me the following interesting particulars:—

"In the year 1840 John Brown (F.G.S.), of Stanway, Colchester, submitted to me a nodule from the seashore of Essex. It was one of those bodies which fall from the cliffs bounding the coast of that county and of Suffolk. Similar ones had been picked up and sent to Buckland, who called them 'Coprolites.' Being then at work on 'Odontography,' I got permission to make two sections of the nodule, and found it to be the fossil tooth of a cetacean akin to *Physeter*. It enabled me to enter it in my 'Report on Brit. Foss. Mamm,' 1842. On a visit to Felixstow I found that such nodules came from a thin reddish-coloured stratum some feet below the surface of the cliff, of the formation called 'Red Crag.'

"In 1843 Prof. Henslow spent some weeks, with his boys, at Felixstow, and with their help obtained a bagful of the nodules, which he brought to me. Henslow's account is in the 'Proceedings of the Geol. Soc., December, 1843, on Concretions in the Red Crag at Felixstow,' to which are appended my determinations of five kinds of cetacean remains, referred to the genus *Balanodon*. Henslow, thereupon, gave a lecture at Ipswich, calling attention to the fact of the red crag containing fossils of teeth and bones, which, if treated like recent teeth and bones, might afford, by Liebig's method, the valuable manure, 'Superphosphate of Lime. At this 'lecture,' or as a reader of the report of it, was Mr. Lawes, an agricultural chemist. He obtained a number of the nodules from the red crag, applied Liebig's method thereto—viz., addition of a given proportion of sulphuric acid, which by its greater affinity to lime leaves the phosphoric acid in excess, and changes the insoluble phosphate into the soluble superphosphate. There was probably an advantage in the

sisting very largely of the ear-bones of whales, was so considerable and so valuable as a manure as to be the subject of a lawsuit. Shell-forming animals have left their relics in such quantities, that at Shellness (in the Isle of Sheppey), the masses which have there accumulated are regularly quarried to serve for garden-walks, &c. On the north-west coast of Cornwall, comminuted shell-sand occurs so largely that it is used for manure, and more than five million cubic feet of comminuted sea shell-sand is annually collected on the coasts of Devon and Cornwall, and carried into the interior for agricultural purposes. Moreover, accumulations of shell occur in some instances in an elevated position, constituting what are called "raised beaches." They are so called because their position is due to the elevation of the shore-line. The weird-looking mangrove-trees of tropical deltas, with their raised and tangled roots, and their descending and re-rooting branches, are powerful helps in adding to the soil, as by their viviparous seeds* they seize every available opportunity for extending the swampy land they live in and reclaiming it from the sea.

2. Thus living creatures tend in various ways to augment the solid surface of the earth, at the expense of its air and water. And they do not alone take substances from these fluids, they also add others to them. For, as we shall see later, there goes on during every creature's life a more or less constant interchange of gases between it and the watery or aëriform fluid in which it lives. Such changes are indicated plainly enough, by

absence of the gelatine in the petrified bones and teeth. So he took out a patent for converting coprolites into phosphatic manure, and in his assiduous quest of these fossils in localities of Essex and Suffolk, called them coprolites, which the farmers, in Saxon fashion, reduced to 'cops.'

"Now this 'red crag' extends inland from the coast for thirty miles, but in patches, and from south to north has been found from Walton-le-Naze, Essex, to Aldborough, Suffolk. Its thickness varies, averaging ten feet. Broken up septarian nodules form in some places a rude flooring to the 'crag'; these are left by the washing off of the London clay; and the 'cops' occur in greatest abundance immediately over the septarian 'rough-stone.' In winter-time the farmer employs his herds in digging down to the 'crag,' and the 'cops' are riddled out of the upcast. The price paid for them makes the labour very profitable; but the subsequent profit to the chemist is far greater.

"The Cetacean Fossils are described and figured in my 'British Fossil Mammals and Birds' (8vo, 1846), pp. 525—542. In a subsequent paper in *Q. Journal of Geological Society* I described remains of Tapir, Rhinoceros, Felines, Equines, Cervines, Phocidæ, &c., and to this list have been added other genera and species by Ray Lankester, Prof. Flower, and others.

"I was subpoenaed to give evidence in the action of *Lawes v. Purser*, tried at the Guildhall, December, 1850. Mr. Purser had dug for 'cops' on his own land and converted them into phosphatic manure agreeably with Liebig's method. Lawes charged him with infringing his patent. I expected to have been called into the box to testify that I had not found, in the hundreds of specimens which had passed through my hands, a single 'coprolite;' but that every one had been a tooth or bone, or parts of such, together with invertebrate fossils. The counsel on each side, however, agreed to a compromise, and the jury were discharged.—I know not any instance in Palæontology in which a microscopic section of a fossil has been the source of so much benefit and profit (save to the Palæontologist) as that of the *Balanodon physaloides*. I also know but few instances in which out of one fossil has been developed the knowledge of so vast a series of fossils and formed so extensive an area. The red-crag formation of Suffolk and Essex is an outlying part of a pliocene or new miocene deposit which extends eastward to Mecklenburg, and attains its greatest development about Antwerp and parts of the beds of the Rhine and Moselle."

* The fruit of the mangrove actually germinates while still attached to the tree, sending out its little roots and shoots. Thus it falls on to the soft mud as a small plant ready at once to grow and spread. Sometimes the roots even reach the ground before the seed falls.

the oppressive feeling which is produced in any crowded and ill-ventilated theatre; and the dire effects which may result from such conditions carried to an extreme degree are familiar to every one through the story of the terrible "Black Hole" of Calcutta. And similar interchanges take place in the lowest as well as in the highest organisms. There is no microscopic fungus, no dry encrusting lichen, but effects an analogous interchange.

Thus, a circulation of certain of the elements between living and non-living nature is continually taking place. On the one hand, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and carbon are continually being abstracted by organisms from inorganic matter and built up into protoplasm and other products, a portion of the more solid of which may be permanently preserved. On the other hand, the same four elements, in diminished quantity, are being continually restored to the inorganic world by the death and decomposition of plants and animals, as well as by certain of their life-processes (such, *e.g.*, as respiration, &c.), as we shall hereafter see.

3. All living beings further agree in that (as was before observed) a more or less considerable quantity of water enters into the composition of their bodies. In some cases the quantity is very great. Now, in the body of a jelly-fish more than ninety-nine parts out of a hundred consist of water, so that when the body of such a creature a yard in diameter is dried there remains but a thin film, as all the solid remnant of its frame. Some organisms are so transparent that they can be read through as if they were made of glass,* and such creatures generally contain much water. Actively growing parts and vigorously acting parts also contain a large proportion, as notably does the living brain. But the driest and densest living organic structures also contain water, even the enamel of our teeth containing one part of it out of every five hundred.

4. It has already been stated that all animals and plants are alike in the earliest stage of their existence—the same, that is, as far as microscopic examination or chemical analysis can test that sameness. From man himself down to the lowest fungus or alga, every organism begins as a minute spheroidal mass of protoplasm. But all creatures not only agree as to their starting-point, they also further agree as to the general process by which they attain a complex adult condition with distinct parts and organs, if they attain such a condition at all. The process is one of budding, repeated over and over again in very various ways. Whether the creature considered be an oak-tree or a butterfly, the mature form is gradually attained by minute outgrowths and separations, which, in ways to be hereafter explained, give rise to structures which gradually become transformed into the branches, limbs, and other parts of the full-grown oak or butterfly.

In the whole of natural science there is no more wonderful pheno-

* This is the case even in a true fish, namely, the curious fish *Leptocephalus*.

menon than this: that a minute particle of protoplasm— a particle of structureless, semi-fluid, glue-like matter—should have the power of growing up into a tree, a fly, a fungus, a flowering plant, a fish, an earthworm, or an ape, according to the source from which it was derived and whence it gained those powers and properties which are revealed to us by their outcome alone. Nothing known to us in the inorganic world approaches this marvel. The physical forces we know as light, heat, chemical affinity, electricity, &c., are variously called into play in ministering to the evolution of living matter and vital activity, and they are again, in different degrees, manifested by living matter. But if these physical forces are themselves transformed into such vital activity, they are transformed into that which is confessedly utterly unlike them. It is at least a question whether, if we were to speak of vital activities as “transformed physical forces,” we should not be deceiving ourselves by taking mere phrases to be really explanations.

The question so frequently asked, “*What is life?*” thus at once suggests itself. The question is an ambiguous one. It may mean either of two things. It may mean either:—(1) What is the aggregate of phenomena common to and distinctive of living beings?—*i.e.*, what are the actions which all living beings perform, and how can they be best summed up? or, (2) What is the agency whereby these phenomena are produced—what is the power that unifies the complex activities of life?

The first question, What are the phenomena of life? admits of an answer in which all biologists may come to agree, as it is a question of pure physical science. It is a question as to the best and most general definition which can be given of all the acts which all living beings perform.

Obviously, in a limited inquiry like that here entered upon, such questions can be little more than started. They could only be fitly considered after the various life-processes of animals and plants had been described. Questions concerning life ought to form a part of psychology (in the widest sense of that term), and they should be treated of after the various separate functions which living beings perform have been enumerated and described. Nevertheless, something may even now be said; and with respect to the first question, some facts of organic life are obvious enough.

Plainly, all organisms, from their mode of increase already noticed, must undergo modifications in relation to the food they need. The interchanges of gases above referred to also necessitate the existence of certain changes within each living body in correspondence with certain changes external to it. Higher animals also, in order that their lives may be preserved, must perform movements which are regulated by external circumstances. A crystal or a nugget of gold may lie passive for ages and yet preserve its existence unimpaired. Not so an organism. With it, to cease to change is to cease to live, and if changes are made which are out of harmony with surrounding circumstances (if, *e.g.*, an antelope runs towards a lion instead of away from it) it will also cease

to live. Again, an animal in the act of running must adjust its movements in accordance with the nature of the surface traversed. Similarly when a cat watches a mouse, the movements of the cat's eyes respond to the movements of the hoped-for prey. Also, when any animal swallows food, its internal organs adjust their actions (within limits) to the nature and quality of the food swallowed. Obviously, then, there must go on during life a more or less continuous adjustment of internal conditions to conditions which are external, and this is the definition of life which has been proposed by Mr. Herbert Spencer.* The late Mr. G. H. Lewes has called attention to another peculiarity of living creatures, which is that they preserve the integrity of their structure by means of changes of composition and of decomposition which go on simultaneously; and this recalls De Blainville's definition of life as "the twofold internal movements of composition and decomposition at once general and continuous." The definitions of De Blainville and of Mr. Lewes do not appear to include changes due to perceptions of the senses—the pursuit of prey, the flight from enemies, &c. Mr. Spencer's definition seems, on the other hand, to be at once both too large and too narrow. It seems too large because it would include the life of a nation, and in spite of the interesting analogies between the life of an animal and of a community of men, the term "life" cannot be properly and accurately applied to national existence—a nation not being truly an organism. It is too narrow because there are in living beings many simultaneous and successive definite combinations of internal changes which are not related to corresponding changes in surrounding nature. Thus, *e.g.*, if a hen's egg be maintained at a constant moderate temperature and with no variation in the surrounding atmosphere save that which the egg itself occasions, its contents will go through a long and elaborate series of complex changes to which no changes in its environment correspond either in variety or amount. Again, when our own body is deranged by some slight functional disturbance of liver or of stomach, the due balance of our functions may be spontaneously restored by the action of our organism itself without any corresponding change in our surroundings. The series of changes which constitute life must not therefore be merely simultaneous and successive, definite and combined, but they must be a series of changes which are directed towards an end—namely, the completion of the cycle of life, before described.† They must be changes which tend to preserve the individual, or else (as in many instinctive actions which insects perform for the future good of their young) to preserve the life of the species. It may, of course, be objected that many of the changes of organisms have a directly contrary tendency. Thus the "changes" that ensue after swallowing a poison, or the "changes" which result from diseased conditions, are all

* He defines life as "the continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations." By "internal relations" he means "definite combinations of simultaneous and successive changes."

† See *ante*, p. 698.

changes which may result in the destruction of the organism in which they occur. Such changes, however, are rather those of death than of life. They must be excluded even from Mr. Spencer's category, for he tells us that life varies with the degree of correspondence, and yet the more correspondence there is between the properties of a poison and the resulting bodily activities of the poisoned, the sooner does death ensue. These changes, then, do not form part of the phenomena of life, but of its gradual or speedy cessation. It is impossible to adequately define life without taking into our definition the idea of "an end" in the orderly changes which it presents, and it seems needless to include within it a reference to the environment. The phrase, "a definite combination of simultaneous and successive changes directed to a conservative end," or, more shortly, "conservative modifications of living beings," may perhaps suffice. If this be not accepted, and if all the active phenomena of living beings, even those of their decay, are to be included in our definition, then there remains no way of defining such phenomena save by the short phrase, "the special activity of organized beings" (which Dugés made use of to define life), or as "the sum of the activities of living creatures."

The second question as to the meaning of life before stated—What is the cause of life?—is a question which refers to the hidden agency by which vital phenomena are produced, and is rather a question of philosophy than of physical science. With a knowledge of only such facts concerning the natural history of animals and plants as have as yet been placed before the reader, it would be premature to attempt an answer to it. But some observations of Sir Henry Holland's may be cited now, and hereafter an opportunity it is hoped will occur for calling attention to facts which may incline us to accept or reject the view of the cause of vital phenomena which seems therein recommended. "There is," he tells us, "some power or force, call it what we will, working upon matter as its subject or instrument in the creation and maintenance of the various forms of life. That this power, however connected with physical forces, has its own special character, cannot be denied without casting off at once all that our senses as well as our reason teach us. The simple fact of the transmission of hereditary likeness through successive generations is in itself a volume of argument on the subject. To affirm that such phenomena can be produced by a mixture or transformation of merely physical forces, is either a naked assertion without proof, or the actual admission of a vital force under another form of words."

Certainly it cannot be denied that there is in all things living a unity-giving power which somehow dominates their forces, and is a principle of individuation. Even if every single, separate activity which organisms exhibit could be shown to be imitated by inorganic matter, no inorganic matter ever shows these activities grouped together as organisms do.

Let it be granted that living beings arose naturally from amidst a purely inorganic world in the abyss of past time, or even that they so arise continually (though unnoticed) about us to-day, such admission does not tell in the slightest degree against a fundamental and essential distinctness between living beings, when they have been once evolved, and all objects devoid of life.

Dependent as living beings are on physical conditions, responsive as they are to the physical forces without which they cannot exist, and which they themselves give forth in their own various activities, yet they after all form a world apart. That they really do so, the distinctions which have now been shown to exist between living and inanimate bodies may suffice to prove. Thus considered, it appears indisputable that animals and plants, indeed, require that a distinct department of science should be assigned for their investigation. They cannot be properly included in any larger group of objects, or be treated of as a mere subordinate section of the great science of physics.

The facts already pointed out may then suffice to show that living beings form one great group of objects which possess in common a number of characters serving to distinguish them from all bodies which are devoid of life.

The first part of the answer to our initial question, "What are Living Beings?" has thus received its answer. We are now in a position to clearly discriminate and distinguish them from beings devoid of life. But the question as to their nature admits of a more positive answer. We may seek a preliminary response to the question, "What are Living Beings *in themselves*?" Do they form one really homogeneous group, or do they in truth consist, as they plainly seem to do, of two distinct sets of organisms—animals and plants?

The immense multitude of varied forms which constitutes the world of life is, for the most part, obviously divisible into two great sections, or, as they are fancifully termed, "kingdoms"—the kingdom of animals and the vegetable kingdom.

The distinctions which exist between all the larger and better known forms of these two great groups are, indeed, so obvious that (in spite of the characters common to both, which have been already pointed out) the reader may think it an easy task to find characters to separate them absolutely; for the activity of the animal creation forces itself constantly upon our attention; while plants, for the most part rooted to the soil, are obviously incapable of voluntary motion. Animals have each a very definite external form and a more or less fixed limit as to size, while if they have limbs they are definite in number as well as in shape. Plants, on the contrary (such as our trees and shrubs), have no such constancy of shape and size, and individuals of the same kind differ greatly as to the number and form of the branches they send forth. Moreover, these prolongations are sent forth more or less unsystematically, those of any one side not corresponding with those of an opposite side, and very generally we cannot even say that the branches are equal

and alike in their mode of radiating from the central stem. The same irregularity prevails in the successive subdivisions of each branch, plants growing in that variously ramifying manner which is denoted by the convenient term "arborescent."

Obviously, again, the motions of animals respond to feelings which we may well compare with our own. Not only will a worm or slug shrink from any irritating object applied to it; but, if injured, it will by its various contortions show what we cannot avoid interpreting as signs of pain. More than this: animals can generally perceive objects more or less distant and can very frequently appreciate sounds and odours as well as touches by special organs formed to such ends. But plants hardly ever present any phenomena which might incline us to believe them to possess any power even of feeling. In spite of the singular movements of some, they cannot be said to shrink from attack, or to writhe under the pruner's knife.

Another obvious distinction between most animals and plants is afforded by the process of reproduction. Animals either give birth to living young or deposit eggs to be hatched with or without maternal care, according to their kind; but no offspring ever grows forth from the side of any beast, reptile, or even insect. Moreover, though, if we cut off a frog's leg or a lizard's tail, another leg or tail will be produced, yet no one ever saw a new frog or lizard grow from such amputated leg or tail. But plants, though they form seed (a process which may be compared with ordinary animal reproduction), also increase by budding, and the latter process takes place much the more frequently. Suckers also may be thrown out, or the end of a branch (as in the common bramble) may root itself into the ground—its incipient leaves changing themselves into rootlets—and so give rise to a fresh plant. Moreover, plants may be indefinitely propagated by cuttings—new individuals growing up from the parts amputated.

And indeed not only are the modes of multiplication profoundly different in most animals and plants, but the manner of individual nutrition is different also; for animals receive their solid or fluid nourishment into an internal cavity,* where it is digested; while plants take in the whole of their food, from the air and water around them, by a process of imbibition only.

Lastly, if we analyze the chemical constitution of the two groups, we find that while animals have the great part of their bodies formed of material containing nitrogen, plants are mainly composed of substances which are resolvable into oxygen, hydrogen, and carbon only. Thus, *e.g.*, plants contain a quantity of a characteristic vegetable substance—*starch*—and chiefly consist of the non-nitrogenous substance before referred to as "cellulose." On the other hand, no such substances as

* That is to say, *practically* an internal cavity, for in fact the stomach of an animal is but a prolongation inwards of its exterior, so that whatever it contains is morphologically "outside" the substance of the animal.

muscle,* nerve, or blood (substances found in almost all animals) have ever been found in any plant.

These distinctions as to 1. motive-power, 2. external form, 3. sensitivity, 4. mode of reproduction, 5. manner of feeding, and 6. chemical composition, serve then well enough to distinguish the bulk of animals from the bulk of plants. But between the higher and more characteristic forms of the two kingdoms are a number of lowly organisms, amongst which all such distinctions fade away.

(1.) Thus with respect to motive-power, there are animals (even of some complexity of structure) which show no more voluntary activity than do many of the lowest plants.

Such creatures are the beautiful and minute oceanic animals called *Radiolaria*, which seem to drift passively along withdrawing and protruding filamentary prolongations of their protoplasmic substance which go by the name of "false-feet," or *Pseudopodia*. Some of the lowest water plants (some of the *Algæ*, or sea-weed group), while in their immature condition, swim about in a similar manner by similar prolongations of their protoplasm.

Certain animals which have an organization comparable, as we shall see, with creatures much higher in the scale, are, nevertheless, singularly inactive and inert. Such are some of the Tunicaries, or sea-squirts, which adhere without apparent motion to rocks, and when touched, only contract somewhat and expel water from two apertures—whence their English name. So unlike animals are these torpid organisms, that they are sold in many Italian towns as *Frutti di mare*—sea-fruit.

But there are animals which are more inert still. These are the bladder worms or hydatids, which lie hidden in the flesh or other parts of the animals they infest, and which are little more than small membranous bags enclosing an albuminous fluid.

In the well-known plant-animals called sea-anemones, only slow contractions of the body are to be noticed, together with movements of their tentacles, which bend inwards and close over any object which may come within their circuit.

Many animals, also more or less closely allied to sea-anemones, are, when adult, as firmly rooted to the ground as are plants, and like plants grow up as stems, giving off branches and branchlets. Such creatures as oysters, and many similar creatures, are also fixed to the surface which supports them.

As examples, on the other hand, of exceptional activity amongst plants, the well-known leaf-movements of the sensitive plants may be referred to; but much more noteworthy are the phenomena presented by two celebrated flowering plants—the pretty little sun-dew (*Drosera*) of our bogs, and Venus's fly-trap (*Dionæa*) of America.

* A constituent of muscle termed "myosin" has indeed been found in the seeds of the blue lupin, but this fact in no way invalidates the distinction between animals and plants, which may be drawn from the fact that even in the most mobile parts of the most irritable plant no such thing as muscular tissue has been found.

The sun-dew has its foliage leaves covered on their upper surface with long hairs, the ends of which are dilated and distil a sticky fluid, to which insects which alight on the leaves adhere. When an insect has so adhered, the hairs of the leaf gradually bend over it, and bathe it with the fluid they distil, which fluid has the power of dissolving and digesting the prey thus snared.

The American plant (*Dionæa*) is an herb, the foliage leaves of which terminate each in two rounded plates joined by a median hinge, strong bristles projecting from the margin of each of the rounded plates. On the upper surface of these plates are two or three little structures (glands), out of which oozes a fluid which is attractive to insects, and so acts as a bait. When an insect alights, its contact causes the two plates to snap sharply together and imprison it, and the more the insect struggles to escape, the more tightly the plates close upon it, till it is killed. The insect being dead, the blades again open and prepare to receive another victim, while, if the insect seized be very small (so that it is not worth the effort of holding and killing), the plant's grasp is quickly relaxed, and its prey is allowed to escape. As in *Drosera*, so also in Venus's fly-trap, the prey is dissolved and digested by means of the fluid poured out by the leaf, and it has been proved that such individual plants of the kind as have been fed with insects (or with particles of flesh) are thereby nourished in a higher degree. These examples of vegetable activity, and of the motionless or rooted condition of certain animals, may suffice to show that no absolute distinction as to motive-power can be drawn between the two kingdoms of organic nature.

(2.) As to external form, the examples already given of a radiolarian and an alga would alone suffice to show that no absolute demarcation can in this respect be made. But many animals have the branching mode of growth and arborescent habit of plants, as is the case with the plant-animals (or zoophytes), allied to the sea-anemone before referred to, as is the case also with forms which belong to the great group of coral animals, and again with other less highly organized allies of coral animals.

Moreover, just as there are animals which thus differ from the general shape of their fellows, so there are some highly organized plants which do not exhibit the ordinary branching vegetable structure, but are symmetrical and spheroidal in shape, like certain of the lower animals. Such a plant, *e.g.*, is the melon cactus.

(3.) As to sensitivity, there is certainly no evidence that feeling is possessed by any plant, though a high degree of impressionability must be present in such an organism as *Dionæa*. But a multitude of the lowest animals exhibit no more signs of sensibility than do the lowest plants. The hydatids, before referred to, may serve as an extreme instance of such apparent insensibility.

(4.) Reproductive processes will not serve us as a complete distinctive character between animals and plants. For it is now known that a variety of animals habitually reproduce their kind, as plants so

largely do, by a process of external budding. This happens, *e.g.*, with the *Hydra* and animals like it. Animals may even be propagated by cuttings. Thus, if a *Hydra* or the common sea-anemone (*Anthea*) be bisected, each half soon grows into the perfect form once more, and many worms (such as *Scyllis*, or *Catenula*), and many animalcules called *Infusoria*, habitually multiply by self-made sections, *i.e.* by spontaneous division or fission.

(5.) As to the different modes of feeding practised by plants and animals, imbibition is indeed (as has been said) universal with the former. But then the digested insects made use of by *Drosera* and *Dionæa* may be said to be taken into a temporary quasi-cavity, while in certain other plants the receptacle has the form of a permanent sack. This is the case with the curious pitcher-plant (*Nepenthes*), in the pitchers of which insects are taken and dissolved, doubtless to the profit of the plant.* But not all animals take solid food into an external cavity or stomach. Many can only imbibe it through the outer surface of their bodies. It is thus that tape-worms feed which lie perennially bathed in a fluid medium unceasingly nutritious.

(6.) Lastly, we come to the distinction between animals and plants as regards their chemical composition. Now it is true that most plants are less nitrogenous than are animals. But this cannot be affirmed of the great group of Fungi. Moreover, substances which were long deemed peculiar to the vegetable kingdom are now known not to be so. Thus "starch," *e.g.*, has been found even in the human brain, while "cellulose"—the principle of wood—exists in the tough external coat which invests the bodies of the Tunicaries before referred to.

Thus all the foregoing six distinctions break down with respect to a considerable number of animals or plants, though they may serve to separate all the higher forms of the two kingdoms of living beings.

Other distinctions, however, exist, which have a greater value, and may be conjointly made use of in discriminating almost all plants from all animals. Of these there are two—the first (*A*) relates to structure; the second (*B*) relates to active processes of life, or "function."

A. It has been already said that every living organism consists of a substance called protoplasm, with which other substances (some nitrogenous, some non-nitrogenous) may co-exist. Amongst the non-nitrogenous occasional accompaniments of protoplasm is "cellulose."

Now, all plants, except the very lowest, have their constituent protoplasm divided into a number of minute separated parts, each such separated part being enclosed within an envelope of cellulose. But in no animal whatever does this condition obtain.

There are, however, lowly animals and plants which consist each of a single particle of protoplasm, but almost all such plants are

* The structures referred to are curious pitcher-like productions which are formed at the end of foliage leaves.

enclosed within a cellulose envelope—an investment which is wanting in such lowly animals. In regard to structure, then, we have thus an almost complete distinction between the two organic kingdoms.

B. As regards *function*, it may be affirmed that no single animal can live unless it be nourished by feeding (directly or indirectly) upon plants, since even the most carnivorous or bloodthirsty animals feed upon other animals which feed on vegetables, or upon animals which feed on other vegetable-feeding animals. This is an absolute necessity of animal life, since no animal can sustain itself on inorganic food. It is true that animals feed upon inorganic matter in the water (with its saline contents) which they drink (or imbibe), and in the oxygen of the air which they inhale. Nevertheless, no animal is able to form living matter (or protoplasm) from the inorganic world alone.* Let any animal be supplied with all the constituent elements of living matter, either separately or arranged in whatever artificial combinations, and, however abundant the supply, such animal must inevitably die of starvation, for it cannot build up its own substance—cannot compensate for the wear and tear of life—by any food of such a nature. It can only nourish itself when supplied with food consisting of organic matter ready formed.

It is quite otherwise with plants.† The densely luxuriant tropical plants, with their lofty palms and wilderness of creepers; the more open woods of oak, elm, or pine, and the plains of grass or heather of temperate climes; the mosses and lichens of the far north, and the millions of minute algæ on fields of snow; the enormous masses of marine plants,‡ and the multitudinous green threads of every pond or rivulet, are one and all continually engaged during the hours of daylight in tearing from the atmosphere its carbon, and in sucking from the earth or sea its water (with the mineral substances dissolved in it), in order to build up new masses of organic substance, from these purely inorganic materials. The quantity of living matter thus daily formed may be truly termed enormous. The dry land of the earth's surface is estimated at 22,392,430 square miles. Let us assume that of this, 15,000,000 square miles (or a little over two-thirds) are clothed with vegetation,—neglecting altogether the vegetation of the ocean,—and let but the 365th part of an inch be the growth of this surface daily, and every year will be formed a mass one inch thick, and 15,000,000 square

* Certain worms (belonging to the groups called *Planariæ*) have been found (by Mr. Geddes) capable of dissolving carbonic acid and retaining its carbon as plants do, but this is by no means their exclusive mode of nutrition and growth.

† We do not, of course, forget that cultivated plants receive large quantities of organic food in the form of manure, but Boussingault has shown that the total weight of such food is far exceeded by the amount of organic matter which is removed from a farm or other limited area in which such plants are grown. The organic matter in excess must of course have been formed from inorganic matter.

‡ There is one vast collection of sea-weed in the Atlantic forming what is called the Sargassum sea. It occupies a variable space between the 20° and 40° of west longitude and between 15° and 30° of north latitude. There is another collection in the North Pacific between 30° and 40° of north latitude, and yet another in the Indian Ocean between 45° and 55° of south latitude.

miles in extent, which would make a solid cube of vegetable matter about fifteen miles in extent in each dimension.

It is thus no wonder that we should have accumulations of vegetable *débris* in the form of coal in some parts of the world (as in Pennsylvania) which may be in alternating beds seventy feet in thickness, and extending over an area larger than that of Yorkshire. The wonder, at first sight, is rather that the size of the solid earth does not, in succeeding ages, notably increase at the expense of its fluid and aëriiform matter. But fast as organic matter is thus accumulated by so enormous and so incessantly acting a manufactory, its fabric is nevertheless much like the web of Penelope; for close upon life follows death, and with the death of all organisms, their substance (by decomposition) returns again, for the most part (as water, carbonic acid, ammonia, and various gases, &c.), to that inorganic world whence it was originally derived.

There is yet another agent of destruction—namely, the animal world: for, as we have seen, animals are ever transforming vegetable substance into animal substance, and in the process much is destroyed and wasted without being so converted.

Moreover, plants withdraw from the atmosphere its carbon by (as we shall hereafter see) dissolving its carbonic acid and letting its oxygen go free. Animals, on the contrary, never do this, but (by their breathing) give forth carbonic acid and watery vapour to the atmosphere, while they diminish its supply of oxygen. Animals' bodies thus, during life, undergo a process of slow combustion.

We see, therefore, that the circulation of the elements before spoken of as taking place between the organic and the inorganic worlds, is a twofold circulation. One part of it is performed by the agency of plants only; the other by both animals and plants. Plants alone have the power of sustaining themselves on the inorganic world, and building up protoplasm from it. But animals and plants concur in restoring once more to that world the inorganic products of decomposition resulting from their death and decay.*

Altogether then, it may be said, that the animal and vegetable kingdoms are generally and roughly divisible one from another as regards their powers of motion, their form, their sensibility, their modes of feeding and reproduction, and their chemical composition, and are more completely so divisible through the structural and functional characters just described.

But we may well believe that underlying these manifest differences there must be other distinctions of a deeper kind; for, since two particles of protoplasm, which are to us indistinguishable, will severally develop, one, *e.g.*, into a cat and the other into a dog, we may reason-

* But though plants and animals are thus distinguished in function, the distinction is not a complete one; for the great group of vegetable organisms called Fungi, as well as certain plants of parasitic habit, are devoid of this power of directly forming organic substance, which is so characteristic of the vegetable kingdom. These exceptional plants require (as animals do) ready-formed organic matter for their sustentation. Some few of the lower animals also (as before mentioned) appear to be capable of acting in this respect like plants.

ably infer that the apparent identity of such particles is due to defects in our powers of perception, and not to the absence of a real, fundamental distinction. Similarly, though we may be quite unable to detect by means of chemical analysis any difference between animal and vegetable particles of protoplasm, yet the products of such particles reveal an essential distinctness which must have been all the time latent. A number of distinct substances are derived from animal protoplasms; and of these, muscle, nerve, and horn may be referred to. Very few animals, however, contain that substance which is almost always present in plants, and is called "cellulose." Plants have the power of forming a variety of compounds of hydrogen and carbon, which nowhere occur within the kingdom of animals. The structural elements (fibres, tubes, &c.) of the higher kinds of each kingdom are different in structure, and the chemical compositions of such structural elements are different. Though in many animals we see no sign of sensitivity, yet there may be a latent power of the kind in such creatures; just as such a power is latent in the embryos of animals which when adult exhibit its presence unmistakably. The conspicuous movements of plants which have been lately described (such as those of Venus's fly-trap, &c.) seem at first sight like the movements of animals, yet the movements of such plants (as we shall hereafter see) are explicable in an altogether different way from the voluntary movements of animals.

Thus the animal and vegetable kingdoms are, at the same time, closely similar and yet really divergent. They, undoubtedly, together form one great group of beings, which is separated by an abyss from the non-living world. They have a number of characters in common (as we have seen), such as powers of self-nutrition, growth, and reproduction, and of responding continuously in various ways and degrees to the multitudinous influences of the world about them. There are not wanting grounds for supposing that they have all had a common ancestry, and arose from similar starting-points, if not from the same. Thus, altogether, they plainly form the subject of a single science, the science of organic life, or biology.

Nevertheless, these two kingdoms seem to have really different natures. They are distinct (as an examination of their various active powers will show) in the order and kind of life they manifest respectively; a distinction which becomes the plainer the more fully developed any organism of either kingdom may be, and as we ascend from lowly forms in which their differences are but obscurely indicated, to the higher forms of each organic kingdom.

In an introductory inquiry into the natural history of organic nature a statement of the various modes in which the subject-matter of such inquiry may be regarded may help us to gain a clear comprehension of what living beings really are. An enumeration of the various studies which together make up a true "natural history," cannot but aid us

towards attaining a comprehension of the true nature of the objects the study of which is here entered upon.

But the objects thus comprised in the science of biology (*i.e.*, both plants and animals) may be considered from a variety of distinct points of view.

They all present complex relations to one another, and to the inorganic world; and each living being presents complex sets of relations both with regard to the details of its own structure and with respect to the activities of its several parts and its activities as one whole. All these sets of relations form the groundwork and subject-matter of a number of different sciences subordinate to Biology.

Thus the study of the forms of living creatures constitutes the science of *Morphology*, and this study may be directed only to the larger parts and grosser structures which external observation or simple dissection serves to reveal, or it may occupy itself exclusively with minute and microscopic structures; and this latter branch of Morphology is called *Histology*.*

The study of the grosser structures is *Anatomy*, and if the structures of one living being are compared with those of others, we have then *Comparative Anatomy*.†

One branch of anatomy, called *External Anatomy*, concerns itself only with external configuration.

All the above sciences relate only to form, and are therefore branches of morphology. They concern inquiries with respect to the number, shape, arrangement, and connection of parts, whether large or minute, and with the resemblances and differences between living creatures compared together in these respects.

The next set of studies, or sciences, to be referred to are those which concern the activities of living creatures and of the parts of living creatures. That is to say, they are the sciences which treat of function; and the science of function is called *Physiology*.

In the first place, we may be occupied in studying the functions of the different parts (organs or sets of organs) of the body, and this science is *Physiology par excellence*. Subordinate to this are inquiries concerning particular functions, such as those, *e.g.*, of *sustentation* (the support of the individual), and *reproduction* (the continuance of the race).

Under the head of "sustentation" may be included several distinct inquiries. Thus one such subordinate inquiry investigates the modes of acquiring nutriment, or *alimentation*; another has to do with the transference of nutritive fluids from one part of the body to another, *circulation*; another refers to the phenomena of gaseous interchange, or *respiration*; and yet another occupies itself with the elimination of waste products, &c., or *secretion*.

Under the head of "reproduction" may be included *development*, or

* Experience of course shows us, that the boundary between minute and gross anatomy is a thoroughly artificial boundary.

† "Comparative Anatomy" has more meanings than one. It originally meant the comparison of the anatomy of lower animals with the anatomy of man.

the study of the changes which each creature passes through from its first and most embryonic state to its fully developed or adult condition.

Attention has also to be paid to the physiology of *motion* and of *sensation*; and the activities of the *special* or *higher senses*, and the emission of *vocal* and *other sounds*, also form subject-matters of inquiry which deserve separate attention.

It is also desirable not only to study each kind of function as it is exhibited throughout the whole range of animated nature, but also to examine and estimate the amount and quality of the sum-total of activity which each kind of animal or plant displays. The inquiry respecting such totalities of function may be called the *physiology of the individual*, or *Psychology*.

Plants and animals have definite relations both to space and time. The different kinds of animals and plants are very unequally distributed over the earth's surface, and the investigation of their distribution forms the science of *Organic* (animal and vegetable) *Geography*.

Similarly, the relations which exist between different kinds and groups of animals and plants and past time, as evidenced by their fossil remains, form the subject-matter of *Paleontology*.

Living beings have also definite relations to the physical forces, to the various conditions of the inorganic world around them, and also to one another as enemies, as rivals, or as involuntary helpers. The study of all these complex relations forms a distinct science, which may be termed *Hexicology*.* And with it are closely connected the questions concerning the mode and cause of origin of the various distinct races of living beings which now exist or which have existed.

Lastly, as the result of the knowledge which may have been gained from all these various sciences, comes the inquiry concerning the best arrangement and classification of living beings—the science of *Taxonomy*. When acquaintance has been made with the various lines of inquiry above enumerated, a certain knowledge will have been gained of the Natural History of Animals and Plants, or Biology.

In the present essay the sum of living beings has been occasionally spoken of (according to received custom) as "the organic world," and animals and plants have been indiscriminately spoken of as "organisms." These expressions are, however, not absolutely accurate, since the term "organism" connotes or implies "a creature possessing organs," and thus the mistake may be induced of supposing that "organs" are possessed by every living being. To prevent this misconception it has been already pointed out that certain lowly animals and plants consist simply of a minute particle of protoplasm, in which no distinction of parts or organs can be detected. Therein the highest powers of the microscope reveal to us nothing but a semi-fluid material containing granules.

With these exceptions, however, all living beings do possess "organs," that is, distinct parts or sets of parts to which distinct functions are

* ἕξις, habit, state, or condition.

generally assigned. Moreover, these parts and functions exist and act in such a manner as to (so to speak) play into each other's hands in a way which the parts of the most cunningly devised machine can never do. The arrangement of parts and their functions in an organism is as if a clock by striking, wound itself up; by ticking, supplied itself with needful lubricating oil; and by the rotation of its hands, gathered matter wherewith to supply the wear and tear of its various wheels. An organism has therefore been well defined by Kant as "*a body the parts of which are reciprocally ends and means.*" In this sense the lowest creatures above referred to (since they have no such distinction of parts) cannot, strictly speaking, be called "organisms." And yet every such lowly creature must be capable of performing the essential functions of life, though without visible organs. Even the simplest living creature must acquire nutriment, and this must come to be assimilated to its substance—transubstantiated into its own living being. Nutritious particles must be transferred from one part of the body to another, and hurtful residue must be expelled. A gaseous interchange must also be maintained between such a creature and the medium in which it lives, and some responses on its part to external changes in the environing conditions of its little world must continue to take place while it continues to live. Now, though these various actions are not subserved by visible organs, yet parts answering such ends must virtually exist in its apparently homogeneous protoplasm. Therefore, in the larger and really natural sense of the term "organic" (a term which really refers to "function" as well as to "structure"), it may be applied fitly even to those simplest creatures which thus form an integral part of the great whole of animals and plants, "the organic world."

We have now attained what is perhaps as full an answer to the question, "What are Living Beings?" as the facts as yet considered warrant. We have seen that living beings are organisms more or less distinctly partaking of one of two natures—the one animal, the other vegetable. We have seen that in spite of this twofold nature, the whole mass of living beings possess many characters in common, and characters which separate them off—indeed *longo intervallo*—from all the creatures devoid of life of which our senses give us cognizance. Finally, we have seen what are the lines of inquiry which have to be followed up in order that the nature of living beings may be revealed to us as fully as the present state of knowledge permits—that is to say, we have seen what are the various branches of science which are subordinate to Biology—Biology being the complete natural history of animals and plants.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

CHLORAL AND OTHER NARCOTICS.

I.

IT fell to my lot to be the first in this country to investigate the action of hydrate of chloral after the remarkable discovery of its properties as a narcotic, by the distinguished and original Liebreich. At the meeting of the British Association, held at Exeter in the year 1868, the late Mr. Daniel Hanbury, F.R.S., brought with him to the meeting, from Germany, a specimen of the hydrate and a brief verbal account of the phenomena which it had been found to produce on living bodies. The facts related by Mr. Hanbury proved of so much interest to the members of the Biological Section, that they elected me, who had just been submitting a report on an allied subject, to make a further and special report during the meeting on this particular subject. I accepted the duty at once, and conducted a series of experimental researches, the results of which were duly laid before the Section on the last day of the meeting. The results were amongst the most singular I had ever witnessed, and the report upon them raised an intense curiosity amongst the medical men and the men of science in this country. Liebreich's discovery became the physiological event of the year, and for some months I was engaged, at every leisure moment, in demonstrating the various and unique facts which that discovery had brought forth.

In this chloral hydrate we were found to possess an agent very soluble and manageable, which, introduced into the body of a man or other animal, quickly caused the deepest possible sleep, a sleep prolonged for many hours, and which could be brought so near to the sleep of death that an animal in it might pass for dead and still recover. In this substance we also found we had an agent which was actually decomposed within the blood, and which in its decomposition yielded the product chloroform, which caused the sleep; a product which distilled over, as it

were, from the blood into the nervous structure and gave rise to the deep narcotism.

The discovery of Liebreich opened a new world of research, the lessons derived from which I shall never forget. And yet now that ten years have passed away, and I have lived to see the influence on mankind, of what is in one sense a beneficent, and in another sense a maleficent substance, I almost feel a regret that I took any part whatever in the introduction of the agent into the practice of healing and the art of medicine.

About three months after my report was read at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the first painful experience resulting from chloral hydrate came under my knowledge. A medical man of middle age and comfortable circumstances took, either by accident or intention, what was computed to be a dose of 190 grains of chloral hydrate. He had bought, a few days before this event, 240 grains of the substance. He took a first dose of ten grains in order to procure sleep. On a following night he took twenty grains, and on the evening of the succeeding day twenty grains more. These administrations were known. He had reduced his store by these takings to 190 grains, and while in a state of semi-consciousness from the last quantity, he got up from the bed on which he was reclining, and emptied all the remaining contents of the bottle into a small tumbler of water, and swallowed the large dose so prepared. He was found insensible, with the bottle and glass by his bedside. He did not fully regain consciousness for sixty hours, but finally made a good recovery.

The occurrence of this experience led me into a new line of research, namely, to find out what was the best mode of maintaining life while the body is under the influence of a deep sleep from the hydrate. This new research disclosed that the great object of treatment should be to sustain the animal temperature. I found that, like alcohol, the tendency of chloral hydrate is to reduce the vital fire, and that of two animals under chloral, one in a warm the other in a cold atmosphere, the recovery of the one in the warm and the death of the one in the cold atmosphere, could be reduced to a matter of positive system or rule. I had soon to publish that lessons, and to indicate that there were dangers ahead in respect to the use of chloral hydrate, which dangers would have to be scientifically combated.

Within a year after the introduction of chloral hydrate into medical use another new truth dawned on me. One morning the friends of a gentleman called on me, bringing a bottle of chloral hydrate and a copy of a medical paper containing a lecture of mine relating to the action of the drug. They had noticed for some time past that the gentleman, about whom they were anxious, had been very peculiar in manner, exhibiting signs resembling those of intoxication from alcohol, but with more than alcoholic somnolency. He was an alcoholic, and sometimes he was apt to have spells of inebriation; but the phenomena more recently observed

were somewhat different. Watching him closely as their alarms increased, they detected that he was in the habit of dosing himself with some substance which he kept in a series of bottles, of which he had seventeen or eighteen in stock, and one of which they brought to me. The bottle they brought contained chloral hydrate, and it turned out that all the bottles contained, or had contained, the same. By-and-by this gentleman came to me himself, and confessed that he was in the habit of taking the chloral three or four times in the twenty-four hours. He took it at first, after reading my lecture on its medicinal uses, in order to procure sleep. It answered his purpose so well that he became induced to repeat the process, and in a little time got what he called his new craving. He presented a series of special symptoms from the chloral which had some of the characters of jaundice and some of the characters of scurvy. These symptoms were additional to the signs of brain and nervous disturbance caused by the chloroform derived from the chloral, and they were easily accounted for. The chloral, in undergoing decomposition within the body, divides into two products, the one chloroform, the other an alkaline formate, a soluble salt, which makes the blood unduly fluid, and acts much in the same manner—as I found again by direct experiment with it—that common salt does, or the mixture of pickling salts used for the preservation of dead animal tissues that are preserved by the process of salting.

Here, then, was another history of danger from the use of chloral hydrate, a new condition of disease to which I drew attention very speedily, and to which I gave the name of *chloralism*. It is a matter of deep regret to have to report that since the name was given to the disease chloralism has become rather wide-spread. It has not yet spread far amongst the female part of the community. It has not yet reached the poorer classes of either sex. Amongst the men of the middle class; amongst the most active of these in all its divisions,—commercial, literary, legal, medical, philosophical, artistic, clerical,—chloralism varying in intensity of evil has appeared. In every one of the classes I have named, and in some others, I have seen the sufferers from it, and have heard their testimony in relation to its effects on their organizations—effects exceedingly uniform, and, as a rule, exceedingly baneful.

The history of chloralism is of interest to the scholar of history as showing how easily a simple scientific discovery may be misapplied when its misapplication ministers to some luxurious desire or morbid inclination of mankind. I give the account at first hand, drawing upon no other experience than my own, an experience which dates from the first commencement of the disease, and which, during all the period, has been probably, in this country, as comprehensive as any in respect both to instances of acute and of slow mischief from this one cause. I could fill easily all the space allotted to me in the present essay by mere narration of observed facts on this topic, were that my object. My object

does not lie in that direction, useful and practical though it might be. Let the reader simply remember that from a certain scientific basis of research something specifically social, and either moral or immoral in its tendencies, has occurred in a brief space of time, and that a singular mental phenomena has been developed amongst the most cultivated representatives of a highly cultivated people, and the impression I wish now to indicate by the brief narrative recorded above is supplied.

II.

This is not the first time in the history of mankind that the same kind of history has been written. There is a previous history, from which dates a great deal that is curious in romance and poetry, and which even to Shakspeare afforded a world of wonder and of story.

The ancient physicians, dating from Dioscorides himself, tell of the use of a wine made into a narcotic by mandragora. From the leaves and from the root of the *Atropa mandragora* the ancient physicians prepared a vinous solution which in many respects had the same properties as the choral hydrate of to-day. This wine, called "morion," was given to those who were about to be subjected to painful surgical operations or to the cautery, so that, ere the sensitive structure was touched, the sick man was in a deep sleep during which the operation was performed without the consciousness of feeling, not to say of pain. The sleep would last for some hours. From this purely medical or surgical use of morion, the application of it extended. Those who were condemned to die by cruel and prolonged torture were permitted to taste its beneficence and to pass from their consummate agony through Lethe's walk to death. A little later and the wine of mandragora was sought after for other and less commendable purposes. There were those who drank of it for taste or pleasure; and who were spoken of as "mandragorites," as we might speak of alcoholics or chloralists. They passed into the land of sleep and dream, and waking up in scare and alarm were the screaming mandrakes of an ancient civilization.

I have myself made the "morion" of that civilization, have dispensed the prescription of Dioscorides and Pliny. The same chemist, Mr. Hanbury, who first put chloral into my hands for experiment, also procured for me the root of the true mandragora. From that root I made the morion, tested it on myself, tried its effects, and re-proved, after a lapse of perhaps four or five centuries, that it had all the properties originally ascribed to it. That it should have come into use as a narcotic by those who first tasted it for its narcotic action, and that they should have passed into mandragorites is not more surprising than that other and later members of the human family should have become chloralists. The effects produced by morion subjectively and objectively are so much like those from chloral that they may be counted practically as the same. I have put these two examples of the action of two similar toxic agents in parallel positions, because they are remarkable as

showing how, at most distant and distinct eras of civilization, a general practice in the use of these agents sprung out of a special practice relating to their use, a maleficent out of a beneficent purpose. If I wished to extend the comparison, I might place opium, ether, chloroform, and chlorodyne under the same category.

Mandragora, opium, chloral, ether, chloroform, chlorodyne, are medical agents used in the first instance mechanically, and used in a second instance socially, and by habit in certain instances, for the purpose of making the mind oblivious, or, in other and more frequently used words, for securing repose or rest. These agents do not stand alone in respect to the list of toxicants which are assumed to be useful to mankind. To them must be added many others which have not necessarily had an origin from medical science or art, but have sprung into general use from their first application. Under this head may be included the commoner members of the chemical families known as the alcohols: haschish from the *Cannabis indica* (Indian hemp), yerba de nuaca, or red-thorn apple, almanitine, coca, absinthe, arsenic, tobacco.

It will be seen that the toxical agents are a numerous class, and if I had chosen to refine, I might have added some further. In one notable instance, and in one or two less notable, nitrous-oxide gas, the gas now so commonly used by dentists as an anæsthetic, has been resorted to as an habitual stimulant and narcotic; but the rarity of its use prevents the necessity of doing more than referring to it in this place and once perhaps again in the sequel. Of the other agents it may be said, *in limine*, respecting the extent of their use, that the alcohols and tobacco stand first on the list in our civilized life. Next after these come opium, absinthe, chloral hydrate, chlorodyne, ether, and chloroform. The other substances are local in the range of their employment. Haschish is an Eastern luxury; amanitine a Kamschatkaian luxury; arsenic a Styrian luxury; red-thorn apple a luxury of the Indians of the Andes, under the sweet influence of which they enter into communion, as they believe, with the spirits of their departed dead,—the best excuse I have ever heard given for the use of any of these indulgences whatsoever.

III.

As we cast our minds back upon this long list of toxical instruments for the delight of man, we are struck with the widely apparent difference that seems to exist between them. The difference, however, is not so great as it may seem, for between the physiological action of one and the other there is an analogy of action in certain particulars which is singularly striking. As a rule, the key-note of the action of these agents, if I may use such a simile, is through one particular element where many elements enter into their composition. Where nitrogen is present as an element, a definite line of action of the agent is marked out; when a hydrocarbon radical is dominant,—that is to say, when such

a radical forms the chief part of the compound—the influence of that is most definite; while the influence of one disturbing principle on another may be most clearly traced in other cases as a neutralizing influence, one influence reacting upon the other.

We have at hand many instances of this kind for illustration. Alcohol and tobacco are the most ready examples. In the alcohols, whichever one of the family of alcohols we may take, from the least dangerous wood spirit, through the more dangerous grain spirit, up to the much more dangerous potato spirit, there is one agency at work, a hydrocarbon radical, methyl, ethyl, amyl, according to the alcohol used, which, with different degrees of intensity, plays the same part, producing similar series of phenomena. In tobacco we have a less decisively known combination at work, but we have in that combination the element nitrogen, the introduction of which causes a new development of nervous phenomena, the analogous action of which can be traced through some other complex organic compounds containing the same element—nitrogen. In chloroform again we have a hydrocarbon radical playing nearly the same part as the radical methyl of methylic alcohol, but with chlorine interposing to modify the simple narcotic action of the radical, and greatly to increase the danger of the compound in its effect on the living body. Physiological research has not yet reached, by vital analysis of action, a perfection of knowledge on the subject now in hand. Such analysis is yet in its early days. At the same time a general line of research has been made out, and some results have been obtained which are of direct practical value. Other facts have also been elicited which at first sight are surprising, but which lose their singularity when they are correlated with pure chemical physical demonstrations. I found, for example, in one of my researches, that two chemical substances which are isomeric in constitution—that is to say, are composed of the same elementary forms in the same proportions, but under different arrangement—produce entirely different phenomena on the animal body. These isomeric substances are the formate of ethyl and the acetate of methyl.

The agents used by man for his dreamy delights have thus a varied influence on his nature. They are often rudely classed together as luxuries; but the luxuriousness which they foster may be fathoms wide until they so far interfere with vital function as to reduce its activity in a notable degree. Then there is something in common between them, just as there is something in common when, being carried a little further, they stop life altogether.

For this is interesting respecting them, in the most potent sense. They all kill when we let them have full play. This is obviously the reason why they are called toxicants and intoxicants. They bear resemblance in action to the poison which once in the history of a past civilization sped on the tip of an arrow from a discharged bow.

IV.

The toxicants have variation of action in their early stages. Alcohols excite the mind and quicken the pulses before they depress. Opium excites before it depresses. Tobacco does not in the strict sense excite, but depresses and soothes from the first, so that there are stages, which some persons always feel, when alcohol is antidotal to tobacco. Amongst those persons who are total abstainers from alcohol few are found who can bear tobacco in the most moderate use of it. Under tobacco the heart seems rapidly to run down in power, and alcohol is called for to whip it up again, also as it seems. The fact is that the heart is not the organ primarily concerned at all, but the minute vessels at the termination of the arterial circuit. These minute vessels are under a nervous influence by which the passage of blood through them is regulated, and which influence is readily modified by very refined causes acting through the organic or emotional nervous centres. The effect of tobacco on these minute vessels, through the nervous system, is to cause contraction of them as a primary fact, so that the face of the person affected becomes pale and the surface of the body cold, while the heart labours to force on the supply of blood until its own vascular system comes under the influence: then the stomach involuntarily contracts, and, after a time, the voluntary muscles, deprived of blood, convulse tremulously, or pass into active convulsions, as in tetanus. Alcohol, on the other hand, through its influence on nervous functions, relaxes the vessels of the minute circulation, sets free the heart, reduces the muscular power, and in every particular counteracts the tobacco. When a person receives a stun, or is shocked by some intelligence, or sight, or sound, that thereby stuns him, so that, like Hamlet, he is bechilled

"Almost to jelly by the act of fear,
Stands dumb and speaks not,"

he is for the moment in the same state as the man who first tries to smoke tobacco, and who, with pallid face, cold surface, and reeling brain, is to his sense and feeling stricken with all but mortal suffering and prostration. In each of these cases alcohol, for a moment, acts as an antidote, not necessarily as the best antidote, but as a fair one. When, therefore, we see a man smoking and drinking, quaffing off the cup of wine or spirit to quiet the qualm which would otherwise be inflicted by the fumes of the cigar or the pipe, we really observe the facts of a most excellently though innocently devised physiological experiment on a living animal. The man, unconsciously to his knowledge, if not to his sensation,—unless he be a physiologist,—is inducing a balance in the tension of his arterial circuit.

In process of time the nervous system becoming accustomed to these influences, one or both, in a certain degree tolerates them, for a period. The tolerance while it lasts is an advantage to the habit, and, if the habit

were a necessity, it would be a blessing. But the advantage is not permanent. In the end the nutrition of the organic parts which is under the influence of the same nervous regulation is sure to suffer, and in many organizations to suffer rapidly and fatally.

It is probable, if not as yet proveable, that all the agents named above produce their specific effect by the influence they exert over the automatic self-regulating nervous function. In my researches on the action of some substances on the minute circulation, I have been able to differentiate their action by this general rule. The alcohols, the lighter alcohols, including common alcohol, relax the vessels; nicotine constricts; chloroform, by virtue of the chlorine in its composition, constricts; opium relaxes, then constricts; ether relaxes; absinthe, after a time, constricts; chloral hydrate first constricts, and afterwards relaxes. From these differences of action the differences of phenomena in the persons affected are explainable. In like manner the ultimate deleterious effects of these agents on the nutrition of the body are explainable. It is a necessary result, for example, that under the long-continued use of alcohol the constantly relaxed and congested vessels should assume a new character and local function; that the parts depending on them for their supplies of blood should be changed from the natural structure to unnatural but definable, and now well-understood conditions of disease. It is an equally necessary result that under the continued influence of opium the constantly constricted vessels should assume a new local function; that nutrition should be arrested in the parts which those vessels supply with blood; and that the shrunken, impoverished body of the confirmed opium-eater should be an outward and visible sign of the internal changes which are being so assiduously and determinately carried into effect by the narcotic.

When these facts respecting the direct physical action of various toxic agents on the body, through the line of the involuntary nervous system, are understood, they connect, through the same direction, the effects of more refined and much less definable influences. They show how psychological phases are ever at hand to modify nutritive changes: how grief, which shocks and dissevers the organic nervous supply, affects the animal life so deleteriously, exciting and reducing, and sometimes in part disabling altogether parts of the organic nervous track. They indicate how an equable nervous current is conducive to permanent nutritive activity and health, and show physiologically that to laugh and grow fat is after all a mechanical proposition. I must not, however, be tempted away into an inviting field of observation, in which the physical and the metaphysical so neatly blend.

It is worthy of remark that the action of the different toxicants to which I am directing attention, and which are in most common use amongst members of the human family, have in some cases a similar action, and in other cases a dissimilar action on the members of the lower creation. The alcohols appear to possess a toxical influence

throughout all the domain of living animal beings. I can find no animals that escape the immediate action of the alcohols, or the remote effects which occur when the changes excited by the alcohols are often repeated. All our domestic animals come quickly under the ban. Birds and fishes do the same. Chloroform, chloral hydrate, and absinthe seem to exert a similar wide range of action. Tobacco is not so extended in its range. There are animals that can take with perfect impunity a dose of tobacco which would poison three or four men. The goat is an animal which can resist the noxious, but to it innoxious, weed.

Opium can be resisted by certain animals with equal readiness. A pigeon will practically live on opium. A pigeon will swallow with impunity as much solid opium as would throw twelve adult men into the deepest narcotism. Indeed, it is not correct to say that to pigeons opium is in any sense a poison.

The reasons for these exceptions are not clearly made out. The probability is that the animals which take the intoxicants with so much impunity produce some form of decomposition of the agent in their own bodies, by which the active alkaloidal substance is rendered neutral in effect, or, at all events, is much neutralized.

V.

There is a fact of singular interest in relation to the intoxicants I have now described or named, and which before I proceed further should be carefully noticed. The fact is this :—That when the agents produce a definite effect upon a living body, whether it be a human body or the body of an animal that possesses desires and likings, there is caused in that body, after a number of times of practice, a craving or desire for the agent that produced the effect. In man this is so marked that the most repugnant and painful of lessons connected with the first subjection to the agent is soon forgotten in the acquired after-sense of craving or desire. It really matters little which of the intoxicants it is that is learned to be craved for ; the craving for it will continue when it has struck an abiding impression. We know this fact well from the wide experience that has been gained of it in the cases of alcohol, tobacco, opium, chloral, haschish, absinthe, and arsenic. More incongruous things could scarcely be ; incongruous to the senses, to the sensibilities, to the methods of taking, to the result of them ; yet the craving for any one of them as it is may be established. The devotee to one will laugh at the devotee to another ; each one will consider the other almost insane, and yet each will follow his own course.

Still more curious is it that the substances craved for, which lie quite outside the natural wants of healthy life, may be extended to any number. There is in truth hardly a substance to which the craving may not cling. The distinguished Dr. Huxham had under his observation a man who, after a little practice in the habit of taking it, had a craving for the salt now called bicarbonate of ammonia. The man

chewed this salt and swallowed it in the same way as he might have swallowed peppermint lozenges. The effect of the salt was to produce extreme fluidity of the blood of the man, so that he became scorbutic, and to cause loosening of his teeth. It also reduced his strength, and even placed his life in jeopardy; and yet his craving for the ammonia remained unappeased until his danger was so great that the noxious thing had to be withheld altogether. The great Sir Humphrey Davy gives another, and it may be still more remarkable, experience in relation to himself. When he was making his wonderful researches with nitrous oxide gas, he commenced, at first for the mere sake of experiment, to inhale the gas in free quantities. By this process of inhalation he obtained the most delicious of visions. Space seemed to him illimitable, and time extended infinitely, so that coming out of one of these trances he exclaimed, "Nothing exists but thoughts; the universe is composed of impressions, ideas, pleasures, and pains!" In course of time Davy, by the frequent repetition of the process of inhalation, became so infatuated that he could not look at a gas-holder, could not look at a person breathing,—I am using his own description,—without experiencing the urgent sense of desire to once more imbibe his favourite gaseous nectar, and revel in his induced and artificial dreams. How closely this confession runs, even from the pen of a philosopher, to similar confessions made by many who are not philosophers, respecting another purely chemical intoxicant which is more generally known than Sir Humphrey's gas, I need not stay to explain.

An experience, closely allied to the above, occurred to a scientific friend of mine in relation to another intoxicant, namely—chloroform. This gentleman, commencing like Sir Humphrey with the inhalation of chloroform for purposes of experiment, at last began daily to inhale a certain measured quantity. In a few days he increased the quantity, and at last discovered, from the intervals of time which elapsed after he commenced each inhalation, that he must have gone off into deep sleep and so have forgotten to note the passage of time. At first the sense of desire to repeat the inhalation alarmed him greatly, but soon the desire overcame all sense of fear, and at last he became a complete devotee to the practice. A break-down in his health led him to communicate his position to his friends, and by the earnest advice and warning of one of them he did at last resolve to abstain altogether. It was a very difficult fight, the odour of the vapour whenever he was near to it recalling most keenly the old desire, and even four years elapsed before he felt himself fully emancipated from the dangerous habit.

The craving attaches itself to other substances than I have hitherto named. I have known it connected with that most nauseous of all medicines, assafoetida; I have known it strongly attach itself to another medicine, valerian; and once I knew it attach itself to turpentine. My learned and very good friend, the late Dr. Willis, of Barnes, had a patient who acquired the craving for common wood or methylated

spirit; and there are many who have acquired a liking for spirit that is flavoured or more than flavoured with fusel oil.

The readiness with which mankind will attach themselves to varied cravings is shown again and on a comparatively large scale in the North of Ireland. In a district there of which Draper's Town is the centre, the eminent Father Mathew laboured in his life-time with such magical effect that he practically converted the whole district to sobriety. A little after his time, and when the influence of his work was fading away, a person came into the district and introduced a new beverage or drink which was not whiskey, which was not strong drink, and which it was said would do no harm. The bait took, and for over thirty years there has existed in the place I have named a generation or two of ether drinkers. I have visited this place recently and found the habit still in progress. The ether drinker tosses off his two or three ounces of common ether, as another man tosses off gin or whiskey. He passes rapidly into a state of quick excitement and intoxication, is often senseless for a brief period, and then rapidly regains the sober state. He suffers less from this process in the way of organic disease than he would from a similar number of intoxications from alcohol; but he gains as he would from alcohol the same intense craving, and the craving presents a similar automatic and periodical rule as has been observed in relation to the habitual employment of other active and enticing poisonous compounds.

VI.

The nature of these cravings is not more singular than its intensity when once it has been acquired. The most practised craver can rarely succeed in explaining upon what the craving really depends. It is an indefinable desire. It is neither thirst, nor hunger, nor pleasure, nor reasonable want. It is rather like a wish to be relieved for the moment of some indescribable sense of pain or discomfort. It is often periodical in its occurrence, and it can, I believe, always be made perfectly periodical, a fact which connects it very closely with the work of the organic nervous system. In a word, in the confirmed craver the work of the organic nervous system, which is singularly periodical and rhythmical in the natural state, is, by these agents, turned into a new direction, and is made to take on a new action which in steady form repeats itself. I have in my house an eight-day clock which, though a century old, does good and faithful work, except at two times in the twenty-four hours, when it goes periodically astray. From some little twist or wear in the machinery, it stops for a moment in the act of striking at one particular stroke of the bell, and on listening to it it seems as if the striking had concluded. Then it strikes feebly and goes on again all right. The working of the involuntary nervous system in health is as automatic and regular as the working of the time-piece; damaged, it is as systematically deranged at particular periods.

The injury from intoxicants after the first automatic derangement has been established by them is not to be measured altogether by the first and usual derangement. Unfortunately, the action of the intoxicant extends beyond the mere effect of the craving that springs from it, and involves in its evils structural parts of the animal body. The nutrition of the degraded structures, the sense of muscular and mental fatigue is soon rendered easy of development; and, *pari passu*, the mind, seeking for aid in the influences it likes, finds a supposed aid in the intoxicant. It takes the destructive agent more frequently, thereby establishing a more frequent periodicity of desire, and a more earnest craving. By these combined influences, as is so commonly observed in the intemperate from alcohol, the craving increases as the animal powers decline, and the tendency to death is vastly quickened in its course. To ordinary comprehension, in these instances, the craving and the sinking are the same acts. They become so at last in effect, but their beginnings are quite distinct, and they are, in the strictest expression of fact, distinct phenomena even to the end.

The craving for these intoxicants, so strong in the habituated amongst men, is not confined to human kind. The beast that can be brought to taste these agents, and that can be affected by them, can be equally well taught to crave for them, and to look out for them also with automatic and periodical precision. I know of no domestic animal that cannot be trained to look out for these agents when the training is conducted with skill and with determination. Like young children and those persons of later life who have never tasted the agents in any form, nor experienced the sensations which come from them, the lower animals reject them at first, strive against them, and evidently are much disquieted and perplexed by the results which follow their use. But to err is inhuman as well as human, and so the beasts that perish even they err and learn to like it. In the beast as in the man, the train of events follows the same course. The craving becomes connected almost immediately with deterioration, and at last the two conditions of desire and decay are spun into the same woof, and appear as the same substance.

VII.

It may be interesting at this point to particularize the character of the influence exercised on life by certain of the agents we have now under consideration. With the action of alcohol and tobacco we are all so familiar it is not necessary to repeat what is known of them as members of the toxical family of luxury. Let me rather devote a few pages to the consideration of two or three of the less commonly used agents, with the dangers of which the public mind is not so strongly impressed, and with the facts of which it is not so conversant. I will take three of these as the most important at the present time—namely, chloral hydrate, opium, and absinthe.

The serious truth that chloral hydrate after its introduction into medicine was soon made use of as a toxical luxury has already been adverted to. At the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Edinburgh in the year 1871, I drew earnest attention to this subject. I said—and the words were published in the Report of that year (p. 147)—“There is another subject of public interest connected with the employment of chloral hydrate. I refer to the increasing habitual use of it as a narcotic. As there are alcoholic intemperants and opium-eaters, so now there are those who, beginning to take chloral hydrate to relieve pain or to procure sleep, get into the fixed habit of taking it several times daily and in full doses. I would state from this public place as earnestly and as forcibly as I can that this growing practice is alike injurious to the mental, the moral, and the purely physical life, and that the confirmed habit of taking chloral hydrate leads to inevitable and confirmed disease. Under it the digestion gets impaired; natural tendency to sleep and natural sleep is impaired; the blood is changed in quality, its plastic properties and its capacity for oxidation being reduced; the secretions are depraved, and the nervous system losing its regulating controlling power, the muscles become unsteady, the heart irregular and intermittent, and the mind excited, uncertain, and unstable. To crown the mischief, in not a few cases already the habitual dose has been the last, involuntary or rather unintentional suicide closing the scene. I press these facts on public attention not one moment too soon, and I add to them the further facts that hydrate of chloral is purely and absolutely a medicine, and that whenever its administration is not guided by medical science and experience, it ceases to be a boon, and becomes a curse to mankind.”

This was stated within two years after the substance chloral hydrate came into medical use. If at that time the mind of the public had been as ripe as it is now for the acceptance of the truth, or if I could then have reached the ear of the public more plainly, much evil might have been nipped in the bud. As it was, the warning had little effect, except to expose me to adverse criticism as an alarmist, and the evil has gone on with increasing rapidity and mischief. There is at the present time a considerable community addicted to the habitual use of chloral hydrate on one pretence or another, and a learned medical society has recently framed a series of written questions on the subject, which questions it has felt it expedient to address to members of the profession of medicine generally for their replies.

The persons who become habituated to chloral hydrate are of two or three classes as a rule. Some have originally taken the narcotic to relieve pain, using it in the earliest application of it for a true medicinal and legitimate object, probably under medical direction. Finding that it gave relief and repose, they have continued the use of it, and at last have got so abnormally under its influence that they cannot get to sleep if they fail to resort to it.

A second class of persons who take to chloral are alcoholic inebriates who have arrived at that stage of alcoholism when sleep is always disturbed, and often nearly impossible. These persons at first wake many times in the night with coldness of the lowerlimbs, cold sweatings, startings, and restless dreamings. In a little time they become nervous about submitting themselves to sleep, and before long habituate themselves to watchfulness and restlessness, until a confirmed insomnia is the result. Worn out with sleeplessness, and failing to find any relief that is satisfactory or safe in their false friend alcohol, they turn to chloral, and in it find for a season the oblivion which they desire, and which they call rest. It is a kind of rest, and is no doubt better than no rest at all; but it leads to the unhealthy states that we are now conversant with, and it rather promotes than destroys the craving for alcohol. In short, the man who takes to chloral after alcohol, enlists two cravings for a single craving, and is double-shotted in the worst sense. A third class of men who become habituated to the use of chloral are men of extremely nervous and excitable temperament, who by nature, and often by the labours in which they are occupied, become bad sleepers. A little thing in the course of their daily routine oppresses them. What to other men is passing annoyance, thrown off with the next step, is to these men a worry and anxiety of hours. They are over-susceptible of what is said of them, and of their work, however good the work may be. They are too elated when praised, and too depressed when not praised, or dispraised. They fail to play character parts on the stage of this world, and as they lie down to rest they take all their cares and anxieties into bed with them, in the liveliest state of perturbation. Unable in this condition to sleep, and not knowing a more natural remedy, they resort to the use of such an instrument as chloral hydrate. They begin with a moderate dose; increase the dose as occasion seems to demand, and at last, in what they consider a safe and moderate system of employing it, they depend on the narcotic for their falsified repose.

Amongst these classes of men the use of chloral hydrate is on the increase. The use is essentially a bad business at the best, and while I do not wish in the least to exaggerate the danger springing from it,—while, indeed, I am willing to state that I have never been able to trace out a series of fatal organic changes of a structural character from such use, I have certainly seen a great deal of temporary disturbance and enfeeblement from it, without any corresponding advantage that might be set forth as an exchange of some good for some harm. The conclusion I have been forced to arrive at is in brief to this effect: that if chloral hydrate cannot be kept for use within its legitimate sphere as a medicine, to be prescribed by the physician according to his judgment, and by him as rarely as is possible, it were better for mankind not to have it at any price.

I expressed an opinion in 1876 that the use of opium as a toxical agent to which persons habituate themselves, is dying out in this country.

I see no reason to modify that view now. I am quite sure that amongst the better classes the practice of taking opium is less common than it was formerly, and I believe that chloral hydrate has more than usurped its place. The idea, gathered from one or two local practices, which, like a fashion, come and go, that opium-eating is on the increase among the poorer members of society is, I believe, equally fallacious. I can discover no warranty for any such a general and sweeping assumption. As to the assertion that those who are by their pledge removed from the use of alcoholic drinks, who are professed abstainers, are more addicted to opium-eating than alcoholic drinkers, the idea is too absurd, and can only have been suggested for the sake of the mischief that might follow a promulgation of the notion, that because one devil is cast out of a man another must enter that is worse than the first. The facts really tell all the other way. The facts in the main are that those men and women who from principle abstain from one form of intoxicant, most resolutely abjure all forms; and that those who indulge in one form are more apt than the rest to indulge in more than one. In the course of my career I have met with some persons of English society who have indulged in the use of opium; but I have never met one such who did not also take wine or some other kind of alcoholic drink. Putting the matter in another way, I can solemnly say that in the whole of my intercourse with the abstaining community, and few men indeed have been thrown more into contact with that community, I have never met with an instance that afforded so much as a suspicion of the practice of indulging in narcotism from opium, or any other similar drug. I have never yet met with an abstainer who was even habituated to the use of chloral hydrate. A few abstainers smoke tobacco, but as the habit seriously taxes their physical health, most of them in due time forego even the luxury of the weed so soon as they discover its injuriousness.

The actual opium-eaters of modern society, who form a natural part of the nation as English people, are extremely limited in number, so limited that the mortality returns give no clue to them as a class suffering from the indulgence. I know not either of any physician or pathologist who has made a study of the organic changes induced in the bodies of natives of these islands who have died from the effects of opium. Still there are a few who indulge; and I fear that amongst the children of the poor, the infant children, the use of narcotics containing opium is an abused, much abused system. The adults who indulge are, according to my experience, of three classes. There are some who in the course of disease attended with long continued acute pain, like neuralgia pain, have found relief from opium, and who having so become habituated to its use keep up the habit sometimes because they feel that they cannot sleep without the drug, and sometimes because they have learned to experience a real luxury from its use. There is a limited section that has learned the practice of swallowing or of smoking opium from some Eastern association, and is professed in the practice in a certain moderate degree.

Lastly, there are a few doubtless amongst the poorest of the community, who in some particular localities learn to partake of the narcotic, often not being aware of its true nature, and obtaining it under some fanciful name which has no direct reference to the narcotic itself.

To the few who in these classes may be called opium-eaters might be added a small number of alcoholic inebriates who partake of an opiate occasionally with their spirituous potations.

To whichever class they who habitually resort to opium may belong they pay dearly for their temporary pleasure. They are a miserable set in mind as in body. They are preserved, as it were, in misery; they do not suffer acute diseases from their enemy, as the alcoholics do, by which their lives are abruptly cut short, but they continue depressed in mind, feeble and emaciated in body, and incapable of any long-continued effort. De Quincey, in language somewhat figurative and poetical, has described the class with a force, and on the whole a correctness, which may be accepted as a faithful record.

I cannot report even so favourably on the use of absinthe as I have reported above on the use of opium. There cannot, I fear, be a doubt that in large and closely-packed towns and cities the consumption of absinthe is on the increase. In London it is decidedly on the increase. It is not possible to find a street in some parts of the metropolis in which the word "absinthe" does not meet the eye in the windows of houses devoted to the sale of other intoxicating and lethal drinks. Much of this advertisement of an unusually dangerous poison is made from ignorance of its nature as much as from cupidity. The suggestion for offering absinthe is that it is an agreeable bitter, that it gives an appetite, and that it gives tone to weak digestions. It is proffered much in the same manner as gin and bitters, and as in some private houses sherry and bitters are proffered. If you ask a seller of absinthe what he vends it for, he tells you, "As a tonic to help digestion."

There is no more terrible mistake than this statement. Absinthe, as it is made in France, from whence it is imported, is a mixture of essence of wormwood (*absinthium*), sweet flag, aniseed, angelica root, and alcohol. It is coloured green with the leaves or the juice of smallage, spinage, or nettles. It is commonly adulterated. M. Derheims found it adulterated with sulphate of copper, blue vitriol, which substance is added in order to give the required greenish colour or tint, as well as to afford a slight causticity, which, to depraved tastes, is considered the right thing to taste and swallow. M. Stanislas Martin stated that he found chloride of antimony, commonly called butter of antimony, as another adulteration, used also to give the colour. Chevalier doubts this latter adulteration, but the adulteration with the sulphate of copper is not disputed. The proportion of essence of wormwood to the alcohol is five drachms of the essence to one hundred quarts of alcohol. The action of absinthe on those who become habituated to its use is most deleterious. The bitterness increases the craving or

desire, and the confirmed *habitué* is soon unable to take food until he is duly primed for it by the deadly provocative. On the nervous system the influence of the absinthium essence is different from the action of the alcohol. The absinthium acts rather after the manner of nicotine; but it is slower in taking effect than the alcohol which accompanies it into the organism. There is therefore felt by the drinker first the exciting relaxing influence of the alcohol, and afterwards the constringing suppressing influence of the secondary and more slowly acting poison. The sufferer, for he must be so called, is left cold, tremulous, unsteady of movement, and nauseated. If his dose be large, these phenomena are exaggerated, and the voluntary muscles, bereft of the control of the will, are thrown into epileptiform convulsions, attended with unconsciousness and with an oblivion to all surrounding objects which I have known to last for six or seven hours. In the worst examples of poisoning from absinthe the person becomes a confirmed epileptic.

In addition to these general indications of evil there are certain local indications not less severe, not less dangerous. The effect which the absinthe exerts in a direct way on the stomach would alone be sufficiently pernicious. It controls for mischief the natural power of the stomach to secrete healthy digestive fluid. It interferes with the solvent power of that fluid itself, so that taken in what is considered to be a moderate quantity, one or two wine-glassfuls in the course of the day, it soon establishes in the victim subjected to it a permanent dyspepsia. The appetite is so perverted that all desire for food is quenched until the desire is feebly whipped up by another draught of the destroyer. In a word, a more consummate devil of destruction could not be concocted by the finest skill of science devoted to the worst of purposes than is concocted in this destructive agent, absinthe. It is doubly lethal, and ought to be put down peremptorily in all places where it is sold. Our magistrates have full power to deal with this poison, if they had the discretion and the courage to use their power. They could prohibit the licence to all who sell the poison. Beyond this, there is another power that ought to come into play. Absinthe should be under the control of the Sale of Poisons Act, and no person ought to be able to get it in any form at all without signing a book and going through all the necessary formality for the purchase of a poison. To move the country to a due regard for its own interests as well as for the interests of the ignorant and deluded toxico-maniacs who indulge in absinthe, is the duty of all honest and truthful men.

VIII.

It is my business in the remaining part of this communication to deal with a question which springs out of the practice of using lethal agents, and with which the minds of the thinking community are sorely exercised. The question I refer to is—Whether the use of these agents springs from a natural desire on the part of man, and of animals lower

than man, for such agents ; or whether it springs from a perversion or unnatural provocation acquired and transmitted in hereditary line, a toxico-mania, in plain and decisive language.

In respect to the idea that these agents are demanded by living animals as necessities of their transitory existence and residence on this earth, it must be obvious that the argument, as so stated, is based on the desire which has been impressed on the mind of the reasoners by the agents themselves. It is quite certain that men, and all the lower animals, can live without the supposed aid afforded by these substances, and that when they are not known life goes on smoothly and happily enough in their absence. They therefore are only pleaded for when they have made themselves felt, which looks strangely like an artificial pleading for an artificial as apart from a natural thing. Children do not plead for them ; men who have been educated without them do not plead for them ; animals do not beg for them ; none ask for them until by education they have learned to use them. At first all rebel at them, and only after a fiery trial, during which they get over repugnance, acquire a liking to them, after which the liking may run into desire, and desire into infatuation.

Again, if these agents were natural for the wants of man and animal, they would not reasonably be expected to be left so far away, as they are left, from the immediate reach and possession of man and animal. To secure them for man and animal they have to be produced ; to produce them, requires human ingenuity and skill, knowledge, science, and in some cases, as in the case of alcohol and alcoholic beverages, a very considerable degree of skill and an enormous amount of skilled labour. It is true that two of these substances, absinthium and opium, lie nearer at hand than the others, might be gathered and utilized by men in their savage state, and might be plucked and eaten even by beasts of the field. But the fact really seems to be that these very simples have not come into the possession of man for the service of the human family until by art the educated of the human race have learned the mode of use ; while the lower animals, instead of instinctively finding them out and claiming the advantages which come from them, have instinctively avoided them with an instigation of common sense, that might happily have been imitated by their superiors in wisdom and intelligence.

Moreover, it has generally turned out that all which is required by man as a necessity for his existence has been in the most signal manner provided for him. He is a water engine, so water is ready at his command ; he is a muscular engine, so muscle-forming substance is at his instant command ; he is a passive skeleton, so the materials for the skeleton are at his ready command ; he is a receptive organism through his nervous organization, so everything that is wanted for that system is ready prepared. He requires light to bring him into visible communion with the external world, and ere he existed the sun was ready to give him light and to quicken him with heat and motion. He requires

sound, and there is the prepared atmosphere ready to vibrate in obedience to his voice. These were all pre-prepared for the man and his life. Is it possible that something more was wanting that he, in course of ages, had to discover? Suppose, like the lower animals, he had failed to discover, what then had been his fate?

To my mind, and I wish to be as open to conviction on this point as any one can be, I fail to discern a single opening for the use of these lethal agents in the service of mankind save in the most exceptional conditions of disease, and then only under skilled and thoughtful supervision, from hands that know the danger of infusing a false movement and life into so exquisite an organism as a living, breathing, pulsating, impressionable, human form.

In the argument that these lethal agents are necessities, instinctively selected and chosen to meet human wants, there is no logical sequence. It is all confusion, assumption, apology for human weakness, exaltation of human weakness, sanction of temporary and doubtful pleasure, compromise with evil, and acceptance of penalties the direst, for advantages the poorest and least satisfactory. But when we turn to the other argument,—when we reason that these lethal agents induce a physical and mental aberration which they afterwards maintain,—when we but whisper the word *toxico-mania*, as the exposition of their influence, all is clear enough. We leave the purely natural world of life to enter the aberrant world, and all there is as it would be to eyes from which the scales of superstition have fallen. These agents play no part in natural function or construction, but add a part which is obviously an aberration. If into a steady-going locomotive engine the engineer infused some gallons of brandy, he would do something that would be conspicuous enough, but he would not thereby play a natural part in the working of that engine. He would only add a part which would be an aberration. There might be more rapid pulsation and motion for a brief period truly, but the pressure would be unequal, the working gear unsteady, and by much repetition of the same act there might be accident, apoplexy, stroke, even in an engine, and there certainly would be a wearing-out which would lead to a limited future. So with the body under these lethal spells; we may add a part, or we may take a part away, but we cannot by them maintain the uniform and natural law of life.

These agents create a desire, a craving for themselves, a new automatic expression, a new sense of necessity which did not pre-exist, and which never exists until it is acquired. This seems to me the most perfect evidence of aberration. Whoever craves for anything is aberrant, and much craving for one thing is the most certain sign of a mad mind. We all admit this truth when the craving becomes insatiable; but between the smallest persistent craving and the most lamentable insatiate there is nothing more than degree; the fact is the same, and the movement along the line from the moderate towards the insatiate

is commonly too easy and continuous. Craving for purely natural things in the midst of them is an unknown phenomenon in healthy men. Craving for unnatural things in the midst of them is well known; but is that healthy? The sane man who wants water asks for it; the sane animal that wants water seeks for it; the aberrant man clutches wine; the aberrant animal, rendered aberrant by the acquired craving, grows furious. No man drinks wine as he drinks water; there is a furor in the drinking of wine which marks a phenomenal disturbance, and which is distinct from the simple act of drinking from necessity, in the act as well as in the object.

The establishment of the craving or desire for these lethal agents in one living body is the frequent origin of the same desire in bodies that are to be. The craving is thus sometimes begotten of a craving, like other hereditary taints which lead to physical and mental errors and diseases, a specific indication of aberration from the natural health into disease, depending on hereditary constitutional tendency, and singularly indicative of original departure from the natural life. A still more striking illustration of the position I am now supporting is afforded in another action of these agents. The tendency of their action is, as a rule, towards premature physical death: the tendency is also towards premature mental death. A sudden excess of indulgence by any one of them, save perhaps arsenic, is all but certain to lead to some form of acute mental derangement or stupor, more or less decisive and prolonged. A gradual excessive indulgence is almost as certain to lead to a confirmed condition of aberration more or less determinate. If we watch carefully the career of a man who is passing through the course of an alcoholic intoxication, and if after analyzing each phase of that progress, we pass into a lunatic asylum and look at the various phases of insanity exhibited in the persons of the different inmates who are there confined, there is no difficulty in finding represented, through certain of those unfortunates, all the shades of mental aberration which have previously been exhibited by the single person in the course of his rapid career from sanity into insanity and into helpless paralysis. The wonder suggested, by such analysis of natural phenomena, is not that forty per cent. of the insanity of the country should be directly or indirectly produced by one lethal agent alone, but that so low a figure should indicate all the truth.

When, then, we fairly consider the two questions now before us,—whether the lethal agents are called for because they are demanded by a law of natural necessity, a law which stands above man and is dominant over his nature because independent of him; or whether there is no such law whatever, but an error of man himself, by which he institutes for himself a taste for lethal derangement, and making for himself and his heirs a new constitution, begins thereupon to justify what he has done on the basis of the constitution he has established,—when, I repeat, we consider these two questions, we can, I think, come but to one conclusion. We

must, if prejudice be not too strong, lean to the view that man makes the constitution he defends, and that it is the lethal agent, speaking as it were through him, on which a defence of all these agents, common or uncommon, rests for its support.

IX.

There is one final argument which many set up who are not content with either of the two views above described. This argument is, that in the natural state of man and beast, the things which "wreath themselves with ease in Lethe's walk" are not in any sense necessary things. On the contrary, the things are decidedly injurious, and should not be used. At the same time, it is also admitted that the indulgence in lethal agents is, in truth, a mania which begets a mania, and which inflicts all kinds of follies, crimes, and miseries on the race. But, continues the argument, the mania being admitted as such, is rendered justifiable by the circumstance that they who make it and propagate it do not start from the natural condition. They find in the world so much care, so much sorrow, so much misery, and their own path is bestrewed with so many anxieties and difficulties, that they are, in fact, diseased. All society is diseased. Therefore, to meet this vast amount and volume of disease, remedies of a palliative kind are required. Exceptional conditions call for exceptional measures. A man who cannot sleep, owing to the cares and anxieties of his life, must take chloral hydrate or opium to obtain sleep. A man who cannot finish a certain amount of work against time, by his own natural powers, must whip himself up to the work by means of wine; must force his heart and brain on against time at all risks and sacrifices. A man who has forced himself on against time, and has thereby obtained a momentum which he cannot arrest by ordinary means, must calm himself down by tobacco, must literally put the reins on his heart, and pull the heart up sharply and decisively. These remedies, at all risk of learning to crave for them, at all risk of falling the victim to toxico-mania, must be accepted that the work of the world may go on at full pace.

The argument is specious. If it be a sound argument, it must be the fact that they who, for the sake of the world, are throwing their lives behind them as fast as they can, are doing more work and better work than they who, keeping their lives in their hands, are content to labour without resort to any perilous adventitious assistance. Is it so? Is the man who never touches a lethal weapon—alcohol, opium, tobacco, chloral, haschish, absinthe, or arsenic—a worse man, a weaker man, a less industrious man, a less-to-be-trusted man, than he who indulges in those choice weapons ever so moderately, or ever so freely? If he is, then my position is confessedly undermined, and toxico-mania is a blessing, with all its curses.

BENJAMIN WARD RICHARDSON.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN TURKEY.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *June 10th*, 1879.

IT was said of France during the Empire that there was no such thing as public opinion in the country. The same thing may be said of Turkey, and even of Constantinople. It is as true of the foreign population as it is of the natives. There is no general public sentiment on any question. There is not simply Christian opinion and Moslem opinion, but each of these is variously subdivided, and each party seeks its own interest without regard to the general good. For the Mohammedans the Palace is the great centre of intrigue and conflict, while Christians and foreigners look with equal interest to the Embassies, each of which is exerting itself to secure its own supremacy and weaken the influence of its rivals. With this partisan conflict always raging around him the most impartial observer may be deceived in regard to important facts, and here, more than anywhere else, the writer of contemporary history has a right to expect the indulgence of his readers if he sometimes makes a misstatement.

Nearly a year has elapsed since the signing of the Treaty of Berlin, the great object of which was, as Lord Salisbury declared, to give the Sublime Porte one more chance of reforming and consolidating the Ottoman Empire. England guaranteed Asiatic Turkey against Russian aggression, and Europe became responsible for the withdrawal of Russian armies from European Turkey within a specified time. But the Treaty pointed out certain things which must be done, without delay, by Turkey herself. She must come to an agreement with Austria in regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina. She must arrange with Greece for a rectification of the frontier. She must introduce special reforms into Macedonia, Armenia, and other parts of the Empire. She must carry out the cession of certain territories to Russia, Servia, and Montenegro, and aid in the organization of Bulgaria and Roumelia. It was also under-

stood that she would come to some arrangement with her creditors. It was obvious to all the world that it was of the highest importance for Turkey to complete all these arrangements at the earliest moment possible. There has perhaps never been a time in her history when vigorous, decided action was more essential. It was her opportunity to regain the favour of Europe, and restore the confidence of her people. How far has this opportunity been improved?

The Negotiations with Austria.

The fate of Bosnia and Herzegovina was decided at Berlin. This decision did not satisfy the Porte or the people of those provinces, Christian or Mussulman; but there was no possible escape from it; for Austria, in whose favour the decision was made, was commissioned to occupy the country by force. Under these circumstances, it was for the interest of Turkey to come to an understanding with Austria without a day's delay. She would gain nothing by procrastination, but might gain much by taking advantage of the discontent of Hungary, and the disinclination of Austria to incur the expense of war. But she took exactly the opposite course. She resisted every effort which was made to conclude the convention; and tacitly at least, if not actively, encouraged armed resistance on the part of the people. Even after the country was subdued and occupied by Austria she encouraged the movements of the Albanian League, and kept up the agitation in the neighbouring provinces, at the same time maintaining a large army at Koosora to prevent the advance of the Austrians to Salonica. If Austria had any such intention, as is generally believed, nothing could have been more favourable to her plans than the attitude of the Porte; while the one thing that Turkey needed was rest, freedom from all agitation, and the opportunity to reorganize the government of what remained to her of European Turkey.

The convention was finally signed on April 21st, and it is not in any respect more favourable to Turkey than that which was proposed in August last. On the contrary, it makes it still more apparent that these provinces are lost for ever. Nothing is said of any possible re-occupation by the Sultan, and his sovereign rights are only mentioned incidentally in the preamble. Austria maintains the right to occupy Novi Bazaar, and to increase her force there whenever she deems it necessary. The question of the nationality of the inhabitants, when they are in Turkey, is not settled at all, and they must therefore be considered as under Austrian protection. It may even be doubted whether, after having delayed so long, it would not have been better for Turkey to refuse to sign any convention, and simply accept the situation under protest.

No reason can be given for this long and unfortunate delay, except that it accords with the general policy of the Porte to oppose an invincible *vis inertiae* to all external pressure—to do nothing, and trust to the chances of the future to escape the consequences.

The Mussulman population of these provinces seems inclined to emigrate, and a commission appointed by the Sultan has just been considering the propriety of encouraging this movement. It is said that the report is unfavourable. It could hardly be otherwise, as Austria would protest against any action of the Turkish Government in this direction, but it will no doubt be secretly encouraged. If these Mussulmans were Turks they would all leave, but as they are Slavs the majority will probably remain, and the next generation will be Christian. The difficulties which Austria will encounter will not be religious, but social and agrarian—unless she is tempted to support a Roman Catholic propagandism, which seems improbable, although some steps have been taken in that direction.

The Negotiations with Greece.

The resistance of Turkey to the claims of Greece is far more excusable than her delay to conclude a convention with Austria. The Treaty of Berlin recommended an agreement between these Powers for a rectification of the frontier, but it was only a recommendation. It left the parties free to negotiate, and provided for a mediation in case of their failure to agree. The Turks reasoned in this way:—Greece has no possible claim upon us for a part of our territory, and we have nothing to gain by giving it up. She is not supported by any of the European Powers, except France and Italy. Austria and Russia, at least, would be pleased to see her claim rejected. We are told every day that we should cultivate the friendship of Greece, that she is our natural ally against Slavic aggression; but we know very well what her aspirations are, and that she is our natural enemy. If we are to lose European Turkey, we had quite as soon see it in the hands of Austria or of the Slavs as under the dominion of Greece. It was no love for us that kept Greece out of the late war. It was the fear of our fleet, and but for this fleet she would seize upon Crete to-morrow. If we give up a part of Thessaly and Epirus to-day, we shall be forced to give up the rest to-morrow, and to surrender Salonica the next day. It is better for us to resist to the last, and yield to nothing but force. A European Conference cannot give Greece more than the thirteenth protocol suggests, and may be contented with less.

There is much of truth, and still more of plausibility, in this view of the case, and the chief fault of the Turks in these negotiations has been that they have not prolonged them with their usual skill. They manifested their determination to do nothing from the first. They have also failed to control the Albanian League, which might have been used to much greater advantage against Greece than against Austria. This whole movement in Albania has been a mistake on the part of the Turks. It has been a very complicated intrigue. Turkey, Russia, Austria, and Italy have all encouraged the Albanians, and each one has sought to use them for its own advantage. My impression is, that all have been

disappointed in their anticipations, but that a spirit has been aroused there which will, in the end, be very hostile to the Sublime Porte.

Turkey has probably lost nothing by prolonging the negotiations with Greece, but, on the other hand, she has not gained anything. She has failed to take advantage of her opportunity to regain the confidence of Europe, and reconcile the world to a continuance of her rule over Christian provinces. The feeling against her is not less strong than it was a year ago. This neglect has been a fatal one, for while Greece has no claim upon Turkey, she has a claim upon Europe which cannot be altogether ignored. Her present frontier was arbitrarily fixed by the European Powers, after the revolution, with very little regard for the interests of the new kingdom or the wishes of the people, who were given over to Turkey. It is now generally acknowledged that this was a mistake, and Greece has a right to appeal to Europe to rectify it. The people of Thessaly, Epirus, and Crete desire to be annexed to Greece, and no one can doubt that their condition would be greatly improved by the change. The dismemberment of Turkey was commenced by the Congress of Berlin, and there is certainly more reason for giving these provinces to Greece than there was for giving Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria, in opposition to the wishes of the people, who would have preferred autonomy or annexation to Servia and Montenegro.

Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia.

Turkey chose to go to war with Russia rather than accept the friendly advice of the Conference of Constantinople. She was beaten, and paid the penalty in the Treaty of St. Stephanos, in which, among other things, she agreed to the constitution of a Principality of Bulgaria. England and Austria interfered in their own interest, gave back a part of this territory to Turkey, divided the balance into two provinces with different forms of government, and secured to the Porte the right to occupy the Balkans. Russia accepted this arrangement at the Congress of Berlin, and agreed to evacuate all this territory within nine months. The Bulgarians, who had had no voice in this arrangement, protested vehemently against it, and the Russians naturally sympathized with them. For five or six months after the signature of the Treaty of Berlin the Turks hoped and expected that a new war would grow out of this Bulgarian difficulty, in which they would be supported by England, and would regain a part at least of their lost territory. Since that time they have manifested but little interest in Bulgaria, and they appear to have made up their minds that Eastern Roumelia is lost for ever. They care very little about the occupation of the Balkans, which would involve a large expenditure of money with very little advantage to them; and if this part of the Treaty is executed it will be through the influence of Austria and England. It is believed that there will be a show of carrying it out by the occupation of Bourgas on the Black Sea, and

possibly of the pass between Sofia and Philippopolis, but that beyond this nothing will be done. This would be the wisest policy for Turkey; for it cannot be for her interest to keep up an agitation among the Bulgarians and transform them into a nation of soldiers, nor can she afford to maintain a large army and expensive fortresses in the midst of a hostile population. She has nothing to fear from Eastern Roumelia. It is an open country, without any natural means of defence, and could be occupied by the Turkish troops at any time without the possibility of serious resistance. The Bulgarians realize this fact, and now that they are satisfied that they have nothing more to hope from Russia they will accept their fate and wait as patiently as possible for a more favourable opportunity to secure their union with Bulgaria. The Russians are evacuating the province, not as rapidly as they might, but probably with an honest purpose of securing the peaceful establishment of the new Government.

Alecko Pacha, as he is called by the Turks—or Prince Vorgorides, as the Greeks call him—or Prince Bogoroff, as he will probably be called by the Bulgarians—is already at Philippopolis. His father was a Bulgarian, and was Prince of Samos. He is a relative of Mussurus Pacha, the Turkish Ambassador at London, and of the present Minister of Foreign Affairs. His wife is a Greek, and he himself speaks Greek, but not Bulgarian. His intercourse with Bulgarians in Constantinople before his departure was always in French. He is a member of the Orthodox Church, but as he has recognized the Bulgarian Exarch he comes under the general excommunication which declared the Exarch, and all who recognized him, to be schismatics. He has held some important offices under the Turkish Government, but at the commencement of the war he was removed from the post of Ambassador at Vienna, under the suspicion that he was not very heartily in sympathy with the Turks. He is not supposed to be a man of any great ability, but he is to have as his chief counsellor another Bulgarian, Chrestovitch, who is a man of very decided character and a patriot, although his conservative spirit has made him unpopular for several years past.

Alecko Pacha left Constantinople on May 26th, and, singularly enough, the fate of Eastern Roumelia hung for a time upon the question whether he should wear a *fez* or a *calpak*. It is said to have been decided before his departure that a Turkish army should be called in at once to support his *fez*, but that an order from the Palace was secured by Prince Labanoff, and sent after him by special train, authorizing him to wear the *calpak* if he should find it necessary. He wore a *fez* at Adrianople, appeared bareheaded at the frontier, and entered Philippopolis with a Bulgarian *calpak*. The Turkish papers have been filled with complaints and abuse of Alecko Pacha ever since, but it was a wise act of conciliation, and secured for him an enthusiastic reception. His first visit was to the Bulgarian church, where a *Te Deum* was sung in honour of the occasion, and thence he proceeded to the *Konak* (Government-house). The *Firman* of the Sultan was not read until the 30th.

On this occasion also it was found necessary to conciliate the people by omitting the ceremonies which had been planned for the occasion. No Turkish flag was raised, no guns were fired, and there was no attempt to raise any cheers for the Sultan; but there were repeated and enthusiastic cheers for Prince Vorgorides, although his address to the people contained a very plain statement of the fact that they were still under the Sultan, whose troops might be forced by the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin "to occupy the frontiers and certain other localities."

There is still intense excitement all through the province. The people are armed, and secret committees exist everywhere; but if Alecko Pacha continues to follow a conciliatory policy there is every reason to expect that this excitement will pass away, and enable the Russians to leave without delay.

There will, of course, be many difficulties to be overcome in applying the elaborate Constitution which has been prepared by the European Commission; and the Assembly, which is about to be called, will no doubt protest against the enormous tribute which the Commission has inflicted upon the province, which, after paying all its own expenses, has to pay to the Sultan £200,000 a year; but they will submit to everything if the Turks do not occupy the Balkans. The Turks certainly deserve great credit for the policy which they have followed ever since the appointment of Alecko Pacha, and if they persevere in it they will have no further trouble with Eastern Roumelia. The Turks who now reside there will no doubt continue to emigrate, for they cannot comprehend or appreciate the system of government which has been adopted by the Commission; but those who remain will be protected in all their rights. As to the Greeks, much will depend upon the attitude which they assume towards the new Government. It is easy to foresee that their position will become very disagreeable if they follow the lead of the Greek newspapers of Constantinople, and do all that they can to create disturbance and obstruct the new Government. The course of these papers, and especially of the *Phare du Bosphore*, which is in French, and consequently most read by the Bulgarians, cannot be too strongly condemned. It is very seldom that any Bulgarian paper attacks the Greeks of Roumelia; but hardly a day passes without a leading article or letter in these Greek papers which is full of the most violent, abusive, and insulting language, calculated to rouse the indignation of the Bulgarians and incite them to revenge themselves upon the Greeks who are within their reach. It is very much to their credit that the Bulgarians endure this abuse so calmly. But if the Greeks of Roumelia accept the situation, conciliate the Bulgarians, and enter heartily into the work of establishing the Government, they will not only be unmolested, but in a few years will have their full share of political influence.

Reforms in Albania and Macedonia.

It is understood that the Albanian Beys have induced the Porte to

promise them an "autonomous government." If this is true, it will be an interesting experiment, for hitherto the great difficulty in Albania has been that each individual Bey has had an autonomous government of his own. It would hardly be a reform to confirm this state of anarchy.

The case of Macedonia is very different. It is inhabited by a mixed population of Bulgarians, Greeks, Turks, Wallachians, Jews, and Albanians, the majority of the population being Christian, and probably Bulgarian; although this is disputed by the Greeks. The Treaty of St. Stephanos included a part of it in Bulgaria, and stipulated that reforms should be introduced into the government of what remained, under the supervision of Russia. The Treaty of Berlin restored the whole province to Turkey, and stipulated that it should be reformed under the supervision of the Eastern Roumelia Commission. After the Congress, if there was one thing more than another which it was necessary for Turkey to do without delay, it was to restore order and secure a good administration in Macedonia. Nothing could have had a more favourable influence upon public opinion in Europe, or have done more to incline the Great Powers to sustain Turkey and resist the claims of the Greeks and Bulgarians. She had regular troops enough at her disposal to occupy the province, and she had only to refer to any one of half a dozen *Iradsés* issued by the Sultan within five years to find a statement of the reforms needed to secure peace and quiet among the people. The province itself would have readily furnished any money which was needed to carry out these reforms. All this was well known at Constantinople, but to this day nothing has been done for this unhappy province. There has been no attempt at reform, and no serious effort to put an end to the anarchy which reigns there. This is one of the most fatal mistakes which have been made since the war.

The condition of the people, during the whole year, has been as unfortunate as possible. The Rhodope insurrection was on one side, and the Albanian League on the other. Bands of brigands—sometimes Wallachian, sometimes Greek, sometimes Bulgarian, sometimes Turkish or Albanian—have ravaged the country, plundered the people, carried them off for ransom, burned the villages, committed outrages of every description on men and women, and even attacked large towns. Men have been constantly murdered in the streets of cities like Monastir in broad day, and a resident of Monastir assured me that not less than 2000 murders had taken place, during a year, within a day's ride of that city. A part of the time there has been no Turkish Governor there, and a part of the time the well-known Chevket Pacha was Governor.

The Government has employed Bashi-Bazouks to catch the brigands, and they have treated the people more brutally than the robbers themselves. In many parts of the province the Christians are at the mercy of Mussulman Beys, over whom the Government does not attempt to exercise any control. The Greeks and Bulgarians assert that nothing

better is to be expected from the Turkish Government, and, although the one would prefer to be annexed to Greece and the other to Bulgaria, they would welcome any government, even that of Austria, which would protect their lives and property. Europe is pledged by the Treaty of Berlin to secure them such a government under the Sultan, but thus far it has done nothing.

Reform in Asia Minor.

Europe is under similar obligations in regard to Asia Minor, and, in addition to this, England has assumed some sort of a protectorate over this part of the Ottoman Empire. Whatever its character may be, it imposes a special obligation upon England to secure the execution of reforms. Lord Salisbury and Sir A. H. Layard have recognized this, and have undertaken to persuade the Porte to adopt some scheme of reform, and carry it out. Since the British Government has chosen the policy of moral suasion, it has undoubtedly selected the best man in England to carry it out. No one knows the Turks better, or has a more kindly feeling towards them, than the present English Ambassador. He is a man of untiring energy, and fully in sympathy with the policy which he has to represent. He hates Russia and everything Russian, as heartily as he loves Turkey and believes in the possibility of restoring her power. He is not devoid of sympathy for the Christians, but anxious to ameliorate their condition in any way consistent with the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire. He has now the personal friendship of the Sultan, and has access to him at all times. Certainly no man could be better adapted to persuade the Turks to save themselves from destruction by adopting essential reforms than he, especially as both he and Lord Salisbury have carefully abstained from proposing anything but administrative reforms, which do not involve any modification of the strictly Mohammedan character of the government. He has not been called upon to demand the execution of the Hatt-i-homayoun, which promised equal rights and a full share in the government to Christians, nor even the revival of the Constitution of Midhat Pacha, which grafted a representative system upon the government without changing its essential character. It is simply a question of a reorganization of the police and the courts, with a modification of the system of taxation, and a longer tenure of office for the provincial governors. Whether reforms of this nature can save the Empire may be a question, but they are certainly good as far as they go. But, as yet, nothing has been done to carry them into practice. There has been no lack of persuasion, but nothing has been accomplished. The reason given for this delay by the Turkish Government is, that these reforms cannot be carried out without money, and that the first step towards reform is a new loan. If the English Government insists upon reform it must furnish the money. This excuse is so plausible that it seems to have been accepted and endorsed by Lord Salisbury, but it is, at least, unfortunate for the Turkish Government

that it cannot find some way out of this difficulty. It will not accept the principle of appointing foreigners to apply the money which it wishes to borrow to the execution of the promised reforms, and no State is ready to aid in securing the money, unless it can exercise some control over the expenditure. There is a lack of mutual confidence even between England and Turkey. England believes that if the Turks get the money they will not spend it on reforms; Turkey believes that if Englishmen are once introduced into the Administration it will result in the destruction of the sovereignty of the Sultan.

There is really but one way out of this difficulty. It is for the Turks to proceed at once to the execution of these reforms in the best way they can. They are right in guarding their independence, but it would appear that the constant interference of Europe has led them to look upon reform simply as a means of gaining the favour of the Great Powers, and that they have failed to see that this is only a secondary consideration—that the primary object of reform is to secure the prosperity and happiness of their own people, without which the Empire must decay and fall to pieces, however vigorously it is defended by European diplomacy. Until the men in power at Constantinople come to realize this fact, and see that the old *régime* can lead to nothing but destruction, there will be no practical reform in Turkey, with or without a loan; and whenever they do comprehend the truth they will enter upon the most vigorous reforms at once, whatever may be the state of the Imperial treasury. It is not a question of money, but of will. Thus far nothing has been done, and this long delay has increased the number of those in Europe who believe that nothing ever will be done, and are consequently enemies of Turkey. Even the most hopeful of her friends are beginning to doubt whether Turkey can long maintain her empire, even in Asia; but let the work of reform be once vigorously undertaken, and her friends would multiply. Let it be so accomplished as to secure good government and equal rights to all nationalities, and, in England at least, men of all parties would unite to defend her rights against any foreign foe. Unhappily the Turks do not understand this. They think that they are hated because they are Turks, and that even their supporters defend them from selfish motives. They do not see that their strength at home and the support of Europe both depend simply upon their ability and willingness to bring their government into harmony with the spirit of the age. So they spend their strength in diplomatic negotiations or palace intrigues, while the Empire is slowly wasting away. Even Lord Salisbury and Sir A. H. Layard have thus far failed to convince them of the truth, and persuade them to undertake the work of reform. It is said that the Sultan is persuaded, but that this man or the other stands in the way of action; but Europe is only interested in the fact that nothing is done. A year has passed since the Congress, and the simple administrative reforms promised by the Treaty of Berlin and the Cyprus Treaty have not been commenced. What hope is there that the Government will ever

get so far as to carry out the promises of the Hatt-i-homayoun, and secure equal rights to all subjects of the Sultan? The best friends of Turkey are in despair.

The reports which come to me from every part of Asia Minor are all of the same tenor; all agree in the statement that the condition of the people has not been so bad for forty years as it is now. It is far worse than it was before the war. This is true in general of the whole population, Christian and Mussulman. The extra taxation of the past few years, the repudiation of the paper-money by the Government, the withdrawal of one-tenth of the Mussulman population from labour for service in the army, the general state of anarchy, has reduced the whole population to a state of poverty which is pitiable in the extreme. As the officials have received but little regular pay during these years, they have been forced to plunder the people, so that both the civil and judicial administration have become far more corrupt than ever before. Nothing can be done without *backsheesh*. The Circassians also are as great a curse to the Mohammedan as to the Christian population.

In addition to this general misery, the Christians—especially the Armenians—have had peculiar trials of their own. The weakness of the administration has given the Mohammedan population an opportunity to abuse the Christians with impunity in all parts of the country; and in certain provinces the Kurds have plundered, burned, ravished, and murdered at will, without any attempt on the part of the Government to restrain them. In addition to this, the Government itself seems to have determined upon strengthening the Mohammedan element and weakening the Christian in certain districts where there were but few Mussulmans before the war—at Zeitoon and Mush, for example. Through the influence of the English Government commissions have been sent out into Asia Minor, of Turks and Armenians, to investigate some of the atrocities which have been committed, and to punish the offenders, if they can be found. It remains to be seen what these commissions will accomplish. Many similar commissions have been sent out in past years, without any result; but the Armenian members of these had less power and a lower rank than they have now. It is possible that something may be done in certain cases, but, so far as I can learn, it is no part of their duty to institute any reforms in the administration, or ameliorate in any way the condition of the Christians. On these subjects, however, they may add one more to the long series of reports which now serve as nests for the mice at the Porte.

The appointment of English Consuls at various important places in Asia Minor may or may not prove an advantage to the people. It will depend upon the nature of the instructions which they receive from home, and especially upon the spirit of the Embassy at Constantinople, as our experience since the Crimean War has abundantly proved; for Consuls are expected to support the policy of the Government, and to make reports which will favour that policy. It is supposed in England

that the reduction of the consular force in the East under the administration of the Liberal party was one cause of the unhappy condition of the Turkish Empire; but there were Consuls enough to write voluminous reports, which were sometimes made to order, but which were generally truthful and complete enough to form such an indictment against Turkish administration as ought to have modified the policy of the English Government in its support of Turkey, or at least have forewarned it of the crisis which was coming; but, even if these reports were read, they never produced any results which were visible in Turkey. I do not mean to say that the presence of an English Consul in a town is not a blessing to the people, but simply that he acts as a palliative rather than as a radical cure of the evils of the Turkish administration, and that multiplying Consuls will not necessarily or itself promote reform.

The following extract from the *Levant Herald* of June 2 will show the interest which the Turkish Government has had in the work of English Consuls in Asia Minor. Colonel Wilson has been waiting about two months in Constantinople:—

"*The Consulates in Asia Minor.*—The consular body in our new Protectorate has received a further addition by the appointment of Captain Clayton, R.E., to the vice-consulate of Van, in the jurisdiction of the consulate of Erzeroum. About a fortnight ago we announced the departure of Consul-General Colonel Wilson, R.E., for his preliminary tour in Asia Minor, and the statement was warranted by the fact that the starting day had been fixed. But when the morning came, Colonel Wilson had not received his *bérat* from the Porte as he had expected, although everything was prepared for his departure; and consequently he was unable to start. His staff of vice-consuls and student-interpreters, with all the equipment of the expedition, went forward, but Colonel Wilson remained behind to wait for his *exequatur*, and here he is still. The delay is attributed to the great pressure of public business at the Sublime Porte, which has not left the *kalem* time to draw up the document, for want of which Colonel Wilson is kept away from the scene of his duties, losing valuable time and the best weeks of the travelling season."

This whole question of reform in Asia Minor is a very difficult one, and the obligations assumed by England in the Cyprus Treaty are of a nature which no one seems to understand. England cannot take possession of the country, nor can she favour the occupation of Asia Minor by Russia or any other Power. There is no possibility of adopting the plan of gradual dismemberment which the Congress of Berlin applied to European Turkey. The power of the Sultan must be maintained; but at the same time it must secure to the people a good government, or the Empire will fall to pieces of itself in spite of the protection of Europe. Those who are in power at Constantinople do not appear to realize the defects of the government, and they will not consent to place its administration, even temporarily, in the hands of foreigners. The failure of the trial made in Egypt makes it doubtful whether it would be wise to try the experiment here. At the same time it is the opinion of those who live in Turkey that the present

official class, if left to itself, will never reform the administration. England has attempted to fulfil her obligations by friendly persuasion, but thus far with no great result. What is to be done next? I must confess that I do not see. Aiding Turkey to borrow money will only make a bad matter worse.

My own impression is, that England has made a mistake in not insisting upon more radical reforms. As it is certain that England will not occupy the country or force the Turks to accept European officials, the only hope of the Empire is in the execution of the many promises which have been made for the absolute emancipation of the Christians, their introduction into the army, the navy, the civil service, and the judiciary, on terms of absolute equality with the Mussulman. It is only by throwing open these professions to all, and giving offices to the most competent, that the Turks can be forced to educate their sons, and fit them for those positions which are now given by favour to the most incompetent, so that we have Chief Secretaries of Departments who cannot read or write. I do not know whether the Sultan could be persuaded now to do this, but I think that nine months ago it would have been an easier task than the apparently more limited one which was undertaken by Lord Salisbury and Sir A. H. Layard; for the Sultan has much less fear of Christian equality than he has of the introduction of English officials into his Government. Moreover, if the administrative reforms recommended by England could be carried out, the great question of the relation of Christian to Mohammedan would be as far as ever from a settlement; and until it is settled, there can be no peace. There are more than 3,000,000 Christians in Asiatic Turkey, and they are more advanced in education and civilization than the Mohammedans. They know that they have the sympathy of Europe on their side, and they can never be persuaded to live quietly under a purely Mohammedan Government; but if they were emancipated there would be a possibility of Turkey's reforming herself, while under the present system I see no such possibility.

The present condition of the country does not disprove the goodwill of the Sultan, who would rejoice in any amelioration of the condition of his subjects, but does seem to prove the utter incapacity of the Central Government to secure good order or justice, or reform of any kind in the interior. I have before me now a report from Armenia, covering some thirty pages of foolscap, detailing outrages committed in a single town and its adjacent villages, mostly committed within two months; and yet this is a place which the English Embassy has undertaken to protect, which has a very respectable governor, and has just been visited by an Imperial Commissioner, sent to redress the wrongs of the people, both Christian and Mohammedan. It is practically under the control of wealthy Turkish Beys, who are protected by the Vali of the province, and no doubt share their plunder with him; the former have also at their bidding many thousand wild Kurds, who are pro-

tected, but not controlled, by Government. It is a long story of beating, plunder, abduction, murder, and terrorism, which simply proves the inability of the authorities at Constantinople to protect either the Imperial treasury or the subjects of the Sultan. And unfortunately this represents the condition of the greater part of Asia Minor. Things are but little better in Constantinople itself, where housebreaking, murder, and highway robbery are more common than at any time since the Crimean War: and the perpetrators are very seldom arrested.

This same inability, or unwillingness, to do anything is seen in the relations of the Porte with the Christian communities. It is true that the energetic French Ambassador has forced the Porte to a settlement of the Armenian Catholic difficulty, in opposition to the wishes of the great body of the anti-Hassounites, and in opposition to the interests of the Porte itself; but even in regard to this question no decision has been taken as to the status of those Armenians who refuse to submit to Hassoun and demand the execution of the former promises of the Government. The condition of the Armenian Protestant community is still worse. After ten years of negotiations, carried on by the Protestants under the direction of the British Embassy, the Porte repudiates all its promises, and refuses to recognize the Protestants as a community (*Millet*) at all, although they have been so recognized ever since the days of Lord Stratford.

The Gregorian Armenians, who constitute the great body of the nation, are but little better off. Their relations with the Porte have been extremely difficult for two years: their patriarch has resigned in utter despair, and the Government has as yet recognized no successor. No one of these Armenian questions involves any expenditure of money on the part of the Porte for its settlement, or has any connection whatever with the financial difficulties of the Government; but still nothing is done. So far as my information goes, the only exception to this general paralysis of the Government is found at Adrianople, where Raouf Pacha is displaying an amount of energy and good sense in his administration which is doing much to reconcile the people to the departure of the Russians. Achmet Vefik Pacha, at Broosa, is doing all that he can, and has actually made himself personally popular in a province where he was once looked upon as a madman; but he has been so inadequately supported by the Central Government that he has accomplished but little.

Turkish Finance.

The history of Turkish finance since the Crimean War, if it could be fully and honestly revealed, would make a most instructive and interesting book. The Government was encouraged to borrow by ambassadors desirous of increasing their influence, and by bankers who were certain to make enormous profits in issuing the loans, whether those who were persuaded to invest in them ever received their interest or not; and,

unfortunately, as these often-repeated loans became unpopular in Europe they became very popular in Turkey, so that all the unemployed savings of the country were invested in them. There is hardly a porter or water-carrier in Constantinople who does not hold Roumelian railway bonds.

The money, which was so easily obtained, was as easily squandered, and new loans were made to pay the interest on old ones, until the funded debt of Turkey amounted to £200,000,000. It must be remembered that this enormous debt was incurred by those so-called great statesmen Aali and Fuad Pacha, while Mahmoud Neddim, who stopped paying the interest because there was no money in the treasury and he could not borrow any more, is accused of having conspired with General Ignatieff to ruin the country, although he had had nothing to do with the debt except to pay interest on it as long as he could. It was no surprise to the cautious business men of Constantinople when the crisis came. I had been warned by my own banker, six months before, that it was certain to come within nine months, and he assured me that he had already sold all his Turkish securities. There was, no doubt, some deception practised at the last, but it was only a question of a few weeks, and it was but fair that a few favoured bankers should not have the opportunity to transfer their Consols to the ignorant public.

Under the most favourable circumstances, and with the most oppressive taxes, the revenue of the Empire was never large enough to pay the interest on the debt. In 1874 it was estimated at £24,800,000, and the expenditure at £25,100,000; but the amount collected did not exceed £18,000,000, which was an increase of 50 per cent. on the revenue ten years before. The floating debt now outstanding is estimated at about £50,000,000, but a portion of this has been cancelled by the repudiation of about £15,000,000 of paper-money, the loss from which has fallen chiefly upon the mercantile classes. It is believed by those who know the country best that the revenue will not now exceed £12,000,000, and will probably fall much below this sum, while the ordinary expenses of the Government must be at least £15,000,000. It is not strange, under these circumstances, that the various projects for a new loan have failed. And if those bankers who are anxious to exchange worthless securities for something better should come to an agreement with the Turkish Government, it will be very strange if they find the public ready to subscribe to the loan.

No doubt the security offered by the Turkish Government is good, if it can be depended upon; it is the revenue of the custom-houses of the Empire. But there are at least two difficulties in the way. These revenues have already been pledged to pay other loans; and if they had not, the Turkish Government cannot possibly live without the revenue derived from this source. No new loan could possibly be negotiated in Europe on this security which did not arrange for the payment of the previous loans for which the same security was pledged, and the balance

coming to the Turks would not even relieve their immediate and most pressing necessities. The true policy of the Sultan at the present time is to acknowledge his inability to pay any more interest on the funded debt, become a bankrupt, and give up all idea of borrowing anything more in Europe; to reduce his expenses, and live on his revenue, whatever it may be. Any other course will in the end increase the misery of his own people, and will simply transfer the loss from one set of bondholders to another. Turkey is not able to pay a penny of her present funded debt, and the sooner this is understood the better it will be for Turkey and for the world. Until this is settled there will be little chance of arranging that portion of the floating debt which must be paid, and which is now drawing the most exorbitant interest. As to the Russian war indemnity of £50,000,000, it cannot be repudiated. It will have priority over any new loan, and will some day have to be paid; but Russia can afford to wait for a favourable opportunity to press her claim.

France and England in the East.

There appear to be many persons in France and England who are surprised and irritated to learn that these Powers are not altogether in harmony in their Oriental policy, and who seem to suppose that since the Crimean War there has been no rivalry between them in the East; but no one who is familiar with the political history of the last twenty-five years can be ignorant of the fact that France has never relinquished her purpose to maintain a controlling influence over affairs in the East, and that the relations of the two Embassies at Constantinople have often been anything but harmonious. Since the German war France has been much less active, and for a time had no influence here; but no one supposed that this state of things could continue, and no one here was surprised when the present French Ambassador resumed the old policy, and improved every opportunity to substitute his own influence for that of England. There is no occasion for surprise or irritation. France is the natural rival of England in the Mediterranean; and although they may combine to keep out Russia, they must do so with the understanding that each party reserves for itself the fullest liberty of action in regard to other questions; and, as a matter of fact, these Powers are more frequently in opposition than in harmony in the East. Generally it is a friendly rivalry, and both English and French statesmen deserve great credit for their skill and good sense in keeping it within these limits, although their agents here do not always sympathize with this spirit of moderation. A war between France and England for supremacy in the Mediterranean would be a calamity to the world.

The present divergence of opinion in regard to Greece was inevitable. When France made herself the champion of the Greeks, and sought to strengthen her influence in this way, it was legitimate political strategy, and not disinterested benevolence. England was certainly at liberty to

meet this move on the political chess-board in the best way she could. She may have moved a queen when it would have been wiser to move a pawn ; but this is no reason why her opponent should lose her temper, nor is it fair for outsiders to condemn this move unless they feel sure that they understand the game better than the players themselves. The relation of England to the Greek question is very different from that of France. France has no protectorate over Asia Minor, no entangling alliance with Austria, no responsibility for the reformation of the Turkish Government by moral suasion. She has only to consider her own interests or her own sympathies. She believes it to be for her interest to cultivate the friendship of the Greeks and to browbeat the Turks, and the sympathies of the people coincide with the policy of the Government. In England there is quite as much sympathy for Greece, and, as an abstract question, it is for the interest of England to favour civil liberty and the development of the kingdom of Greece ; but the Government has, wisely or unwisely, assumed other obligations which it is not easy to reconcile with the demands of Greece and the policy of France. It is apparently the object of Lord Salisbury to compromise these conflicting interests in such a way as to partially satisfy the aspirations of Greece, and at the same time to make the impression upon Turkey, and perhaps upon Austria also, that their interests have not been neglected. Compromise is supposed to be the basis of diplomacy, the foundation of the English Constitution, the *in hoc signo* of British policy ; but with all its advantages it has this great disadvantage—that it pleases no one. Neither Greece nor Turkey will feel any gratitude towards England, but both will unite in those hearty execrations with which we are already too familiar in the streets of Athens and Constantinople. This is a result which will be satisfactory to France, and there seems to be no reason to fear that any permanent disturbance of the friendly relations of the two countries can result from the Greek question.

AN EASTERN STATESMAN.

CONTEMPORARY BOOKS.

I.—CHURCH HISTORY, &c.

(Under the Direction of the Rev. Professor CHEETHAM.)

WE hail with pleasure in the *Memoirs of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D.D.*, by the Rev. H. W. Tucker, M.A. (London: W. Wells Gardner, 1879), an adequate record of the labours of England's greatest missionary bishop. Nothing in the whole history of missions is more striking than the way in which young George Selwyn, in the full vigour of mind and body, handsome, accomplished, popular, a cherished member of the best society in England, with every prospect of rising to a distinguished position in his native land, at once accepted the call to go forth into the midst of barbarism, English and native, on the other side of the world. He, if any one, may fitly be called a soldier of Christ, for he was every inch a soldier; the instinct of obedience and of command was equally strong in him; he felt it natural to be "a man under authority, having soldiers under him." When Mr. Ernest Hawkins proposed to go to Eton to sound him as to the New Zealand bishopric, one who knew him well said that that was not the way to proceed with him; the proposal must be made to him directly and officially. It was so arranged, and he at once accepted the official call as a word of command; "whatever part in the work of the ministry the Church of England," he wrote in reply, "may call upon me to undertake, I trust I shall be willing to accept with all obedience and humility." This was the key-note of his whole life; he was an officer of the Church, and he must do his duty; from that nothing would induce him to turn back. The soldier-like spirit appears in his words on quitting Eton—"I thought that, should I refuse to go, the bones of those who fell in Walcheren would rise up in judgment against me." And when he was again in England after years of arduous work, he would fain rouse on behalf of religion the "spirit of obedience to authority which has already sent our fleets and armies to every part of the world." The Governor of New Zealand at the time of Selwyn's appointment thought it absurd to send a bishop where there were no roads for his coach. No doubt one of the stately bishops of the last century would have found himself out of place in a rough colony; but Selwyn was a bishop of a new type; a bishop who could visit his diocese walking, riding, swimming, or sailing; who could make himself at home in a Maori hut, or, if need were, in a pig-stye (ii. 178). The interest of the memoirs is in the record they supply of the untiring energy, the organizing power, the peculiar influence, the un-failing sense of duty, the devotion to his Master's service, which characterised the good bishop's career. He saw at once what the earlier missionaries do not seem to have seen, that if the Maoris were to be made real Christians they must be educated; their habits of thought and social condition must be changed. Hence the untiring efforts which he made, not only to bring to the knowledge of the natives the redemption through Christ, but to educate them in English arts, and in the honour and purity which characterise the best Christians in Europe; he would fain have a new

Eton and a younger St. John's College at the Antipodes. A very remarkable work, which arose out of his contact with the many languages of the Pacific, is less known than it deserves to be. Captain Marryat's code of signals, by which ships of different nations interchange ideas through the universal language of numbers, suggested to the sailor-bishop one part of his plan; a passage of Cicero added to it the further conception of bringing together into one view all words having the same general meaning. He classified all the words in the Bible under about 250 heads, and to each of these heads assigned a number, so that it might be conveniently referred to. That in the midst of his ever-moving life and his pressing labours he should find time for so laborious a work is a signal testimony to his vigour and steadfastness.

Nothing is more remarkable than the readiness with which, when he left New Zealand, he accommodated himself to the widely-different conditions of his new episcopate. Perhaps at Lichfield he sometimes longed for the "free air" of an unestablished Church; but while in New Zealand he steadfastly resisted any encroachment of the Colonial Government, in England he was very far from wishing to separate Church and State, and he had but little sympathy with those who deliberately break the law of the land under the plea of obeying the Church. Whether in New Zealand or at Lichfield, he is always the obedient officer of the Church—the actually existing Church of England, not the imaginary body to which some pay allegiance—learning "in whatsoever state he is, therewith to be content." On the whole, the first Metropolitan of the Pacific Islands compares not unfavourably with the first Metropolitan of Germany, the English Boniface.

Mr. Tucker has done his part well, except that he here and there expresses his own opinion rather unnecessarily. As he is not a Constitutional lawyer, nor writing a Constitutional history, he is in no way called upon to describe the Public Worship Regulation Act as "a flagrant breach of the Constitution." He should have contented himself with describing Bishop Selwyn's attitude towards it, which he has done very fairly. With regard to the unfortunate Maori war, we do not of course blame Mr. Tucker for looking at it with the bishop's eyes; yet it is only fair to remember that many of those best qualified to judge believed that the war was forced upon Governor Gore Browne by Wiremu Kingi; "that chief's conduct," wrote the Duke of Newcastle (Despatch to Sir G. Grey, August 25, 1863), "from first to last, seems to me to have been inconsistent with any degree of submission to the Queen's sovereignty over New Zealand." The New Zealand House of Representatives passed a resolution in the same sense; the Chief Justice—presumably a man capable of forming a fair opinion—held the same view. And the New Zealand authorities were pretty well agreed as to the misery which would befall the natives if, the Queen's authority not being upheld, they were left to their old tribal feuds and animosities. But, whatever opinion we may hold as to the origin of the war, our admiration for the bishop's noble conduct in it is in no way diminished.

Bishop Selwyn said of Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, "there are few points, if any, on which I differ from the Bishop of Lincoln." They are, in fact, representatives of the same school, the school which we may conveniently call the Old-Anglican, as contrasted with the Neo-Catholic or Ritualistic. This school is earnest in contending for the authority of Scripture while reverencing primitive antiquity, accepts the Reformation as a benefit, and is keenly hostile to the claims of the Church of Rome. Bishop Wordsworth, for instance, is quite clear that the Lady of the Seven Hills, in the Apocalypse, is papal, and not pagan Rome. He is probably the most learned representative of this school, certainly the most productive of literature. He, almost alone among the men of this degenerate age, recalls the days when the writings of a theologian who reached his three-score years and ten might be expected to fill several folio volumes. It has been given to few men to complete so great a work as his "Commentary on the Bible;" and this represents but a part of his literary activity; travels, scholarship, lectures, biography, correspondence, controversy, poetry—all these are included in his writings. And none of his works are light or ephemeral; all are learned, careful, and scholarly. The volumes which lie before us (*Miscellanies, Literary and Religious*, by Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. London: Rivingtons, 1879) might have been called, if the bishop had been disposed to parody Professor Max Müller, "Chips from an Anglican Workshop," for they contain the various smaller works thrown off at intervals in the course of his busy life. We have here the excellent little treatise on the Pompeian *Graffiti*, or wall-scribblings; notes of tours in Greece, in France, and in Italy; papers called forth by the Vatican

Council of 1869, and by the Congress of Old Catholics at Cologne; tracts on the Inspiration of the Bible and its Interpretation; on the use of unfermented wine at Holy Communion, called forth by a total objection to fermented wine; on art in connection with religion, called forth by the proposed decoration of a cemetery chapel; on Cremation and Burial—in which the bishop shows himself, we think, a little over-timid with regard to the effect on the popular mind of reducing the human frame to ashes; on Religion in Science—a sermon preached in the church at Colsterworth, Sir Isaac Newton's birthplace; on the religious use of classical studies; on the spread of infidelity and the need of a learned clergy; on the destiny of Mohammedanism, *à propos* of the "Turkish Question;" on ecclesiastical legislation and jurisdiction; on diocesan synods; on clerical non-residence; on the sale of Church patronage and on simony; on marriage and divorce; and on marriage with a deceased wife's sister; on clerical celibacy and on sisterhoods and vows; on English cathedrals; on the Church of England, past, present, and future; on the continuity of the Church of England; on capital punishment; and we have besides a Pastoral to Wesleyan Methodists; a collection of maxims for the use of the Theological School at Lincoln; and the "Holy Year," a series of hymns following the course of the ecclesiastical calendar. It is, of course, impossible within our limits to criticize so varied a series of works, but this we may say of their general character. Not one of these works is slight or careless; not one of them has the air—like so many modern collections of *Miscellanea*—of being written simply for amusement or to attract notice; even in his travels the bishop thinks of edification. We may say that the publication of every paper in these volumes has been dictated by a sincere wish to do good; to defend some truth which is assailed, or to bring into light some truth which is in danger of being forgotten. And a life of literary activity of this kind is, in its own way, not less admirable than that of a missionary. To maintain truth in the old centres of Christianity is a work not less important than to propagate it in distant lands.

There is not much resemblance between Christopher Wordsworth and Frederic Ozanam, but probably this sentence, "He had always a great horror of becoming simply a man of letters, and nothing else," would apply to one as well as the other; for both would regard the maintenance of truth and the good of mankind as the proper end and aim of their work. *Frederic Ozanam, his Life and Works*, by Kathleen O'Meara (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.), gives an interesting account of a very interesting person, one of those cultivated French Roman Catholics who are earnest in defence of the faith without confining their thoughts and studies to the narrow round of partisan manuals which satisfy the more bigoted members of their Church. He was a Roman Catholic of unswerving faith, and yet had in matters not of faith the curiosity and flexibility of a true Frenchman. It was Ozanam who, with some half-dozen friends as poor as himself, founded the society of St. Vincent de Paul, as a practical answer to the St. Simonians, who reproached the Catholics with doing nothing for the welfare of the people. He was still under thirty when he began to lecture on foreign literature at the Sorbonne as M. Fauriel's deputy, and only thirty-one when he became Professor on Fauriel's death—the youngest Professor that had ever been appointed there; and certainly his works on the "Civilization of the Fifth Century," and on "Dante and the Catholic Philosophy of the Thirteenth Century," entitle him to a high place in French literature. Yet even in Ozanam, a naturally candid man, we can see that his religious views placed him in some respects at a disadvantage; he was unable to look fairly at theories which did not square with his conception of Catholicism; he always saw the heroes of his own faith in a rosy light of imagination; while in those who differed from him—as, for instance, in Jouffroy—he always thought he detected "sophistry and false science." Still, the decided bias and eager temperament which sometimes perverted his views of history add something of interest to his life, and probably it would be difficult to find a man who more earnestly endeavoured to live up to his conception of duty, or one more beloved by his friends than Frederic Ozanam.

Mr. Walter Besant's *Life of Gaspard de Coligny, Marquis de Chatillon*, which forms a volume of *The New Plutarch* (London: Marcus Ward and Co.), supplies an interesting account of the famous Admiral de Coligny, who was once the leader of the Reformed party in France, and perished in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. It is a deeply-interesting recital, and Mr. Besant is no doubt right in saying that with Coligny perished the hope of the Reformation succeeding in France. But in truth it seems to us doomed from the first; even under more favourable political circum-

stances, we can hardly imagine the Protestantism of Coligny or of Calvin becoming the religion of the French nation. It drew to itself some of the best men in France, but it was too narrow, too reasonable, too little emotional or impressive, to move the people at large. Even in Coligny, a man who passed his life in the great world, we see the faults which stunted the Reformation in France. Of Mr. Besant's work we have to say, that it is extremely well and brightly written; the first English life of Coligny is worthy of him. The only fault we have to find with the author is, that his touch is rather too rapid; it would have added to the interest of the book if he had introduced fewer persons, and treated those whom he did introduce at somewhat greater length.

We have to notice a new edition (Pickering, London) of the late Archdeacon Churton's *Early English Church*. It is a convenient manual of the Pre-Reformation history, by a scholar and divine of the old Anglican school. It was first written when English writers had hardly abandoned the custom of describing the religion existing in England from Gregory to Warham as mere superstition and imposture, and it represents the beginning of the reaction against that view. Not that the archdeacon was by any means favourable to Rome; he had the old English dislike for Popery, which he regarded as having been introduced into England by the fault of the Civil Government. In that view, we think, he was wrong, but the book is, on the whole, both a fair and an interesting epitome of early English Church History.

Heroes of the Mission Field, by the Right Rev. W. Pakenham Walsh, D.D., Bishop of Ossory (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1879), consists of a series of sketches of eminent missionaries of various communions, principally, however, of that of the Pre-Reformation Church. Beginning with "Apostolic and early missions during the first three centuries," it brings before the reader, in succession, vigorous and well-written sketches of St. Martin of Tours, A.D. 347-397; Ulphilas, the Apostle of the Goths, A.D. 341-388; St. Patrick, A.D. 432-493 and his followers; St. Augustine in England, A.D. 596-605; St. Boniface in Germany, A.D. 716-755; Anschar, the Apostle of the North, A.D. 826-865; Adalbert, Missionary and Martyr amongst the Slavonians, A.D. 983-987; Otto, the Apostle of Pomerania, A.D. 1124-1139; Raymund Lull, Philosopher, Missionary Martyr, A.D. 1291-1315; Francis Xavier, Missionary to the Indies and Japan, A.D. 1541-1552; Eliot, the Apostle of the Red Indians, A.D. 1646-1690; Hans Egede, the Apostle of Greenland, A.D. 1721-1758; and Christian Frederic Schwartz, A.D. 1750-1798. Thus, with the exception of the three last, a Congregationalist and two Lutherans, the latter employed by the Church of England, the whole belong to the Eastern or Western Church, and all did their work before the Reformation, except Xavier. The selection shows the breadth of sympathy and catholicity of spirit which pervades the volume, and is perhaps more likely to interest the general reader than illustrations of the missionary spirit chosen more largely from recent times. Many to whom modern names of missionary heroism are familiar will be pleased to meet fresh and genial glimpses of others of whom they may not yet have an equal knowledge. Bishop Walsh has done his work carefully, and with a judicial calmness of estimate which gives it a greater value than less discriminating writers secure. While there is a fine glow of Christian feeling there is a temperateness of judgment, and the sketches though necessarily brief are evidently the result of careful investigation of authorities. The Bishop's object, as stated by himself, "has been to exhibit the progress of the Christian Church from a missionary standpoint, and to show how the various nations and people of Christendom received their knowledge of the Christian faith." The desire not only to diffuse missionary information, but to enlist or increase the sympathies of a larger number in Christian missions, he tells us, has been his highest ambition in executing his task, and we cannot but think that it will be attained in not a few cases. Themistocles kindled his enthusiasm by looking at the trophies of Miltiades, and the heroic spirits of the rising generation may well rouse theirs by reading the doings of the heroes recorded in this volume.

II.—MODERN HISTORY.

(Under the Direction of Professor GARDINER.)

MR. GREEN, in the third volume of his *History of the English People* (London: Macmillan & Co.), has brought his narrative down almost to the close of the reign of Charles II. It need not be said that he tells with his usual vigour the story of the exciting epoch which opened with the death of Elizabeth. He has paid considerable attention, too, to the criticisms which were so freely lavished on his former work, and has been careful to eradicate many of the blunders by which it was defaced. There are, however, plenty still remaining. One would have thought, for instance, that if there was any one quotation that he would have been more likely to give accurately than another, it would have been that in which he reports the well-known phrase in which Strafford, at the meeting of the Committee after the dissolution of the Short Parliament, announced that there was an army in Ireland which might be used to "reduce this kingdom." With curious infelicity, Mr. Green asserts that Strafford said it was to be used "to reduce that kingdom to obedience." If Strafford had said this, the words would plainly have pointed to Scotland, and Pym would never have taken the trouble to quote them.

It is unnecessary to pursue the subject further. It is more interesting to ask why it is that Mr. Green fails to make allowances for the Royalists great or small, and accordingly fails to give the Royalist party its due place as a factor in English political development. It may fairly be allowed to Mr. Green that the party of Parliamentary supremacy was not only the victorious party in the end, but that it contributed by far the most important element to the future Constitution. But if we compare Pym's House of Commons with the House of Commons of the present day, it is at once discovered that they differ by the absence or presence of Cabinet Government on the one hand, and of guarantees for individual liberty on the other. What was presented to Bacon and Strafford and Charles was the direct rule of the House of Commons without either a Cabinet to guide its deliberations, or a free press to enable the minority to appeal to the sense of the nation. No doubt they were instigated in their resistance by many other causes than pure political theory. But no historian who has really taken the trouble to investigate in detail the records of Charles's Parliaments will fail to discover far more reasonableness in the conduct of the Royalist party than Mr. Green is inclined to allow.

To say this is by no means to deny that Mr. Green has attached himself to the more important element of the two which are harmoniously blended in our present Constitution. An organ of government without an organ of representation runs necessarily to despotism. An organ of representation, when it has once obtained the mastery, is certain sooner or later to call into existence an organ of government. An able writer, indeed, in the last number of the *Quarterly Review*, holds that the Civil War was mainly the fault of Pym. It is easy to maintain that one side is aggressive when the movements on the other side are left out of account. To tell the story of that momentous first year of the Long Parliament, we must indeed have recourse, like the *Quarterly*, to "D'Ewes's Diary." But we must also have recourse to Rossetti and Giustinian, men familiar with the Court and sympathizing with its efforts, in order that we may learn how the suspicions of Pym were in great part justified; how almost from the very beginning the Queen was ready to invite a French army to England to defend her cause; how, when Charles went to Scotland, it was upon a deliberate understanding with the Scottish Commissioners that a Scottish army should be placed at his command to restore his old authority in England; and how the attempt on the Five Members was but the special form taken by a blow which he had long been meditating. Many indefensible things indeed were done by the Parliamentary leaders, but they cannot fairly be accused of standing on their defence without a cause.

From Mr. Green's History it is not so long a step as it would seem to the fourth volume of Mr. Theodore Martin's *Life of His Royal Highness the Prince*

Consort (Smith, Elder, and Co.). From the tale of Parliaments failing for want of the guidance of a Cabinet, we are brought into a position to observe the inner working of the relations between the modern Cabinet and the Crown. It is probable that before the publication of Mr. Bagehot's *Essays on the Constitution*, the mass even of the political class had very little knowledge on the subject, and Mr. Martin now comes with special authority to show that Mr. Bagehot's theory was founded upon actual facts. The impression left by Mr. Martin's narrative will, to all unprejudiced minds, be decidedly favourable to the system pursued under the Prince's influence. It may be granted that it would be undesirable that an irresponsible adviser should exert pressure on the Cabinet to bring it to act in a way to which it was itself adverse. Nothing of the kind, however, is reported in these volumes as having ever been done under the Prince's guidance. He often caused his opinions to be laid before this or that minister, and no minister can be the worse for having to take into consideration opinions opposed to his own. If there was reason to suspect that the minister would not pay sufficient attention to the advice given, the Queen directed the Prince to lay it before the Cabinet. Nothing further was then done. To take such a course as this was to provide for the proper working of the constitutional machinery, not to violate its spirit. A Cabinet may indeed allow itself to be dominated by the force of will of one statesman; but it is at least advisable that it should have the opportunity of pronouncing its judgment. On one occasion, in the course of the three years to which this volume relates, a headstrong minister broke away from these restrictions. We learn that the notorious despatch with which Lord Ellenborough hastily and intemperately criticized Lord Canning's *Oude* proclamation was sent off without being previously submitted either to the Sovereign or the Cabinet. The result was certainly not satisfactory.

To turn from the constitutional position claimed for the Crown by the Prince to his opinions on large questions of policy, we are at once attracted to his efforts to keep the peace between France and Austria in 1859, and to his cautious wisdom in restraining the Liberal ministers from intervening after the war was over to involve their country in a partnership with the French Emperor, instead of leaving him to extricate himself from the web of contradictory engagements in which he had entangled his feet. The course which the Prince took was doubtless the best that could be taken. He believed fully in the doctrine of non-intervention, and he did not think that the despots of Europe were likely to contribute much towards the development of free government. Yet it is evident that there was a side of the subject which he did not see. He cared for constitutional freedom and intelligent rule. He showed no sign of caring much for the rights of nationalities. He talked of the composite Empire of Austria as a State in the same way as he would have talked of France or Spain as a State. As such it was not to be meddled with from without. Yet obviously the position of a tyrannical French Government oppressing Frenchmen is quite different from that of a tyrannical Government in Austria oppressing Lombardy. In the first case the cause of liberty would best be served by leaving the tyrant alone. To attack him would be to throw on his side the force of patriotism. The national sentiment would be certain sooner or later to be awakened against him, and would in time reach even those military forces on which he relied. Nothing of the kind was the case with Lombardy and Venice. No patriotism would ever have induced the inhabitants of those provinces to take the part of one who was but an alien oppressor. No growth of hostile feeling on their part was ever likely to work a change in the breasts of the Germans and Slavonians who held them down. To defend the doctrine of non-intervention in such a case was to uphold the perpetual slavery of one nation to another.

Yet for all that it is no blame to the Prince that he looked with some contempt on Lord Palmerston's habit of throwing himself vehemently from time to time on the side of an Emperor who gave out that he was going to do great things for Italy. The opinions of the ablest and most thoughtful practical men are apt to be restricted within the special conditions under which they work, and it is certain that the Prince was quite wise in holding back England, with all his counsel, from forwarding Napoleon's plans. An Emperor who went about talking of the reconstruction of the treaties of Vienna, and of fighting for the honour and interests of France, was certainly not the partner that a decent nation would care to have in a great enterprise. Nor on the other hand was there any hope from the combination of European Governments. The despotic Powers of Europe were not likely to care much for Italian liberty. If ever the time comes when a Continental opinion is reflected in the European Governments in favour of the rights of nations rather than of the rights of States, that time had certainly not arrived in 1859. It would have been better

perhaps if the Prince had not taken so much interest in those futile negotiations which preceded the outbreak of the war, and which ignored the real point of importance. What was the use of dealing with the relations between Austria and the lesser States as long as she continued to hold Lombardy and Venetia? The Emperor repelled the moral sense of the Prince when he declared he must have *une guerre ou une éclatante satisfaction pour moi*. When he said that Austria had "brought things to this extremity, that either she must rule up to the Alps or Italy be free to the Adriatic," he gave utterance to a truth which the Prince, as far as we learn from this volume, entirely ignored.

The concluding volume, which is still to come, will be of considerable interest. The Prince's services were so great to his adopted country, and his character was so high and his intelligence so clear, that he can well bear the criticism that he did not perceive the whole truth of a tangled situation of which smaller men can grasp the clue with the advantage of the knowledge brought by passing time.

It is not, however, on the Prince's political sagacity that the bulk of the readers of Mr. Martin's book will dwell the longest. The relations between the Cabinet and the Crown, and the relations between States and Nations, interest the thoughtful few. The spectacle of a pure and intelligent domestic life comes home to the hearts of all. The readers of this volume will be able in some little measure to comprehend the love with which the Prince inspired those amongst whom his daily life was placed.

It is satisfactory to learn that Dr. Jessopp's *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, the reputation of which has long ago been established, has been republished in a handier form (Burns and Oates). The Roman Catholic Missionaries who suffered in Elizabeth's reign deserve their meed of acknowledgment, and it is well that it should come heartily from a writer who does not share in their special creed. Some of Dr. Jessopp's readers will probably be startled by his assertion that the Jesuits, so far from being crafty beyond all other men, were too enthusiastic to avoid the traps which were set for them by the Government. The statement, however, is well borne out by the evidence. It is happily one of Dr. Jessopp's peculiarities that he goes to the bottom of his subject. Most of his readers will glide pleasantly over the graceful narrative which leads them through the scenes of life and death. Experts will admire the carefulness with which the side lights are thrown in after evidently close inquiry. To others the sense of industry is lost in the brilliancy of the effect.

Two recent French works of note have lately appeared in an English dress—Jules Simon's *Government of M. Thiers* (Sampson Low & Co.), and the Duke of Broglie's *King's Secret* (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin). The translation of the latter is particularly well done.

III.—BOOKS OF TRAVEL.

(Under the Direction of Professor E. H. PALMER.)

MEN and Things—Russian, by the Rev. James Christie (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot), is a cheery, chatty little book, but cannot be said to add much to our knowledge of Russia. The description of the voyage thither, at any rate, has no bearing upon either men or things Russian, except, perhaps, in the case of the Atlantic steamer which Mr. Christie saw in Leith roads, which had "been run ashore, got off, and patched up, and which the owners were then trying to sell to the Russian Government to be added to the six already fitted out to sweep British commerce from the seas." This sets Mr. Christie off on a digression, in the course of which he makes the remarkable statement that "if England can put forty cruisers over against seven of Russia, it almost stands to a certainty that Russia may set Afghanistan over against Cyprus." The meaning of this mystical sentence we cannot pretend to explain; but it is only fair to add that Mr. Christie's style as a rule is simple and straightforward. He digresses at some length about the drink question, about religion, and Mr. Plimsoll, but "the longest voyage comes to an end some time;" and he at length fairly lands his reader in Russia, and gives an interesting, almost idyllic, account of the life of the Finns, in whose country he spent a few days.

It is always pleasant to read the travels of a man who finds nothing to grumble at; and our author observes at Moscow, after praising the "great Slav hotel of this great Slav city, in which everything, from the costume of the hall-porters to the lavatory fountains in the bedrooms, is after the old Russian pattern," that to say it was comfortable "would be superfluous, . . . and although guide-books and travellers warn you against the hotels in Russia, I neither suffered any annoyance nor was subject to any extortion here or elsewhere."

A visit to the great monastery of Troitsa and to the fair of Nijni Novgorod completed Mr. Christie's holiday tour, and his account of both is well worth reading. It is strange to find that he is quite unconscious of the fact that the ceremony of "beating the bounds" took place in most English parishes a few years ago, for he describes the Russian peasants as using this "novel and to some memorable" method of impressing on the rising generation the geography of their village. Also, we cannot allow that "selling the bear's skin before you have hunted him" is a Russian proverb, "whose nationality is so evident that no one will suspect I am manufacturing it for the occasion." Can Mr. Christie never have read the "Legend of Montrose," where Dugald Dalgetty, who may, by the way, have learned the proverb in Germany, uses it to answer Lord Menteith's tempting offers? Neither did the ten thousand Greeks cry, *Θάλασση, Θάλασση* (sic)! as Mr. Christie tells us they did. But when he does not quote Greek or make little jokes he gives capital descriptions of all that he saw, and especially of the great development of industrial life among the emancipated serfs. Of Nihilists, Vera Sassulitch, &c., we read but little, and almost the only story which reminds us that Russia is a despotic country is that of the German waiter at Warsaw, who said to his fellow-servants that the fall of Plevna was bad news for Poland. Next morning he received an "invitation" to visit the police court. Here the following dialogue occurred:—"You have said that the fall of Plevna was bad for Poland?" "No, I did not." A door immediately opened, and a fellow-waiter, with the cook of the hotel, stepped into the court. They gave their evidence, and the magistrate's quick decision was given in the laconic terms, "Cross the frontier immediately."

Mr. Aylward begins the preface to his book on the Transvaal (*The Transvaal of To-day*, by Alfred Aylward. W. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London), by expressing an expectation in which he has certainly been justified by the event; namely, that "the South African Question will probably, by the time this work reaches the public, be a burning one;" albeit the burning stage has not been reached in the precise manner which he anticipated. For he talks with a certain contempt of the Zulu nation as a "bug-bear" and "Bogy," and of a "certain domestic devil kept up by politicians for everyday use, whose name is Cetywayo." His book is chiefly devoted to an account of the occupation or annexation of the Transvaal Republic—a subject which, when the excitement and alarm caused by his "bug-bear" shall have died away, may supply matter for serious and possibly unpleasant reflection to many of his countrymen. He writes in some measure as a partisan, having been employed by the late Transvaal Government as commander of a small body of volunteer troops: and evidently takes a warm interest in what he considers the rights and wrongs of the Dutch settlers.

The idea of the forcible annexation of a civilized people excites a feeling of deep aversion in this country—an aversion we should be very sorry to see lessened. It is true that an annexation effected in a day by twenty-five mounted policemen is a very different thing from an annexation effected by Krupp guns. We must go further, and admit that colonies stand on a different footing from ancient and populous communities. Lands out of the bounds of civilization, whose barbarous aborigines by universal consent may be placed under the rule of more enlightened races, lie as it were open to the European Power that is best able to seize them. The colonist, broadly speaking, is either a temporary settler, and in that case although the flag which flies over the settlement should be changed, he may retain his old nationality: or he has already cut himself loose from it by intending to become a permanent inhabitant, and can hardly be said to have acquired a new one which would be outraged by a transfer of allegiance. His comparatively nomad state makes it easy for him to remove if he dislikes the government under which he finds himself. The Transvaal, a country "as large as France," contains amongst an enormous majority of natives only about 7000 Boer families, and they have not established a settled government for more than nineteen years. They can scarcely be said to have "made a nation," and they have long ceased to belong

to any European community. But though it may be allowed that their case is of a different moral complexion from certain instances of annexation in Europe, it by no means follows that they have nothing to complain of. A treaty formally entered into in the year 1852 has been arbitrarily torn up. Certain conditions were indeed implied in this treaty, but it appears very doubtful whether the Boers can be fairly accused of failing to fulfil these conditions. Above all, Lord Carnarvon gave orders to the Natal Government that there should be no annexation "unless you shall be satisfied that the inhabitants. . . desire to become British subjects." But no sufficient means seem to have been taken in April, 1877, to ascertain the wishes of the community; and in the summer of 1878, a memorial against the incorporation of the Transvaal, signed by some 6000 out of a "possible 8000 voters," accompanied by a very temperately-written letter of remonstrance, was presented to the Colonial Secretary. Possibly the case of the British Government has yet to be fairly stated, but unless a very different light is finally thrown upon the question from that in which our author places it, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Boers have suffered harsh and unjust usage. At the same time Mr. Aylward is unable to show that the transfer excited any very violent feelings at the time. It was not till "the end of August" that "the people awoke to a sense of injury." He talks of congratulatory addresses and feasting, and of hospitable receptions given not only by English settlers but by the Dutch to British officials. He was himself present at a public dinner given to General Sir A. Cunynghame at Lydenberg, which seems to have left a painful impression on his mind so far as the cookery was concerned—for "the food in fact was raw," and "blood followed the knife whether turkey or sucking-pig was attempted to be dissected;" but in spite of accompaniments certainly calculated to damp conviviality, the relations between hosts and guests seem to have been perfectly genial.

Mr. Aylward gives much information for the use of Europeans wishing to travel in South Africa. He earnestly advises them, when in the ruder parts of the country, to live in their own waggons, and to avoid inns. Certainly, if one inn, which he describes, "in a capital town" is to be taken as a sample of the hotel accommodation of the country, few will care to avail themselves of it. "The bedrooms," he says, ". . . consist of a row of brick cells far too low and badly ventilated for stables. These rooms are 12 feet by 10, are only 8 feet high in front, and are covered with corrugated iron. . . . In summer these terrible, single-brick, iron-roofed ovens are simply maddening. I have known the heat in them to exceed 160° at night, and their twelve or thirteen occupants were provided with only one tub for their joint use—a circumstance suggestive of every kind of discomfort. On the iron roof pigeons take morning walks, feeding on mealies, rattling, tearing, and scraping, cooing and fluttering, to the utter banishment of sleep."

Mr. Aylward does not seem to anticipate any very rapid increase of the white inhabitants or trade of the Transvaal, as long as no railway communication with Delagoa Bay, or indeed with any part of the coast, exists. The country is rough and wild, inhabited by a very primitive class of farmers, and offers scanty attractions to any but young and vigorous emigrants, prepared to face various discomforts. The author shows no inclination to conceal these. Indeed on the very outside of his book we find a lively and, at least in one instance, unexpected representation of the unpleasantnesses to which visitors to the interior may find themselves subject. Three out of four small medallions contain pictures of inconveniences for which the European mind is not altogether unprepared: namely, a lion and a buffalo engaged in dispatching human victims, and a formidable-looking savage; but the contents of the fourth would hardly be anticipated by any one unacquainted with the Transvaal. It seems that Mr. Aylward's Boer friends share the opinions of one of Mrs. Gaskell's inimitable old ladies, who, being cross-questioned by her friends in a moment of confidence as to "what would frighten her more than anything," replies in a sounding whisper, "ghosts"—in the Boer language "spookes." The English traveller, if he can succeed in dealing with the wild beasts and the Kaffirs, will probably not object much to the ghosts; least of all to so pretty a "spooke" as appears on the scarlet cover of the book before us. And Mr. Aylward's account of the apparition, or "spirit of the storm," is even more attractive. On a summer afternoon, in front of the thunder-shower advancing from the Drakenberg (the very name seems redolent of old Teutonic mythology), the solitary rider sees "a young, fair, ethereal, golden-haired female, whose robes of glittering white trail just over the highest points of the grass . . . coming floating towards him with outstretched arms." It is strange indeed to find a tradition surviving among these simple Low-Germans

which seems to preserve unchanged in their minds the form of some Frisian or Old Saxon deity. Bertha or Holda appears to have accompanied their grandfathers across the line, and, escaping the usual fate of degradation into a demon, holds a place in their imaginations which she has probably lost in those of their European kindred.

In conclusion, we must remark that Mr. Aylward's book, though containing much that is of interest, bears marks of somewhat hasty putting together, and would be the better for some revision and condensation. He occasionally falls into a slipshod or slangy style. There is really no excuse for saying that "a man took sick when riding," or that "the peace would likely be disturbed," &c., for he can write perfectly good English when he pleases. And what can possibly be the meaning of "despotism tempered by polygamy?"

IV.—ESSAYS, NOVELS, POETRY, &c.

(Under the Direction of MATTHEW BROWNE.)

SOME weeks ago a paragraph went the round of the papers telling us that it would be a long time before we again had a novel from the pen of George Eliot, but in the meanwhile we have *Impressions of Theophrastus Such* (William Blackwood and Sons), in one handsome volume of 357 pages; and a "Publishers' Note" informs us that "the manuscript of this work was put into their hands towards the close of last year, but the publication has been delayed owing to the domestic affliction of the Author." Much curiosity has been felt about this book, and we fear there will now be a little disappointment. The two first chapters, "Looking Inward" and "Looking Backward," in which Mr. Theophrastus Such tells us all he can about himself seem to have no organic—we are inclined to say no *true*—connection with the rest of the book. It looks as if the writer had some suspicion that there was a little occasional acridity (more than a little) in the detached essays which follow, and had set himself to deprecate too harsh a conclusion upon that little matter. But unless our ear be too sensitive, the deprecation is a little awkwardly self-conscious. At all events the moral criticism in the detached essays has too often something corrosive about it, and something over-elaborate too. The short essay concerning the Jews with which the volume closes would alone command a large sale for the book, and all the other essays (such as "False Testimonials," "Small Authorship," "A Political Molecule," &c. &c.) are of course characteristic and good; but some of them we should guess to have been written long ago, and none of them have the grace, the quiet, fluent, unlaboured humour (as distinguished from sarcasm and *magazinish* humour) which the subjects appear to require. There is something hard-mouthed in the handling; and, in short, the topics (with the exception of Essays xiv. and xv.) should have been dealt with more at large or more in little. The essays look at present like icy splinters. From "Looking Backward" we gladly steal the pleasantest passage in the book:

"A crumbling bit of wall where the delicate ivy-leaved trap-flat hangs its light branches, or a bit of grey thatch with patches of dark moss on its shoulder, and a troop of grass stems on its ridge, is a thing to visit. And then the tiled roof of cottage and homestead, of the long cow-shed where generations of the milky mothers have stood patiently, of the broad-shouldered barns, where the old-fashioned flail once made resonant music, while the watch-dog barked at the timidly-venturesome fowls making pecking raids on the outlying grain—the roofs that have looked out from among the elms and walnut trees, or beside the yearly group of hay and corn stacks, or below the square stone steeple, gathering their grey or ochre-tinted lichens and their olive-green mosses under all ministries—let us praise the sober harmonies they give to our landscape, helping to unite us pleasantly with the elder generation who tilled the soil for us before we were born, and paid heavier and heavier taxes with much grumbling, but without that deepest root of corruption, self-indulgent despair, which cuts down and consumes and never plants."

The motto, part of which we quote,

"Suspicio si quis errabit sua,
Et rapiet ad se quod erit commune omnium,
Stulte nudabit animi conscientiam,"

was unnecessary on the whole. Though the reference to sellers of devitalized seeds, and to paper-soled boots for soldiers, can hardly help being taken for "personal." George Eliot is *unduly* successful in avoiding direct applications. This is one cause of the harsh involutions of her style. A little less vitriol and a little *more* directness would be an improvement. A mild solution of contempt, flung straight at Jones's eye, may leave a more wholesome impression than this profuse squirting of corrosives all round, accompanied by disclaimers which barely escape being corrosive too. It must not be supposed that we think George Eliot—or Mr. Such—too severe in, say, *Essays* iii., xi., and xvi.; which may be roughly described as relating to certain forms of literary dishonesty, and to a current absurdity in the use of the word "moral." More severity could well be endured, if it took the shape of a straight shot or thrust; but Mr. Such cupping-glasses the patient all over, and then performs a sort of mock happy-despatch upon himself. This will cure nobody. The topics of those three essays have been handled more than once by the present writer, in exactly the same sense and with similar illustrations; and the treatment assuredly lost nothing by directness, to whatever degree it fell below that of Mr. Such in other respects. It would be very refreshing to victims like Merman (*Essay* iii.) and to sufferers from Euphorion's "dirty ase" of "majestic conceptions" (p. 191) to find some one with a good pulpit and a strong voice singling them out from the crowd by name and denouncing them hotly without any self-depreciation whatever. The principle, "There, but for the grace of God, goes John Bradford" (very amusingly referred to in this book), is good in its place, but it would have broken the back of Nathan's "Thou art the man."

One of the contributors of biographical memoranda to Mrs. Kingsley's *Memoirs* of her husband, the late Canon, was Mr. C. Kegan Paul, who seems to have studied under him. Mr. Kegan Paul related a characteristic anecdote in which the name of Heine figured. He happened to quote him one day at Mr. Kingsley's table at Eversley, when little Miss Kingsley (we presume the "Rose" of the dedication of "*The Heroes*") said, "Who was Heine, papa?" Kingsley looked grave, and made answer, "A bad man, my dear"—which Mr. Kegan Paul tells us he took as a rebuke to himself. One might pause upon this and observe that things have come to a pretty pass if only those writers who can be pronounced good men from a clergyman's point of view are to be quoted before the young (it is to be presumed that there was no harm accessible to a child in what Mr. Paul quoted, which was probably in German); but the verdict was quite after Kingsley's manner. We cannot say that his sufferings ought to have shielded the poor poet, for then we might be asked how we should propose to characterize Titus Oates or Dangerfield; but perhaps his repentance and his return to religious trust in his late years might have pleaded for him—even if there had been any proved wisdom in throwing verdicts of this kind at the heads of the young. However, a breakfast-table criticism is—a breakfast-table criticism; and Heine was not "a bad man," though he was terribly wanting in moral balance all his life. Certainly the ordinary English reader would be surprised at Kingsley's dictum if he were simply to read the volume before us: *Wit, Wisdom, and Pathos, from the Prose of Heinrich Heine; with a few Pieces from the "Book of Songs,"* selected and translated by J. Snodgrass (Trübner and Co., London; Alex. Gardner, Edinburgh and Paisley). Of course the selection made by Mr. Snodgrass is a selection, and it may be laid upon the drawing-room table; but there is little in Heine that is not more or less represented in this unpretending volume of not much more than 300 pages. That is a bold thing to say; but the method or trick of his mind was uniform, well-nigh unto tediousness. Difficult as it is to translate him, he can be imitated—with more or less success. The worst point in his manner is its want of complete sincerity. His brilliancy has nothing satisfactory about it; and his most pathetic passages do not nestle to your bosom and stay there. His characterizations are exceedingly valuable, as Mr. Snodgrass has not failed to discern; he is never so pleasant as when he is doing homage to a Luther or a Lessing. His love of his mother and his capacity of hero-worship should certainly stand between him and any such phrase as "bad man." Mr. Snodgrass has written a very intelligent Introduction to the Selection, and there is an Index; but the book would have been

much more valuable if analysis and classification had been carried further. Heine is a great self-repeater (as well he might be, poor victim!), and his best things might all be brought within half-a-dozen categories.

Messrs. Chatto and Windus have published *Primitive Manners and Customs*, by James A. Farrer,—a stout, well-printed octavo volume of, more than three hundred pages. It is impossible to criticize in a small compass such a mass of detail, and Mr. Farrer puts forward a modest and reasonable claim to be more than a compiler—more than a classifier of material gathered by others. There is a Table of Contents, which is nearly as good as an Index; but an Index would have been better.

Mr. Farrer manipulates his material with full confidence in the usually received deductions of "archæological science," and his Introduction supplies the key to his views generally on these matters. But he raises more questions than he settles. He argues, for example, in this way on the missionary question:—"Wherever native theology takes the form of cannibalism, Sutteeism, human sacrifices, or other rites directly destructive of earthly happiness, there the teaching of missionaries affords the only hope of a speedy reform, the only acquaintance possible for savage tribes with a culture higher than their own, save that which is likely to come to them through the medium of the brandy-bottle or the bayonet. But to send missions to countries like Russia or China, where there exist established systems of religion un-defiled by cruelty violates the first principle of the faith so conveyed, disturbing the peace of families and nations with the curse of religious animosity. When the Jesuits entreated the Chinese Emperor, Young-tching, to reconsider his resolution to proscribe Christianity, there was some reason in the Imperial answer: 'What should you say if I sent a troop of lamas and bouzes to your country to preach their law there?' The Taeping rebellion, or civil war, which devastated China for about fifteen years, desolating hundreds of miles of fair towns and fertile fields, and fought out among massacres, sieges, and famines of quite indescribable cruelty and horror, owed its impulse distinctly to the working of Christian tracts among the more ignorant classes, followed by a fanatical endeavour to substitute a travesty of Christianity for the older religion; yet the seeds of all this misery are still sown in China, in the name and by the ministers of a religion of Peace, a religion that has for its first and final rule of life the duty of so dealing with others as we should wish them to deal with ourselves." We give the author the full benefit of his own way of putting the case, but it will not impress any one of intense religious feeling, whatever his creed may be. It assumes, for example, that we can judge of what promotes and what hinders human happiness, without taking into account matters which lie far outside of physical safety, social ease, and political order. It assumes, again, that a certain set of men, called a nation, squatting on a certain portion of the space of the planet, may have to that space a right of such a quality as to entitle them to exclude by force any human being born outside of it, who may claim to come with a message from the Upper Powers that concerns all human beings alike. If we grant ordinary vulgar "international" postulates as final,—it is one thing; but suppose we set them aside as merely tentative vulgarities and stupidities? In fact we cannot decide even this apparently simple question of conduct, without striking upon the lowest rocks of "sociology." From the proposition (admitted all round by sane people), that you have no right to preach to a man who is unwilling to listen, it seems easy to go on to say,—and, therefore, not to a nation whose Government wishes to shut you out. But it does *not* follow, unless the political Dissenter (for example) is prepared to concede to the Emperor of China a "right" which he denies to the Queen of England. Take another point. It will seem easy to some religious persons to say, Let missionaries go where they please if they can, and preach if they can; but let them go with their lives in their hands, and not ask England to back them with guns and bayonets if they get into trouble. But, here we strike again upon another corner of the same rock; for, has the missionary or not a right to do whatever he will, so long as he hinders not the equal right of any other man? If he has, then the whole human race has a right to take up his cause if his liberty be restrained. And so on, and on, without end. Of course, these are not Foreign Office topics, but Mr. Farrer does not write for mere politicians.

The most melancholy thing about any book which, like Mr. Farrer's, sets itself to make out as favourable a case as possible for "savage" morality, is this—it brings

into high relief the degrading artificiality of civilized morals. Let any courageously candid person "with attentive view survey mankind from China to Peru," and he must note, with thrills of disgust, that things pursue the same course in civilized countries as elsewhere. The working ethics of a country seem largely a matter of chance, but mainly the products not of the best but the worst portions of human nature. This is more conspicuous in some matters than in others; but there it is. These things are, indeed, miserably trite; but they stand out sharply in fresh colours after a discussion of "savage" morals. Everywhere the trick is the same, and the justification is the same—"society must be held together, and the average comfort of society must be our guide."

The volumes of Messrs. Macmillan and Co.'s *English Men of Letters*, edited by Mr. John Morley, succeed one another with great rapidity, but there is not much that is new to say about them. *Spenser*, by R. W. Church, Dean of St. Paul's and Honorary Fellow of Oriel College, is in some important particulars one of the best of the series. It sets itself, in a plain business-like way, to give the unlearned reader just the information that he might be supposed likely to want, and may very well be read either by itself or as a running comment upon Spenser. It is decidedly a good book; and if it should seem to poetic readers a little too "good" in a sense of which poetry is sometimes heedless, it is not surprising. And, in point of fact, there is a serious want in Dean Church's essay. It lacks the highest zest. It is correct, appreciative and intelligent, but a little cold. In dealing with *Goldsmith* Mr. Black laboured under the disadvantage that his topic was (or must inevitably appear to him to be), already over-familiar. But there was still room for the candid acuteness and entire independence of judgment which this volume displays. Mr. W. Minto has taken great pains with *Daniel Defoe*, and has produced a singularly complete memoir and discussion; but it is not too easy reading. Dean Church tells us, in his short preface, that "the plan of these volumes does not encourage foot-notes." So much the worse for "these volumes," and the readers of them—in cases like *Spenser*, *Defoe* and others, where there is of necessity a great deal of discussion. Whether it is the publishers or the editor, the mistake is the same. Take the question whether *Spenser*, by his "Willy," meant *Shakspeare*, and a score of others; it is much the best plan to relegate such matters to the bottom of the page (not to an appendix). The reader can then take his choice of two courses; he can read straight on at first, and then come back for a second reading in order to take in the foot-notes; or he can drop his eye to the bottom of the page as he goes on, and read the foot-notes at once. The first plan is much the best; and the *liberty of foot-notes* (so to speak) is a great help to both author and reader. Of course, it may be abused. But that plan is the most helpful which allows the student to take a broad bird's-eye view of the subject in one rapid perusal, and then invites him to fill up the picture with details at his leisure. These remarks apply perhaps even more forcibly to the *Defoe* than to the *Spenser*.

But admirable as Mr. Minto's writing is, the general reader will find here too much of him and Mr. Lee, and too little of *Defoe*. That is to say, a much fuller account of his minor novels would in our opinion have been welcome—and might very easily have been made "proper" as well as interesting. We happened to see it stated not long ago, in the answers to correspondents in a cheap periodical, the editor of which made some pretension to culture, that *Robinson Crusoe* was *Defoe's* only work of fiction; and there is evidently a very general ignorance about his other writings. As for his "bowing in the house of Rimmon," and the whole of that topic, it is very arguable that Mr. Lee and Mr. Minto treat it with too much confidence in the adequacy of their materials for forming a judgment. The story of his life told with more simple-hearted quasi-poetic fluency by a man less conscientiously bent upon making out a clear critical case would leave a widely different impression. The remarks on pages 2 and 3 about *Defoe's* name (fluctuating between *D. Foe* and *Defoe*) strike us as an example of that over-minute, worrying, squeezing criticism which is so common in our time—as if everything must be made to yield an inference or two.

Mr. Anthony Trollope, in the *Thackeray* which he contributes to this series, has written a book which we presume will sell,—because it contains so much information (concerning *Thackeray's* life) of the kind which is often called private. These two hundred pages are full of worldly wisdom of the good natured kind, and there are occasional touches of just criticism. But it was difficult for a novelist so far to

saturate his mind with the writings of a brother novelist, contemporary with himself (and on the whole of the same school) as to reproduce him vividly in a book of running comment. Speaking of the poems, Mr. Trollope says, "How very good most of them are I did not know till I received them for the purpose of writing this chapter." Now a man ought almost to know Thackeray by heart before writing a compressed "study" like this. Of course the old question of cynicism—his "alleged cynicism," as the newspapers would put it—comes up for discussion once more, and it is not advanced one inch. No sane person doubts Thackeray's essential kindness; or his willingness to help his friends, still less his exceeding sensitiveness as to the possibility of appearing unkind in certain cases. Nobody dreams or ever dreamt (so far as we know) that he was vicious, false, unsociable, or anything but willing to promote human happiness. But what then? there is plenty of kindness in "Dr. Birch" and "Our Street;" but it would be hardly too strong to call the first a base book, while the second is just typical of the author's usual manner. There is no charge against him,—none. He was a great man of the world, and a "survival" from the time of Queen Anne, placed at a disadvantage in our much more self-conscious and speculative age. He is out of sight the greatest humourist of the century, thus far, and we shall not analyze him—though his whole character and methods are utterly transparent. It is quite clear that he was by nature almost destitute of even the germs of reverence and faith. It is also plain that his life contained more than one serious trouble. His nature was too large for fretful fidgety rebellion, and his immense gifts as a mime and a humourist gave us the great writer as we know him—with that background of hard-grained submission to the inevitable. The best things in "The Newcomes" and "Esmond" a thousand times repeated could not hide the disrespect to himself and his readers (which Mr. Trollope admits), and the half open or covert insolence towards human life as a whole, with which his writings abound. We agree with Mr. Trollope that his illustrations, with all their faults, are of unique and extraordinary merit. It is with a slight shock of surprise that one finds Mr. Trollope writing as he does of "that source of literary failure which is now so common. If a man write a book or a poem because it is in him to write it—the motive power being altogether in himself, and coming from his desire to express himself—he will write it well, presuming him to be capable of the effort. But if he write his book or poem simply because a book or poem is required from him, let his capability be what it may, it is not unlikely that he will do it badly." All this is true, but the case goes beyond mere literary failure. Untruthful work—work written up to a mark of any kind—injures both writer and reader. Now, as the greater part of the current literature is mere manufacture for a market, it follows that we are in a parlous condition. But it is hardly to Mr. Trollope that we would have gone for this teaching. What he has to say about "the sublime" in fiction is peculiar. So is the remark that "there is nothing necessarily lacking to a man because he does not enjoy the 'Heathen Chinee' or the 'Biglow Papers.'" For the man who does not enjoy both these proves that he is "lacking" in breadth of range and catholicity of taste for humour.

Messrs. Tinsley Brothers have published a collection of essays, sketches, and verses by Charles J. Dunphie, author of "Wildfire," &c. It is called *Sweet Sleep*, and is dedicated to Lord Carington. There is no knowing whom to blame in these matters, but the volume is much too long (400 pages); it contains too many merely occasional magazine papers; and the "sparkle" and the free-and-easy mannerism are greatly overdone. But we should judge the author to be much better than his book, for there are some really good sallies in the essays and in the poems, both English and Latin. But when did Milton write the lines attributed to him on page 334? To take one more small point out of many, Canvey Island, on the coast of Essex, is to be found even in small maps of England, and is not so little known as Mr. Dunphie supposes.

In spite of the occasional bitterness of her writing, it is a relief to get away from some of the most cheerful novelists and take up Mrs. Oliphant. Though she is not a very careful writer she is in the front rank of her profession, if we may use that word, and her books have always plenty of flavour. She is frankly and simply a teller of stories, without cant, and we may say without "purpose." There are sure to be one or two of her people with whom you may wholly sympathize,—a point of which Mr. Hardy is neglectful,—and she is so natural that if it were not

for small slips here and there you would be under the spell of a complete illusion while reading one of her tales. With one exception (the visit of Polly to the old workshop, which is over-done) *Within the Precincts* (3 vols. Smith, Elder, & Co.) reads like a story of actual life told by the fireside. There is very little to tell, indeed, and no plot; but the movement is so easy that it is hard not to believe that it all happened. The material out of which the effects are produced is exceedingly slight. There are two young people, a lout of a lad and a half-educated girl—and her love story it is, such as it is, which fills out these three stout volumes. Mrs. Oliphant has an extraordinary gift of interesting the reader in half-fledged human beings, and startlingly is the gift illustrated in this story of Lottie Despard and her brother Lawrence. He is a mere cub, barely tolerable, often offensive; and beyond a fine voice, there is nothing in the girl Lottie that is exceptional. You can at once point to a dozen girls like her. Captain Despard, her father, is not new, nor indeed is the half-scampish lover, though his vacillations are well described. Perhaps Ashford, the minor canon, may be called original; but on the whole we should say the material of the story was second-hand: the merit of the author lying in the concentrated attention with which she has laid bare the character and inner history of poor Lottie, and that of her brother—if he can be said to have a character. But it is a relief when he is off to Australia.

The rewards of labour and gifts like Mrs. Oliphant's are apt, at their best, to fall so short of what they should be, that it was with a blush that we noted that she is not always quite careful as a writer. We do not speak of the mere phrasing, though that is sometimes a little slipshod, but of other matters. In "*Carità*" we remember a young man whose whiskers (or beard or moustache) were red in one chapter and dark brown or black in another. In *this* novel, we are told in one place that Lawrence was "not lazy by nature," and yet it is impossible not to see, on the evidence of a dozen others, that he was. The organist of the Abbey Church sits tilting back his chair and, thinking up in the clouds, and at last brings down the chair on its "*four feet*"—which suggests levitation. Minor slips, perhaps attributable to illness or anxiety, are more frequent than is usual with this ingenious writer.

It would be a great comfort to literary men if the subject of congruity in the use of metaphor were a little more attended to. Not long ago, Mr. Gladstone was attacked in some newspapers for "confusion of metaphor." The *Examiner* very properly came forward and showed that there was no confusion at all: and similar cases might easily be multiplied. Mrs. Oliphant makes one of her characters in this story speak of being dazzled by a voice, and then blames him for a false metaphor. But there is nothing wrong; on the contrary, if the word dazzled were used literally there *would* be an error—used metaphorically it was all right. To be dazzled (metaphorically) by a voice is as easy as to be dazzled (metaphorically) by a thought. The whole of this subject is very amusing. There is a well-known footnote of Coleridge's in which he apologises for confused metaphor in the text, but all the ingenuity of his readers has never been able to find out where the confusion is.

It is very rarely that a novel proper, or a story-book presenting itself in the form of an ordinary novel, has character enough to make anything like an analysis of it useful or interesting, or, above all, fit to contribute towards the general effect of any attempt to make current literature in that kind reflect itself in reduced size. There are, however, novels which may be made useful in a larger survey, as embodying the tendencies of the hour, as omitting this or thrusting up that, and so suggesting the deep unconscious flow of social currents. For such a survey some of the recent novels would be useful, but we may, in the meantime, name a few which are noticeable in their way.

By far the freshest reading we have seen for a long time, and, on the whole, the best thing in the story way is, *An Old Story of my Farming Days* (*Ut Mine Strömtid*), by Fritz Reuter, Author of "*In the year '13*," from the German by M. W. Macdowell (3 vols., Sampson Low & Co.). Three closely-packed volumes, containing pictures and anecdotes of farming life in Mecklenburg, with much of natural humour, sweetness, and honest high purpose.—Among purely English novels of quite recent date the one which displays the greatest general ability, not by any means always put to the best account, is a story of a girl's life, entitled *On the Wolds*, by Edward Gilliat, M.A., Author of "*Asylum Christi*" (3 vols., Sampson Low & Co.). But there is too much "outpouring" in it, and the author discloses too much consciousness of his own plan for dramatic effect. It is, however, a book that should be read from the point of view which we have just indicated.—*Rachel Oliver, A Tale*

(Macmillan & Co.), also a story of a girl's life—a girl who gives up a strong attachment for the sake of a young lady friend. The conception is original, or something very like it, and Rachel's grandfather, the rich old manufacturer, is well drawn.—More amusing than either of these is *Airy Fairy Lilian*, by the Author of "Phyllis," "Molly Bawn," &c. (3 vols., Smith, Elder & Co.): but when once we get out of the region of drawing-room persiflage, it becomes a little tedious. Lilian, in plain clothes, would be simply an ill-tempered, ill-trained, vulgar girl, who wanted very severe handling.

Really gay and brilliant is *That Artful Vicar: The Story of what a Clergyman Tried to do for Others and did for Himself*, by the Author of "The Member for Paris," etc. (2 vols., Smith, Elder & Co.). The touch-and-go treatment of certain serious topics is not satisfactory, but the author is true to the traditions of this school of fiction, and has thrown off an ingenious, entertaining book which is pretty sure to be read through by every one who begins it.

Another novel worth mentioning, though not having anything very powerful or characteristic about it, is *Tried by Fire*, by Francis Carr, Author of "Left Alone," &c. (3 vols., Griffith and Farran). This, like a large number of the novels that reach us (some of which we leave unnoticed for reasons which we hold to be wise and good), goes for its interest and its plot to unhappy marriages; but the handling, though conventional, is anything but mean and low. The author can sketch very well indeed, but it is difficult to judge of a novelist whose work contains so much "outpouring," and who is capable of spoiling and misusing so admirable a type as the first Lady Selton in this story. She is the only original character in the book, and if the author had known his business he would have "run her" triumphantly through the three volumes.

Dr. George MacDonald is not to be handled lightly, but brevity is forced upon us. In "Paul Faber"—a book containing some passages as beautiful as any he ever wrote—he has discussed, indirectly, a great many problems. What we now inquire (as we promised) is whether the grand question of the story is fairly answered or is only evaded. Of course, even if it were only evaded, it might be said that good is done by the mere "ventilation" of such topics. But this is another, and a very, very doubtful matter. Nobody knows better than Mr. MacDonald (somehow the "Dr." seldom comes quite readily to the pen's tip), that what with the sons of Belial, what with the pure worldlings, and what with the stupid or insincere people who treat any scratch code of ethics into which they happen to be born as if it were divine law, letter for letter—it is impossible to be wholly honest in such cases. This is clearly discerned by acute writers of the Ouida school, and hence their peculiar method.

We have nothing to do here with Wingfold, except as his qualities and his ingenuities help to throw into relief the unsolved difficulties of the case. But there are two prime particulars in which "Paul Faber," considered as a "tendency" novel, is not satisfactory. First, it raises and more than raises, for it assumes to settle (as if by instinct, shall we say?) the question whether sacred laws of conduct for men and women, imposing the same kind of self-restraint upon both, can, except in a purely ideal condition in a world made on purpose, be treated in case of violation of the laws in such a way as to leave the man and the woman on equal terms. Now, one of the most expressive and affecting words that can be used in discussing these subjects, is a word without meaning if applied to a man—there is no physical fact to correspond: on the other side, there is a physical fact of the very utmost significance. Upon that, indeed, the central difficulty of "Paul Faber" turns. Upon the physical fact with its moral associations, immense worlds, nay universes, of poetry, emotion, faith, and hope have been built. Are these to vanish into thin air?

And yet this is not half of what is to be said upon that part of the question. Here, as elsewhere, we are concerned to arrive at the truth, and not at a fancy, however chivalric or noble-looking, which may let us in after all. As we are not definitely told what the former story of Juliet, the wife, was, we cannot even attempt to judge whether she and Faber were on equal terms in the matter. Faber's conduct had been very bad, but whether it concerned his wife that she should know it, precisely as it concerned (or may be supposed to have concerned) him to know her story is another matter. Thus the verdict is snatched, and as it is used to suggest general conclusions, it looks as if the subject had better have been left alone. Except, indeed, that something is no doubt gained when the impudent and conceited laxities of men are rebuked.

Apart from the more general question, however, it is plain that even if the guilt of

Faber and his wife had been equal, it would by no means follow that the natural and inevitable consequences to the "love" between them or the happiness of married life should be the same, or even similar. It is written with diamond on adamant, in the natural constitution of things, that the consequences should be different; and the reasons freely disclose themselves the moment you consent to look at your scratch code as what it is—a very rough jumble of survivals, a clumsy attempt to get things into some sort of shape.

But this is not all. Paul's wife, when she confesses, prays him to flog her and forgive her. The scene is unhappily theatrical, and what Paul would really have said is something like this: "Very good acting indeed, ma'am—not your first performance, though." And even that is not all. For love, even of the imperfect order (such as we have here) is sovereign over *injuries*; it can and does and will again forgive things much worse than Juliet's early "record." In a word, you can destroy love, or immedicably wound it, or make it inconsistent with self-respect; but it knows nothing of injuries *as* injuries. Nor, indeed, does friendship. The question between Paul Faber and his wife is put on a false footing—false, that is, for the author's purpose; it is true enough to ordinary life, but it is not the premiss you want for your conclusion. There are "injuries" far smaller, which, once discovered, might make love impossible to all eternity. The author had, in truth, set himself an impracticable task. And yet he has failed in courage. A courageous writer would have made Amanda's mother turn up suddenly, alive, in the thick of Faber's trouble.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF GERMANY.

IN all the Christian States of Europe the Church is, in consequence of its historical development, one of the most powerful factors in the social system. In all these States the clergy held for many centuries an important political position. This was the case especially in the provinces composing that Empire of Germany which came to an end in 1806. Up to the year 1792 there were twenty-seven territories governed by Catholic bishops or archbishops; and forty-five by abbots, abbesses, and other spiritual dignitaries. In these territories, which were then under the House of Hapsburg, Wittelsbach, &c., the Catholic Church had remained the dominant State Church. In the provinces which had embraced the Reformation, the Protestant Church held an analogous position. With very few exceptions, so few as to be historically unimportant, the government of the Protestant Church passed into the hands of the princes, who, by virtue of their episcopal power, have till quite recent times been almost everywhere the legislators of the Church, and have governed it through their consistories. Even in our own day the King of Prussia, the King of Wurtemberg, and all the Protestant princes of Germany hold the ecclesiastical power. In all German provinces which sent deputies, the prelates held the first rank. Until the middle of the last century, the canon law was in force for Catholics in the Catholic provinces, and also in those Protestant districts where Catholics had the free exercise of their religion (*exercitium religionis publicum*), and the clergy were under the jurisdiction of the bishops in civil and criminal causes. This was also the case in Protestant provinces. We can understand, therefore, how the influence of the Church made itself felt in every department of social life, and how religious and ecclesiastical interests came to be associated by a thousand ties with those of society at large. Hence, in any

attempt to appreciate truly the present social conditions of Germany, and to understand the struggle which has been going on with more or less intensity through the whole of the nineteenth century; in any attempt to comprehend the attitude of parties, and the power of the clergy, we must be thoroughly acquainted with the present position of the Church. This gives the key to the understanding of many phenomena which without it are wholly inexplicable. Those who have only a superficial knowledge of Germany, such as is acquired in travelling, or by a longer sojourn in some one spot, can never be in a position to pronounce a correct judgment. In order to this a thorough acquaintance with the whole social position is necessary. It is particularly difficult for an Englishman to understand the state of affairs, because the present conditions of life in Germany are so completely different from those in England. It is our intention in the present paper, by a statement of facts, to make English readers acquainted with the present position of the Church in Germany, both in its social and legal aspect, with the twofold object, first of contributing to a right understanding of the life of the German people, and second of furnishing the politician with a key to some of the political movements of the day.

To this end we shall say something of all those aspects of the national life which are or may be brought under the influence of the Church, whether Catholic or Protestant. We shall abstain from making any criticism on the state of things represented, leaving the reader to arrive at his own conclusions, favourable or otherwise to Germany, from the facts stated. All we shall allow ourselves to do will be to draw the inferences which seem to us to follow necessarily from the objective premises laid down. In order to put the reader in a position to judge for himself what are the conditions to be taken into account, and in order to enable him to form a correct estimate of the influence of the ecclesiastical upon the social and political life of the nation, we shall give now a short statistical statement of the present conditions of Germany and German Austria.

I. Statistics of the various Religions of Germany and Austria according to the Census of 1875.

Province.	Catholics.	Protestants.	Christian Sects.	Jews.	Not belonging to any religious body.
Prussia	8,625,840 ...	16,712,700 ...	59,400 ...	339,790 ...	4,674
Bavaria	3,573,142 ...	1,392,120 ...	4,889 ...	51,335 ...	904
Saxony	73,349 ...	2,674,905 ...	6,541 ...	5,360 ...	431
Wurtemberg . .	569,578 ...	1,296,650 ...	12,881 ...	4,167 ...	229
Baden	958,916 ...	517,861 ...	3,842 ...	26,492 ...	68
Alsace-Lorraine .	1,204,181 ...	285,329 ...	3,198 ...	39,002 ...	194
Hesse	251,172 ...	602,850 ...	3,889 ...	25,652 ...	655
Mecklenburg- Schwerin }	2,258 ...	548,741 ...	— ...	2,786 ...	—

Province.	Catholics.	Protestants.	Christian Sects.	Jews.	Not belonging to any religious body.
Oldenburg . . .	71,743 ...	245,054 ...	909 ...	1,578 ...	30
Anhalt	3,473 ...	208,238 ...	91 ...	1,763 ...	—
Other States . .	39,675 ...	2,234,575 ...	4,968 ...	22,650 ...	8,942

The Catholics thus number 36 per cent. of the population; the Protestants 62·5 per cent.; the Jews 1·2 per cent.; and all the rest 0·3 per cent. In Prussia the districts of Münster, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, parts of Düsseldorf, Trèves, Arnsberg, Breslau, and Hohenzollern, are almost exclusively Catholic, or with a very small sprinkling of Protestants among the population. So are, in Bavaria, the old Bavarian provinces, and in Baden, Wurtemberg, and Hesse, some districts that were formerly Church lands. On the other hand, the provinces of Brandenburg, Pomerania, part of Prussian Saxony, the kingdom of Saxony, the Saxon duchies and principalities, Mecklenburg, and the Hanseatic States, are almost exclusively Protestant, with a small intermixture of Catholics. The remaining provinces of the Empire have a more mixed population, with a slight preponderance in some of the Protestant, in others of the Catholic element.

The provinces which compose the Empire of Austria are almost entirely Catholic, for the 400,000 Protestants are lost among the 21,500,000 Catholics, and only in a few small towns or districts is there a compact Protestant body. The Jews are in round numbers 850,000. Next to the great towns—Berlin, Breslau, Frankfort, &c.—where they colonise largely, the Jews congregate chiefly in the Catholic districts.

II. *Schools, especially Primary and Middle-class Schools.*—It is a household word that the schoolmaster holds the future in his hands. The struggle which was ended years ago in Prussia, but is still going on in France, Belgium, and Italy, to retain the sectarian schools for the sake of the influence of the Church, proves how much truth there is in the saying. In order to estimate the influence of the schools, and to understand the existing state of things, it is necessary to know something of the various characters of the schools, their legal status, and the relations in which they stand to the several religious bodies to which they belong. In the official return of the Educational Department in Prussia, which is issued annually at Berlin in twelve numbers, we find in an exact form the data we require. And as these represent the larger part of Germany, and the conditions are precisely analogous in the remaining States, we may fairly deduce from them our conclusions as to the present ecclesiastical, social, and political life of the nation, and the probabilities of the future. (See Table on p. 776).

The Table is in itself sufficient, but I may add that I have compared the official Tables for a number of years (from 1867), and have

Table of the Number of Scholars in Prussia.

In the Year and Half-year.	Preparatory Schools for Gymnasias.			Pro-Gymnasias.			Preparatory Schools for Pro-Gymnasias.			Preparatory Schools of <i>Realschulen</i> .*			High Grammar Schools.			Gymnasias.			Realschulen.		
	Catholics.	Protestants.	Jews.	Catholics.	Protestants.	Jews.	Catholics.	Protestants.	Jews.	Catholics.	Protestants.	Jews.	Catholics.	Protestants.	Jews.	Catholics.	Protestants.	Jews.	Catholics.	Protestants.	Jews.
Summer 1875.	858	7736	1125	1524	1600	387	77	247	84	455	4160	459	2061	10330	694	14651	45114	6253	3130	21418	2390
Winter 1875-76.	832	8015	1239	1577	1759	391	56	271	90	467	4183	440	1998	10378	696	14472	44946	6446	3155	21070	2347
Summer 1876.	855	8221	1270	1821	1751	389	89	289	90	451	4373	440	2203	10743	724	14525	46559	6670	3361	22452	2440
Winter 1876-77.	836	8573	1313	1738	1875	365	92	295	97	437	4522	482	2142	10222	705	14119	46245	6817	3256	22366	2459
Summer 1877.	865	8605	1342	1440	1975	372	48	336	84	393	4470	457	2219	10465	720	14391	48853	7072	3323	22779	2485
Winter 1877-78.	899	8696	1426	1571	1781	328	84	273	59	403	4270	408	2033	9809	712	14309	48675	7353	3268	22314	2422
Average number for 3 years	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	14401	46648	6768	3248	22201	2422

* Schools in which Languages and the Arts and Sciences are taught.

found that the proportions are always substantially the same. I proceed now, therefore, to draw the objective inferences from these figures, in the hope that the attentive reader will at once perceive their fairness.

If the proportion of the population belonging to a certain religious body should regulate the proportion of scholars connected with it, it follows that we should expect to find 36 per cent. of the scholars Catholics, 62 per cent. Protestants, and 1·2 per cent. Jews. The averages, however, show that of the scholars in the Gymnasia, 68·6 per cent. are Protestants, 21·1 Catholics, 9·9 Jews; of the scholars in the Realschulen, 11·6 per cent. are Catholics, 79·5 Protestants, 8·4 Jews. We find that the number of Jewish scholars in the Gymnasia is steadily increasing, and that this is the case also with the Protestants, though not in the same proportion, while the number of the Catholic scholars is on the decline. A man must have passed through a Gymnasium or a Realschule before he is qualified to take any responsible office under Government. Passing through the pro-Gymnasium gives at most the advantage of studying one year only as a volunteer in the army. From a comparison, then, of the preceding figures, it appears further: 1st. That in proportion to the population, the number of Jews attending the preparatory schools of the Gymnasium is nearly double that of the Catholics. 2nd. Out of 100 scholars in the pro-Gymnasium, 42 are Catholics, 48 Protestants, and 9 Jews. 3rd. In the preparatory schools of the pro-Gymnasia, the average of Jews is higher in proportion than that of the Catholics. 4th. In the preparatory schools of the Realschulen the same is the case in a still greater degree. 5th. Out of 100 scholars in the higher grammar schools there are 16 Catholics, 78 Protestants, and 5 Jews.

Here, then, we have clear proof not only that the Protestants do their full part, in proportion to their numbers, in giving their children the higher education which may qualify them for any office in the State, as well as for any profession or branch of industry or trade, but also that the Catholics fail altogether to do this. If we take the entire number of scholars found in any of the above-named schools, we shall find that in the winter of 1877-8 (and the proportion is the same if we go further back) of the entire number of Catholics in Prussia 0·26 per cent., of Protestants 0·5, of Jews 3·4, were in attendance.

If this proportion should continue in the future, it needs no prophet to foretell that the offices of State, the medical and legal professions, trade, and industry will pass, in ever-increasing proportions in Germany, into the hands of the Jews; that the Catholics will be more and more thrown out of the ranks, and that the number of Catholics possessing only the barest indispensable rudiments of education will be ever on the increase.

History teaches that the masses have no effect upon the development of the State or of society, except in a revolutionary and hence transitory way; and that it is the educated classes who hold the future in

their hands. If the influence of the Catholics goes on diminishing in the same proportion, it follows that they will receive less and less consideration from the leaders of the State. If then, for example, the mode of elections should be so far altered that one system should be introduced for all, it is obvious that the Catholic members would be in a gradually diminishing number, as we shall proceed to show that it is the influence of the clergy which has brought about the present position of things, in which correct sentiments towards Rome are made a necessary qualification for election.

The educational returns show the same state of things in Austria, and we are driven to ask—How is this phenomenon, which is a very ominous one for the Catholic populations of Germany, to be accounted for? Partly by the system of the Romish Church. The Catholic population of Germany belongs to all the various branches of the German nation. Some of these, as the Saxons, Franconians, and Swabians, are in great part Catholics. But the aim of the hierarchy has always been and is still to keep the people in spiritual subjection. The hierarchy does not desire superior mental power or culture in its clergy. Hence it opposes the laws of the State which require of the clergy a high scientific education. It feels that if the clergy received such an education, if they became in scientific and general culture the equals or superiors of physicians, barristers, &c.—as might easily be the case if all clergymen were educated according to the laws in Prussia and Baden—they would no longer consent to be the mere tools of the bishops without will or judgment of their own.

The bishops cannot but perceive that the adoption of a higher educational standard for the clergy would lessen their numbers, and this would not suit the Roman system. Rome must have a great body of ecclesiastics, who may be constantly influencing the masses of the people by means of the confessional. This clerical body is recruited for the most part from the common people, who, thanks to the celibate system, find in it a profitable source of income, since on the death of the spiritual uncle or brother, his poor relations generally step into his comfortable little fortune. The priest, as family adviser, generally recommends the study of theology. With the great merchant and manufacturer he is not sympathetic; he finds them too independent; the officers of State only find favour with him when they lend themselves to carry out the clerical policy, in which case he allows them to be ostensibly the leaders. For common folk it is best, so the clergy deem, to retain their simplicity, and just learn enough reading, writing, and arithmetic to carry them through the world. The school returns show that the Catholic population, as a whole, content themselves with the minimum of culture, that is to say, with the elementary schools, through which the State requires them to pass. And even this compulsory education, as it is called, is strongly opposed by the clergy in Belgium, France, and many parts of Germany.

These educational conditions must be kept in mind, in order to understand much that we shall have to say presently.

Attendance at the primary schools from the age of seven to fourteen is required of every German child by the laws of the State. How far this is practically carried out we have proof only with regard to those drawn for military service; but as military service is required of every man throughout Germany, this may be regarded as conclusive with respect to the men. The results with regard to the women will not be likely to be more favourable, for there is no stricter supervision over their attendance, and in the country there are fewer girls' schools, only boys' or mixed schools. We have before us the official returns for Prussia for several years, and they present many points claiming attention.

In Prussia the number of recruits without school education were:—

Province.	Per cent. 1875-76.	Per cent. 1876-77.	Per cent. 1877-78.
Prussia	8.784	8.675	7.830
Brandenburg	0.666	0.667	0.411
Pomerania	1.528	1.198	0.943
Posen	13.972	13.004	11.204
Silesia	3.347	2.506	2.222
Saxony	0.322	0.360	0.293
Schleswig-Holstein	0.261	0.466	0.407
Hanover	0.838	0.553	0.424
Westphalia	1.056	0.746	0.525
Hesse-Nassau	0.531	0.332	0.173
Province of the Rhine	0.744	0.518	0.315
Lauenburg	0.000	0.000	0.000
Hohenzollern	0.386	0.000	0.000
All Prussia	3.214	2.959	2.483

This Table shows—1st. That the provinces of Prussia, Posen, and Silesia, which have a large population of Slaves, are the lowest. 2nd. The purely Protestant provinces stand best, and next to them those which have a large mixed industrial population, and little Hohenzollern. 3rd. There is a steady improvement in the returns, and this is accounted for by the fact that every year the State appoints more school inspectors, especially lay inspectors, who do not wink at abuses as the clerical inspectors did. The number of school inspectors was, in the year 1876, 114; in 1877, 155; and in the following year, 172.

Another point deserving to be carefully noted, in estimating the social condition of Germany, is the *education of the girls*. Up to the year 1875 there were in the purely Catholic districts, or in those in which the Catholics predominated, very few higher class schools for girls, except those which were in the hands of religious bodies or of sisterhoods. With these boarding-schools were always associated. Catholic girls of the well-to-do middle class, on leaving the primary schools, were placed in these establishments for a year or more. Many

were passed into them when they were only ten or twelve years of age. The education in many, indeed in most of these schools, was conducted after the model of the French Ultramontane establishments, with the object of giving a strong bias towards a religious life.

Among the Protestant populations the case is altogether different. There is scarcely a large or moderate-sized town which has not one or more public high schools for girls, besides a number of private schools in all places of importance. These Protestant schools are, on the whole, better as regards the instruction given than the Catholic schools, and are in no way inferior to them in order and in the calibre of their teachers. Hence it is a rare thing for Protestant girls to attend the Catholic schools, while, on the other hand, Catholic girls belonging to the middle class, and still more frequently those of higher social grades, are found attending the Protestant schools. They are also sent to Protestant boarding-schools in Belgium and Switzerland. It is obvious that this actual intercourse must have a great influence. The Protestant girls, using Protestant school-books, and coming in contact with teachers of their own faith, have their religious views developed as a part of their education, while the Catholics, on the contrary, either receive a bigoted training, or learn to think of religion as something apart from their general education. While, therefore, the Protestant women of the higher classes generally hold fast their religion, the Catholics frequently grow up mere indifferentists.

We shall now turn to another important feature of the ecclesiastical life of Germany—the Universities.

III. *Universities and their Influence.*—In Germany the name University is given only to institutions which have at least four faculties—a faculty of theology, jurisprudence, medicine, and philosophy. Of these institutions Germany possesses 20. Three of these—the Universities of Bonn, Breslau, and Tübingen—have both a Catholic and Protestant faculty of theology; 14 have a Protestant faculty only; three—Freiburg, Munich, and Würzburg—a Catholic faculty alone. Besides these we have two academies—Braunsberg and Münster—which have only a Catholic theological, and a philosophical faculty. There are also 17 Protestant and 8 Catholic theological faculties established by the State. In these there are 150 Protestant and 60 Catholic students. Of the other faculties there is none with a distinctively Catholic character, though there are some distinctly Protestant Universities. The proportion of Catholic students to Protestants is in the entire number of faculties of jurisprudence as 1 to 5; in the faculties of medicine as 1 to 9; in the philosophical faculties as 1 to 5. The influence of the Universities is enormous in Germany, as Government officials of all ranks, unless they belong to the purely technical departments, such as architecture, husbandry, or the management of woods and forests, &c., must complete their studies there.

It is required in the same way of physicians, teachers of higher grade

schools, and all persons who wish to lay claim to a good education, that they should spend some years at one of the Universities. It may also be said that, with comparatively few exceptions, almost all the scientific works that are written owe their authorship to professors in these institutions. Of the direct influence of the Universities upon ecclesiastical life we can say nothing. Religion is simply a separate branch of knowledge, an academic exercise in the theological faculty. There are, indeed, in every University one or more University preachers; but, apart from the theological students, their sermons meet with a very scanty appreciation or hearing. There is no obligation on the part of either professors or students to attend the academic service, and practically it seems to be merely a pretext for giving the officiating professors or clergy an increased salary.

The academic celebrations have, as a rule, no religious character. In a word, the ecclesiastical or religious element in the Universities is simply a private affair. Since the year 1850, however, the Church has been labouring in a particular direction, to get a footing for itself in the Universities; while in connection with the effort put forth in 1848, chiefly under the direction of the Jesuits, or persons instructed by them, in almost all the Universities where Catholics are in a majority, associations of students have been formed, calling themselves sometimes "Catholic Unions," sometimes "Brotherhoods," sometimes by indifferent names, but all having the same object in view—to promote Catholic interests, that is, to be active in the cause of Ultramontaniam.

Wherever these Unions were of a distinctly Jesuitical character, they have been prohibited by virtue of the law which excludes Jesuits from the German empire; but in this way the form only is reached, not the fact. It is unquestionable that these Unions are those which have the greatest influence over the students. Through them the battles of Ultramontaniam are fought; they are the organs of the priest behind the scenes, through whom he learns what is going on, keeps it under his own control, and weaves his meshes around the unwary youth. To belong to one of these Unions is an excellent introduction for the young physician, or other professional, to the parish priest.

To a smaller extent the Protestant students also attach themselves to certain theological schools. This fact, however, has very little to do with the influence of the Universities upon the religious and social life of the nation. The source of this influence is to be sought in quite another direction. The religious teaching in the Universities is absolutely free and uncontrolled. That a professor should be called to account for his teaching and deprived of his office, has been a very rare occurrence in the present century among Protestant divines, though there are such instances, as in the case of Professor Baumgarten of Rostock. Among Catholic divines it more frequently happens under pressure from Rome, as at Bonn, where the adherents of Hermes, Achterfeld, and Braun are forbidden to lecture.

The student has free choice among the professors. Medical students,

candidates for the higher branches of teaching in the Gymnasias and Realschulen, and all students who have to pass an examination before the Commission composed exclusively or chiefly of teachers in the University, are in the habit of choosing among the various professors in any one department (as philosophy, history, &c.) the one who will be their future examiner. If, however, it should happen that the same person is appointed always, or through many years in succession, to the post of examiner, so that it becomes a monopoly, it is open to the student to join any other University he pleases in the same State, and thus to choose his examiner, so that this disadvantage is considerably lessened. It would, however, be more fair to make all examiners in turn, as is the case in the faculty of law. Attendance at the Universities is, as we have said, perfectly free; but in all the States, attendance for a certain period (two years at longest) at one or other of them is a necessary qualification for all candidates for Government offices.

It is well known that all shades of opinion on religion, philosophy, and politics, are represented in the German Universities. The students are under no sort of supervision, only the Unions are placed under the control of the University authorities, just as the individual is subject to the laws, general and particular, for the maintenance of discipline. Life in a German University is thus specially adapted to develop the independent formation of character. This end is most fully attained in the case of the Protestant students, on whom only the influence of the parents or guardians is brought to bear; while in the case of the Catholics, in numberless instances, the student is prevailed upon by clerical influence to choose the lectures of certain professors who will train him in the desired direction, and to attend by preference at those Universities in which this kind of teaching is most easily secured. We find in the Universities, as in the schools, that there is a much larger proportion of Protestant than of Catholic students. The two things are, indeed, connected, for the certificate of proficiency (*Abiturienten-Zeugniß*) which is given to those who have passed the examination in the highest class of the Gymnasium, is the condition of entrance to the Universities for all those who wish to enter their names for examination for any of the learned professions. Without this no one is qualified to practise as a judge, barrister, doctor, teacher in a Gymnasium, &c.

It follows, therefore, from the tables already given, that out of every hundred persons receiving a scientific University education in Germany, 68 are Protestants, 21 Catholics, and 9 Jews. If we consider the social influence naturally possessed by a man of education, we arrive at the following conclusions:—1. That the mass of the Catholic population is far more under clerical influence than the Protestant. 2. That a really highly-educated Catholic layman, if he stands well with the clergy—that is to say, if he is an Ultramontane—has a far greater influence over Catholics than a Protestant of the same intellectual standing has over his co-religionists. 3. The Catholic who does not stand well with

the clergy has, as a rule, no influence at all in places where the population is purely or mainly Catholic. 4. The Catholic who is not in favour with the Ultramontane clergy can, as a rule, only achieve a position of political influence in places where the population is wholly or mainly Protestant. We will show by figures the correctness of all these statements.

The German Reichstag has 397 members. The proportion of the Catholic to the Protestant population in Germany is 36 to 62. There ought, therefore, according to the numerical proportion, to be 143 Catholic members. But the returns for the election of July, 1878, are as follows :—137 Catholics, 246 Protestants, 4 Jews, 10 belonging to no religion (Protestants). Among the Catholics are 12 Poles and 10 natives of Alsace and Lorraine ; in both these cases Ultramontanism, or what is here identical with it, has decided the poll. Eleven Catholics are sent up by wholly or mainly Protestant electoral districts ; three of these owe their election to the circumstance that they are very large landowners in the district. If we subtract the Poles and Alsace-Lorrainers and the 11 just named, there remain 104 Catholic members. Of these 93 belong to the Centre, which means to the extreme Ultramontane party ; and the remaining 11 are chosen in places which have a population nominally Protestant, or a wholly or mainly Catholic but not Ultramontane population (as in Baden). It is, therefore, a fact, that in wholly or mainly Catholic districts, only an Ultramontane can be elected, proving that in these places the creed decides the vote, while it does not do so in Protestant districts. This comes out still more clearly from an analysis of the 93 members of the Centre. We find that of these 23 are ecclesiastics, 30 were formerly officers, landowners, &c. ; while amongst all the other members one only is an ecclesiastic ; and, lastly, we find a long list of members of the Centre to be entirely unknown persons, of no position or influence, so that their election is to be traced simply to the fiat of the priest.

The Ultramontanes have formed the plan since 1848 of founding a *Catholic University under ecclesiastical direction*. In the year 1862 a formal resolution to this effect was passed at the "Catholic General Assembly," and an attempt was made to collect the necessary funds. In eight years, however, the amount raised is less than 100,000 marks ; and it is, moreover, certain that no German Government would recognise such a University or the degrees conferred by it, not only because it is at once obvious that it would have supplied no guarantee for the actual scientific knowledge and the moral discipline required, but also on general grounds.

Among these the question of the exclusively Catholic or Protestant character of the schools is one of so much importance that it calls for closer investigation.

We have now a united Germany. The confession of faith makes no difference in the enjoyment of civil or political rights ; all have equal

duties; the Emperor is a Protestant, and we hear no more of the pretensions of the old Imperialism. Every one rejoices to be freed from the bondage of creeds; and feels that in a time of railways, a time of progress in all the natural sciences, the fitness of a man for a certain office should no longer be made to depend on his religious profession. It has become clear also even to the most short-sighted that in business and trade such a rule cannot be adopted. Till the year 1872 there were in only a few German provinces (Nassau among them) unsectarian schools, in which the religious convictions of both Catholics and Protestants were respected alike. Since then, in other places—namely, in Prussia and in Baden—communities have been empowered to establish such schools, or to make the schools already existing unsectarian; but the State sanction has not yet been given. In some towns where the change has been effected, opposition has been raised by both the Catholics and Protestants, on grounds partly the same, partly different. The clergy fear the loss of influence; the Ultramontane of course rests his claim to the direction and supervision of the national schools as a part of the pastoral office, upon the divine right of the Church; and a section of the Protestant Church bases the same demand upon statutory provisions more or less ancient. The Ultramontane must fail to maintain his “divine right” over an institution which, in its present form, is purely a creation of the laws of the State; and the Protestant assumption proves equally inadequate. Since the Protestants admit that it was the State which by the old law bestowed upon their clergy the right they now claim, they cannot logically dispute the right of the same power to make, if it pleases, other dispositions. They have recognized in principle the authority of the State in school matters, and the point now in dispute refers only to the means best adapted to the end in view. The question is practically important to the Protestants only in places where the Catholics are in a decided majority; in these places the sectarian schools are almost sure to fall in time into Ultramontane hands, because the preponderating influence among the town authorities will always secure the appointment of teachers holding these views. Protestantism would, of course, in such a case, be imperilled. It cannot be denied that the sectarian schools have been and are a support to Protestantism in places where the Protestant population predominates; but this has only been so because they were supported by a Government which has never allowed any injustice to or interference with Protestantism, and which was practically and historically in harmony with it. This will remain the same in the future. The elementary schools are almost everywhere maintained by funds raised by the communities; the Government only gives supplementary grants, though these are certainly large. In Prussia the budget for elementary education for the year 1st April, 1879, to 31st March, 1880, is *in ordinariis* nineteen millions of marks. In separate provinces (therefore, in the greater part of Prussia) the maintenance of sectarian schools falls upon the

inhabitants of the community professing the faith taught, unless the political authorities of the town make the cost of education a part of their budget. Where the members of a religious body form the poorer, even though it may be the more numerous part of the population, the schools have fallen into arrears. The result of this has been that in many places the schools have been handed over to the town council. In mixed communities of industrial places, in the Rhine Provinces, Westphalia, Saxony, Silesia, &c., the Protestants form for the most part the wealthier portion. The taxes for educational purposes are always high; in some places they often amount to three times as much as the Government grants. It is clear that this will long continue to cause difficulties.

The Gymnasias are for the most part supported by the State; many by foundations or by the communities, the State granting a certain proportion in aid, but only when the institution is unsectarian. The Realschulen are almost all founded and maintained by the communities, with supplementary grants from the State; most of these are unsectarian. The State budget in Prussia for both the Gymnasias and the Realschulen amounts for the current year to five millions of marks.

In order to form a true estimate of the influence of the sectarian schools, the following facts must be borne in mind. It is unquestionable that the clergy, especially among the Catholics, have the greatest influence over the common people. Now the Protestant clergy are educated in Germany exclusively in the Protestant theological faculties at the Universities. In these they can acquire a more general culture, and are brought into contact with students belonging to the other faculties, and thus get their views widened. Many of them have received their previous training in Catholic Gymnasias, in places where the population is a mixed one, and they are thus early accustomed to intercourse with those holding religious views different from their own. Thus it comes about that almost everywhere the Protestant pastor has access to Catholic families. The Catholic clergy are, with very few exceptions, educated only at Catholic Gymnasias. As they are generally destined for the Church from a very early age, they associate exclusively with their Catholic schoolmates. A very small proportion of them carry on their theological studies at the Catholic theological faculties connected with the University. By far the larger number attend the two Catholic academies, and the fourteen purely Catholic seminaries which are under episcopal direction. Neither at these institutions nor at the Universities does the future priest associate with Protestants. Hence it comes that the Catholic clergy, though they may be on friendly terms with Jews, seldom have any social intercourse with Protestants. This exclusiveness is further fostered by the practice recently introduced in very many of the Universities (notably in those of Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, Freiburg, Göttingen, Munich, Tübingen, and Würzburg) of forming associations of students (*Studenten-Vereine*) to which only

Catholics are admitted. The student who belongs to one of these societies or clubs, or brotherhoods (*Burschenschaften*), as a rule only associates with his fellow-members, and it is understood that this exclusiveness is to be carried on in later life. The existence of practices like this in the Universities goes far to explain the fact that the line of separation between Catholics and Protestants has of late been much more strongly marked than formerly. If the stranger observes that in the larger towns religious differences do not hinder personal and family relations, let him not be misled. This is not the general rule. In Berlin, Cologne, Munich, Münster, Mayence, Frankfort, Würzburg, Breslau, and other towns, there are exclusive Catholic circles, though there may be families which, from social considerations, have formal relations with individual families among the Protestants. And in most smaller towns of mixed population, friendly relations are decided by religious considerations, wherever the number of cultivated families of either religion is not so small as to render this impossible. When we find it otherwise it is because religious indifferentism, political partisanship, or material interests override religious scruples. As a whole, it must be admitted that the great body of the German people is divided by its religious differences into two parts; the statistics we have already given about the elections furnish proof of this. After all that can be said, it is certain that the sectarian schools of all grades tend to foster this state of things. Only by the adoption of the unsectarian system for elementary schools, gymnasia, &c., can a change be brought about. Where a community is either wholly Catholic or Protestant, the sectarian school is a matter of course; where the community is a mixed one the unsectarian will carry the day.

After this general view of the social aspect of the question, we pass on now to describe the character of German Church-life itself.

IV. *Worship in its External.*—The observance of Sunday and of holidays in Germany must strike the Englishman very strangely. By law, work is forbidden on these days, at least such work as would be disturbing to others. Till the year 1878, however, in many places (for instance in the Catholic province of the Rhine), Sundays and holidays were the days on which the largest business was done in the shops. After the attack upon the life of the Emperor, the police regulations were made more strict, and during the principal services of the day, from 9 to 11 A.M. and 2 to 3 P.M., all shops everywhere were ordered to be shut; but there are only a few States and towns where the shops are not allowed to be open at all. The postal service is limited to shorter hours; letters and parcels are not delivered so often as on other days; and there are similar restrictions on the telegraph service. On the other hand, the railway traffic is left quite free; and not only do the trains run as on other days, but by almost every line there are also extra trains for the convenience of the holiday-makers. For example,

the Rhine railway runs every Sunday and holiday, from the 15th of May to October, three extra trains in the afternoon; and other lines do the same. In many places, especially in Austria, companies choose Sundays and holidays for their great excursions; extra trains are put on especially in the morning; and arrangements for dancing for the people, popular concerts, &c., are fixed almost exclusively for these days. This is especially the case in places where the population is chiefly Catholic. In the province of the Rhine, in Bavaria and Austria, the better classes avoid making excursions on Sundays or holidays, not because they wish to observe the days more strictly, but because the throng is so great in fine weather at all the spots of beauty and wherever refreshments can be had. Any one who wants to see the light-hearted nature of the Rhinelander, and still more of the Franconian, and the way in which the "old Bavarian" enjoys himself, must visit some place of recreation on a Sunday or holiday. The Church festivals, which are usually on Sundays, are opportunities for the clergy to meet at the house of the parish priest for high feeding and hard drinking till a late hour of the evening; the people amuse themselves with dancing, with rope-dancers, carousals, eating, drinking, &c. Quarrels, which among the genuine Catholic old Bavarians often end with mortal blows or stabs with the knife, form the practical application of the specially fine sermon for the Saint's Day. Triumphal arches, banners, shooting with little mortars, &c., attest the good Catholicity of the town. Of work, as a rule, there is none, unless there be here and there a poor tailor, sempstress, or servant who is glad to turn to account the Sunday rest. In this respect, however, many of the public offices set a bad example, for it is by no means an exceptional thing for work to be carried on as usual in the Government and municipal offices, and this not only in times of special pressure. Everywhere the inns and taverns do most business on Sundays and holidays, because the people have most leisure. The further west and south we get, the more do we find the above description verified, especially in the towns; and the places where the countryman, after attending afternoon service, walks quietly out into the fields to rejoice in the blessing of heaven, must be sought chiefly in Westphalia and the north. If, on the whole, the Protestants are more observant of Sunday rest than the Catholics, the reason is without doubt to be found in the fact—1st, that the Protestant population belongs for the most part to the colder and quieter branches of the German family; and 2nd, that the Protestant worship is not at all exciting to the senses, and is peculiarly sombre as compared with the Catholic ritual.

In addition to the Sundays, there are a number of holidays recognized by law, the chief of which are the day after Christmas Day, Easter, Whitsuntide, New Year's Day, Ascension Day, and a day for humiliation and prayer. Good Friday is only kept as a holiday by the Protestants. The Catholics have, in addition to these, a number of other holidays: Epiphany

(January 6th), Candlemas (February 2nd), Annunciation Day (in some places, as in Saxony, this is also observed by the Protestants); Corpus Christi Day, St. Peter and St. Paul's Day, the Assumption of the Holy Virgin and her birthday, All Saints' Day, the Conception of the Holy Virgin (December 8th); and in Austria one or two of the patron saints have also fête days. Thus, in the course of the year there are as many as fifty-nine or even sixty-eight holidays, or more than this. In Catholic districts all these are also practically observed by the Protestants by the cessation of work. For the last few years it has become the practice to celebrate September 2nd, the day of the capitulation of Sedan, as a national festival. The Ultramontanes take no part in this. Public worship appointed by the State is held on the Emperor's birthday, on the day of the opening of the Landtag, of the Reichstag, and on special occasions. It is too often apparent in these observances, however, that religious differences are stronger than patriotism.

Among the Catholics there are also, in larger or smaller measure, according to the size of the place, a number of ecclesiastical or religious celebrations attended with much pomp and show. Among those which are comparatively rare, I may mention the installation of the parish priest, the enthronization of a bishop or a pope; and among those recurring more regularly, the ceremonials attending the visit of a bishop for confirmations. On all such occasions the town assumes the festive appearance already described; generally the day is crowned by a feast given to the bishop by the parish priest, or sometimes held in an inn. Processions and pilgrimages form a very important feature of Church life. Processions are universal on Corpus Christi, and on two or three other days. These are great Catholic demonstrations, and too often become the occasion of street brawls and disturbances of the peace, if some townsmen not of the faith refuse to show the customary reverence by removing the hat, &c. It has often been proposed to forbid these processions, but hitherto they have only been placed under special police regulations for checking innovations.

Pilgrimages flourish in the Province of the Rhine, in Westphalia, in some parts of Baden and Nassau, and particularly in Bavaria and Austria. Sometimes miraculous pictures or statues of the Holy Virgin, sometimes the bodies of saints, &c., form the attraction of the pilgrim shrine. Thousands are often thus drawn together to one place; it is not an uncommon thing to meet companies of several hundreds of these pilgrims all marching together through the country with banners, prayers, and psalms, accompanied or unaccompanied by priests. From eight to fourteen days are often occupied on the way. The pilgrims consist, with few exceptions, of the poorer classes, old and young, married men, women, boys and girls. The innkeepers and priests make most out of the affair. This is shown, as far as the landlords are concerned, by the number of inns and taverns to be found in such places, and in almost all the houses lodgings for the night can be had for

payment. The scenes presented by such places, where men and women, married and single, are crowded together by dozens for the night in one room, may be better imagined than described. Hundreds of years ago the spiritual princes and other enlightened rulers, like the Empress Maria Theresa and the Emperor Joseph II., sought to put a stop to this nuisance, which, in our day, the bishops are doing all in their power to encourage. For the last eight years the infatuation has been introduced into Germany by the so-called appearances of the Mother of God at Marpingen and elsewhere, after the manner of Lourdes and La Salette.

It has been fostered of late by the visits of German princesses to such places, and by the patronage of the Ultramontane nobility of all ranks. The priests encourage it because it brings showers of gifts to the Church and enriches them by the payments for endless masses. If a priest sees the danger associated with such practices, he dare not speak, because he would make himself suspected as a liberal and a freethinker. The bishops bear the blame. But what can they do? Pius IX., by sanctioning the Lourdes mystery, &c., by granting countless indulgences, by promulgating the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, by promoting the worship of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and of Mary, gave a sensuous and superstitious tone to the whole Catholic worship. This has been taken up by the numberless orders of Jesuits, male and female, and by them so instilled into the youthful Catholic mind, that it will be generations before a really healthy tone can again prevail, even if the bishops should see their folly and enter on another course. We shall refer presently to another point, which will throw fresh light upon this subject.

The worship of God, as observed by both Protestants and Catholics, calls for our attention as presenting differing and in some respects very peculiar features. In reference to this subject it will be found that what is true of the great towns does not necessarily apply at all to the smaller towns or to the country. As a rule, it is unquestionable that the Catholic worship is throughout Germany better attended than the Protestant,—that is to say, a larger proportion of Catholics than of Protestants attend church. It is not our intention here to pronounce any judgment on one or the other form of worship, but we may say at once that the reason for this is to be found in a purely external circumstance. There is a far larger number of Catholic than of Protestant clergy in proportion to the population, and in Protestant churches with one clergyman public worship is held only once on a Sunday; among Catholics it is very often held twice. Numbers of priests read mass twice, since it is much easier to do this than to preach. In the country and in the smaller towns we find almost everywhere that these remarks apply. In the larger towns the Protestant churches are often deplorably empty, never crowded except when some celebrated preacher is expected. In the Catholic churches also of Vienna, Prague, Munich, &c., there is not, as a rule, a large attendance

at the sermons. Among what are called the higher class Catholics, it is not the custom of polite society, in most places, to attend any service except a very convenient "low mass," which begins at eleven o'clock, half-past eleven, or a quarter to twelve. This is called by the common people, "Snap mass," and lasts at the most half an hour. Many priests get through it in twenty minutes, and the worshippers feel they have satisfied their consciences by this for a week. The earlier services are attended chiefly by servants; the high masses and sermons by artisans and small tradespeople; the nobility have for the most part a private chapel in the house, where worship is conducted according to their convenience. There is a much smaller attendance of men than of women at the church, though the difference is not so great as in France, where the men are rarely more than one in ten to the women. There are many thousands, however, in the larger and smaller towns of Germany who never enter a church, except now and then out of curiosity, or for their wedding, the confirmation of their children, funerals, &c.; and this is true alike of Catholics and Protestants. It is otherwise in places where one church or the other is in a minority, and feels itself *ecclesia pressa*. Then to attend church becomes a party matter, an affair of *bon ton*. Any one visiting the Catholic churches in Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Hamburg, &c., or the Protestant churches in Bonn, Cologne, Prague, Vienna, &c., and drawing their conclusions as to the general religious life and practice of the nation from what they see, would fall into grave mistakes.

The same remarks apply to the partaking of the sacrament as to attendance at church. It is beyond doubt that the number of Protestants who every year receive the sacrament is extremely small compared with that of the Catholics. For, first, the general custom with the Protestants is to receive the sacrament only once a year, while among the Catholics, in the country generally, and also in the towns, there is a quarterly celebration. There are Catholic parishes of from 3000 to 4000 souls, in which every year from 6000 to 10,000 persons receive the sacrament. Monthly, fortnightly, weekly celebrations are not uncommon, chiefly in the larger towns, and in places where there are Jesuits, Liguorians, &c. There are also districts where whole classes of the population, men and women alike, never go to the sacrament; this is true of the Catholics almost throughout Austria, as in Italy and France. We may say, generally, that the so-called educated classes, Catholic or Protestant, especially the men, trouble themselves very little, as a rule, about the sacrament, &c., though, of course, there are exceptions to this rule, as, for instance, when an individual is identified by party interests with the Church party, or when his presence at church is required by his official position, as in the case of those employed about the Court. The same remarks hold good of confession among the Catholics. It may be safely said of Austria that 75 per cent. of the educated men, and 50 per cent. of the women, neither attend church

nor go to confession or to the sacrament ; and this is the case in many other places also. It must be further said that taking the sacrament by no means necessarily implies a belief in Christianity. A Catholic physician, in a Catholic village or small town, must go to church and take the sacrament, though he may be an infidel in sentiment. The Catholic clergy make it as easy as possible to people of this sort : the ecclesiastics belonging to the district assemble at Easter, six, eight, ten, or twelve at a time, in the parish church, and by turns receive confession. It is soon known who does the thing most easily, and he is chosen by all those who do not prefer really or nominally to confess in some other place. There are some districts—the Tyrol and others in Austria, and some in Bavaria, and in other parts of Germany—where the parish priest goes round from house to house collecting the confession or communion tickets, which are given to those who have discharged these duties. In Austria such a certificate of confession duly performed is generally required of persons desiring to marry. The consequence of this is that many beggar women make it a business for a shilling or less to go to confession, get the ticket, and sell it.

V. *Religion in the Home.*—There is no point on which there are more strongly marked differences, according to condition and locality, than on this of religion in the home. In the country and in small towns in North and in some parts of South Germany, the domestic life of both the educated and uneducated classes bears the impress of their religious convictions. Grace is said before and after meals, and in Catholic families a litany or some other prayer is read in the evening, and on Sunday afternoons there are readings and expositions from some Catholic books of devotion. In Protestant families the Bible, the liturgy, &c., are read aloud on Sundays. In the Catholic families of the higher class it is the women who observe these practices, scarcely ever the men ; even among the Ultramontanes it would be very rare to meet with a really devout man. Since the commencement of the so-called *Culturkampf*, religion has become from political grounds a subject of conversation. Before 1870 it was so essentially a mark of *bon ton* not to touch on such subjects in “good society,” that it was scarcely ever mentioned ; even in small towns religious and ecclesiastical questions were quite tabooed in social circles. In Austria this is quite the rule, and with the exception of a very few districts, every indication of religion has well-nigh vanished from family life. Although the German princes are at the head of the Protestant Churches of the country, it is not fashionable at Court to repeat a grace at table ; and even at official dinners of the Catholic dignitaries (as, for instance, on the birthday of the Emperor of Austria) this is altogether omitted. On the other hand, the Court and all the Court officials take their place on Corpus Christi Day in the procession, and all the officers and household staff about the Court appear in full glory at the great public festivities of the

Church. Order on such occasions, both within and without the building, is kept by the police. Any one who regards the Church as a place of worship, and does not wish to be annoyed, had better keep away from these official celebrations, for anything more indecorous can hardly be conceived than the perpetual whispering, gazing about, ogling the singers through opera-glasses, &c., which goes on all the time at the very elbow of men occupying prominent positions in the Church and in society. In thousands and thousands of families the influence of the home-life upon the religious education of the children is absolutely *nil*; they see no religious act, they hear no religious word. This is partly to be explained on historical grounds by the numerous legal prohibitions of former times against religious meetings in private houses, &c. Among the Catholics there has grown up, therefore, a system of religious education, the chief aim of which is to guard the young against any attempt at thinking for themselves on these matters, and to refer them on all doubtful points to the parish priest or father confessor. The laity are taught to abstain from all useless inquiries, to read nothing religious; and thus they gradually become accustomed to satisfy their conscience with a half-hour given to God on a Sunday or feast day, and with the yearly Easter confession and communion. That in this way no distinct religious convictions are formed is obvious; and what the parents do not possess they are not likely to impart to the children. The consequence of this is the otherwise extraordinary fact that we find girls out of Ultramontane homes marrying men who are either Protestant or entirely indifferent to religion, and that the men are for the most part quite unconcerned about the religious bias of their wives. We have here, however, also the explanation of the determined efforts of the Ultramontane party to get the people's schools into their hands, because the clergy know perfectly that Ultramontane training is seldom given in the home. Family worship is a thing unknown among either Catholics or Protestants belonging to the National Church, except in a few piously-disposed Protestant homes. After all that can be said, the fact remains that religion has become a mere matter of official routine. This is pre-eminently the case among the Catholics. The man who is in outward observances a good Papist, is the man to whom honour will be done, though he may be notoriously immoral. There are instances in which men living in open concubinage, or known to be usurers, &c., have been made presidents of Catholic societies, simply because they observed the outward forms of religion and gave money.

There is an entire lack in Germany of religious home-culture. This is soon apparent to any one competent to form a judgment, even to a foreigner, from the fact that the great mass of educated people take no interest whatever in religious or ecclesiastical questions. And the reason is that they possess no knowledge of the subject, for the little they learnt at school, never being practically exercised or developed in the

home life, they have gradually forgotten. We speak here of the educated classes only, because from the rest nothing more than a bare catechetical knowledge could be expected. Herein, then, lies the sufficient explanation of the utter indifference of the greater part of the nation to religion. How serious will be the consequences of such a state of things, and how prejudicial to political well-being, few have any idea. Those who do know it, and understand how to make use of it for their own ends, are the Jesuits and their followers, or at least those Ultramontane party leaders, both clerical and lay, who act in their spirit. They have based their calculations upon it. If in our day the infallibility of the Pope has been made an article of faith; if indulgences have been granted in such a way as they never were before; if in an age of scientific progress undreamed of fifty years ago, superstition and false miracle-mongering can be carried to an unprecedented length; all is explained by the prevailing ignorance and indifference which we have just described. The Jesuit party knew perfectly that they might venture anything, because the great mass of the people laugh at religion, and read with avidity works which describe Christianity as an obsolete and worn-out thing. That party rightly deemed that the great body of the lower classes who feel the need of religious help would be all the more inclined to receive the Ultramontane form of religion as the true one, and to submit themselves blindly to its authority, the more they saw the higher classes rejecting all external authority and finding their satisfaction in pure subjectivism. Only in this way can it be explained that in Germany, which once gloried in a people so deeply and intelligently religious, the whole episcopal body, in spite of its resistance at the Vatican Council, submitted to the Papal dogma of infallibility, and acquiesced in the overthrow of the existing order of things. Forsaken already by the cultivated portion of the nation, the bishops felt themselves isolated, and submitted in order to save their external authority. A hundred thousand educated men laugh at Papal infallibility, as at religion itself, but they have not the courage to stand forth openly; and thus they allow themselves still to be numbered with the Ultramontane party. They pay the Church dues because it is inconvenient to expose themselves to annoyance; and they find it perfectly convenient to believe nothing, to trouble themselves about nothing, and to be left alone. The thoroughly bad religious education, or, to speak more correctly, the absolute want of any religious education at all, in the home and in the family, supplies alone ample explanation of the existing state of things.

VI. *Religious Societies, the Religious Press, Literature, Meetings, &c.*

—If the number of societies and organs of the press gave a just measure of the soundness of the life of the Church and of religion, then Germany might stand forth pre-eminent in both. Among the Catholics there are associations which extend over the whole Empire. We pass

over those which are simply unions for prayer, &c., and confine ourselves to those which are influential through their organs in the press, or by the sums of money they raise. The "*Borromæus-Verein*," which has its quarters at Bonn, has for its object the dissemination of good books. It formerly enjoyed in Prussia and elsewhere the privilege of free carriage, and as every bookseller supplied it at half of the selling price, it was able to compete with all the colporteurs. In 1872 it had more than 38,000 members, who subscribed annually 142,160 marks, and paid for books more than 50,000 marks. It had 1424 libraries, to which 20,000 volumes were given; about 180,000 marks were invested in books. It circulates a few scientific works, but chiefly books of devotion, novels, &c., with an Ultramontane tendency. For the advancement of Catholicism in Protestant parts of Germany, there is the "*Bonifacius-Verein*," which is spread over the greater part of Germany; for missions beyond Europe there is the "*Franz-Xaverius-Verein*," which has often sent more than 250,000 francs in a year to Lyons. The object of the "*St. Michael's Bruderschaft*" is to collect money for the "*Holy Father at Rome*;" it received for this purpose from the diocese of Cologne alone, from 1861 to July, 1873, the sum of 2,015,874 marks. For all these societies the bishops, or persons appointed by them—priests, chaplains, &c.—are the agents. It will be seen at once that it would be impossible to have a better organization. Beside this there are in Germany journeymen's clubs (*Gesellen-Vereine*), at the head of which there is always a priest; in many places these clubs possess houses, in which they arrange concerts and other entertainments, and thus the artisan class is placed under clerical guidance. Beside these places of resort, there are the Catholic casinos, under various names, in which every evening good Catholics meet in larger or smaller numbers, to eat, drink beer and wine together, and talk politics; these have become since 1860, when they were first started in Mayence, the best supporters of the clerical policy. In some places the casino occupies a splendid house, while the Catholic elementary schools are in anything but a flourishing condition. From 1849 to 1865 there was held annually (since then only occasionally) a general assembly of the Catholic Unions of Germany, which gained a footing by degrees in the larger towns, and by its resolutions, &c., did much to diffuse the influence of the Ultramontane political party. The *Culturkampf*, which began in 1872, has also its unions, as for example the "*Catholiken-Verein*" of Mayence, which has branches over the greater part of Germany; the "*Pius-Vereine*," founded in 1849, have been dissolved by the authorities, either on account of their political tendencies or for violations of the laws regulating such unions.

The Protestants have nothing corresponding to this great system of unions; for the "*Gustav-Adolf-Verein*," founded in the Diaspora for the support of the Protestant Church, and that for the Home Mission, however beneficial their effect may be on the Church itself, have no

social or political significance. And these are the only general societies which collect regular subscriptions.

If we turn now to the press, we find that here also the Catholics have displayed wonderful activity. The Ultramontane bookseller Leo Wörl, of Würzburg, published, in 1878, "A Glance round the World at the Catholic Press in the New Year, 1878." This shows that there are all over the world 1072 Ultramontane organs, and of these 267 are in Germany; in Baden, 12; Wurtemberg, 12; Saxony, 2; Bavaria, 73; Prussia, 148 (Hesse-Nassau, 5; Province of the Rhine and Hohenzollern, 77; Westphalia, 28; Hanover, 7; Saxony, 1; Brandenburg, 5; Silesia, 16; Posen, 4; Prussia, 5). These figures show a marvellous activity, and prove that the organization of the Roman Catholic press determined on by the German bishops at the Fulda Conference in 1867 has made gigantic strides. In the year 1867 there were barely six Catholic political publications. These 267 periodicals, to which more might be added since 1878, appear, some of them daily, some once, twice, or three times a week, some fortnightly, some monthly. They are all of a political and ecclesiastical character, but are made attractive and entertaining by illustrations, &c. Catholics are strictly forbidden to read any other publications. If an article appears in any of these papers which the bishop disapproves, the editor is warned, ordered to withdraw the article, and so on. The reading of certain papers is denounced from the pulpits, as, for example, the *Cölnische Zeitung*. In this way the common people come to see no papers except such as are approved by the Church. No independent periodical is allowed. It is well known that a few months ago Leo XIII. condemned Dr. Sigl's publication, the *Vaterland*, in Munich, because it attacked the nuncio; Dr. Sigl submitted, and was commended for doing so.

The Ultramontane party governs the people through the press. The political bias thus given is strengthened from the religious side by certain organs which devote themselves to fostering superstition by narratives of miraculous appearances, &c. Among these is the *Sendbote des Göttlichen Herzens Jesu*, with 21,000 subscribers, which pours forth every month a perfect flood of the most foolish and amazing answers to prayer, &c. If any one wishes to see to what a really fearful depth this school has sunk, we recommend to them a book entitled, "Die deutschen Bischöfe und der Aberglaube," a memoir of Dr. F. Heinrich Reusch, Professor of Theology, Bonn, 1879.

For the purpose of popularizing science in the interest of Ultramontanism, another society was formed in 1867—"Die Görres-Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaft in Catholischen Deutschland." This society publishes pamphlets, &c., on all possible subjects, and has just announced a historical year-book.

If we now compare with all this the issues of the Protestant press, we find them scanty indeed. There is no one great political daily paper of which we can say that it is specially devoted to the interests of

the Protestant Church. There are a number of theological journals, small Church periodicals, weekly religious papers, &c., advocating the cause, but this is all. There is nothing like organization. Only the Old Catholics have, in the *Deutscher Merkur* (Munich), and in the *Altkatholischer Bote* (Heidelberg), two weekly papers, which make it their object to oppose Ultramontanism both politically and ecclesiastically, and carry out this design with diligence and ability.

German literature presents the same features. There is no longer any Catholic organ which scientifically opposes Ultramontanism. The only one which did this was the *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, published by Dr. Reusch, Professor at Bonn; this was set on foot in 1865, first appeared on January 1st, 1866, and ceased in 1877. Its history is the history of the growth of Ultramontanism. Its object was, from a purely scientific point of view, to discuss literary works in the domain of theology, philosophy, history, Church law, &c., and it was beyond question the best critical organ of the kind in Germany. In its first years men took part in it who are to-day prominent among the supporters of Ultramontanism; for example, Bishop Hefele, Cardinal Hengueröther, Professor Hettinger, Professor Janssen, Professor Merkle, Professor Schmid, Werner, and others. The Vatican Council caused the rupture. The *Literarische Handweiser*, printed in Münster, and the *Literarische Rundschau* in Aix-la-Chapelle, now guide Catholic criticism in the Ultramontane spirit. There is among the Romanists no scientific work that treats of theology, philosophy, history, &c., without attempting to make it in some way subserve the objects of the Ultramontanes. Men like Bishop Hefele, who formerly endeavoured to study objective science, do not hesitate now to make even scientific inquiry subservient to their own purposes. The so-called scientific works issued by Romanists are now purely treatises with an ecclesiastical bias. If we consider this, and remember the observations already made by us under heads II. and III., we shall feel justified in the conclusion that if this state of things continues, the Catholics will soon cease to play any part in Germany, and will gradually disappear from the chairs of our Universities, except, perhaps, as lecturers on mathematics, chemistry, medicine, and philology.

The Protestants are altogether free from any such theological bias in their scientific studies; they are indeed more in danger of falling into the mistake of a systematic negation or indifference to the religious aspect of things—a mistake which, both socially and politically, helps the cause of the Jesuits. In order to be convinced of this, we need only read the pamphlets or books which discuss the present condition of things, and we shall be astonished at the ignorance often displayed. The Ultramontane press, both political and scientific, has gone to such lengths of absurdity, that it is positively ignored by the other side. This is easily understood and well deserved, because the tone of the clerical press is so coarse and vulgar, that silence is the most dignified

mode of reply, and because it is not worth while to discuss and refute the absurdities of Catholic science. But this very silence emboldens the Ultramontane disputants, and gives them a sort of glory among their own people, to whom they say, "See, nobody dares to contradict us; they would only like to keep us silent."

As we go about the country, and observe what is the spiritual pabulum of the ordinary Catholic, we make very painful discoveries. Formerly he had always at hand a book of devotion, a collection of sermons, and a calendar. These were harmless and good in their way. But now he has the Ultramontane calendar, novels of the same tendency, pamphlets and books which falsify history, and journals which sap his patriotism, and teach him to hate law and government. The classic authors find no place in his house; there are many rich and educated Roman Catholics to whom Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Lessing, and others are little more than names learnt at school, who know nothing, or next to nothing, of the classical literature of England, France, and other countries. Mental narrowness and one-sidedness is the inevitable result of such training. Any one who knows Germany well cannot help observing that the great body of the Catholic population, in spite of all efforts made by the State and by the community for improving the schools, &c., are mentally retrograding—a condition which is sure to be followed by social deterioration, unless some radical change takes place.

If by the foregoing observations we have shown how largely the Catholic population is made use of by the Romish system, and how completely it is dominated by the clergy, we shall now adduce evidence of the manner in which the Church manages to get hold of the money of the people, through the collections for ecclesiastical purposes. The official report for the diocese of Cologne is the authority for the statements which follow. If the proportion is perhaps larger in this district, the facts are the same everywhere. From 1860 to 1873 there was raised in special contributions for the Pope (apart from the subscriptions to the "St. Michael's Bruderschaft" already named) the sum of £6084 sterling; for the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem from 1856–73 over £8900. In the year 1868 the practice was introduced of allowing the strict fasts of the Church to be partially commuted for alms; any one who made use of this opportunity put his offering into a box, and up to 1873 the sum thus paid amounted to more than £9700. In the *Cölnische Zeitung* of 1874 a calculation is made from the same source, which shows that from 1852 to 1873 there was received in the diocese of Cologne only, for Catholic unions and other objects, the sum of £283,946, which gives a yearly average of about £12,900. This, from a population of 1,350,000 souls, is an enormous amount, if we consider that the more wealthy for the most part did not contribute. But if we turn to objects of general benevolence, we find very different results. For the widows and orphans of elementary school teachers, we find the same district raised in the twenty-two years from 1851 to 1873

only £989 ; for the deaf and dumb schools during the same period, only £2301 ; for the poor students of the University of Bonn for the same period, £3825. This is enough to show that it is not true Christian-charity which fixes the measure of the gifts. For objects which the clergy have at heart means are not usually wanting. This is shown also since the year 1875, in connection with the revenues of the clergy as administered by the State. In some cases these have been withheld, and some of the clergy have in this way lost a large part of their income ; but hitherto this has been made up to them privately by collections or gifts from individuals. The Catholic nobility are the largest contributors in this way. Some of them maintain half a dozen or more priests, and only in isolated cases do the communities cease to pay. We are thus brought to the question, whether the present stage of the conflict between the Prussian State and the Romish Church is likely to last much longer ? We will not further enlarge upon this, but just make two remarks which must often suggest themselves to the careful observer.

It is certain that the Government in 1873, and even after that, did not believe that the clergy would let the contest go as far as it has gone. About 1200 clerical posts are vacant, and if this state of things lasts much longer the number will go on increasing. But there is another point still more important. The episcopal colleges are suffering seriously. At the four theological faculties established by the State in Prussia, there were in the winters of 1875-6, 344 theological students ; in the summer of 1876, 310 ; in the winter of 1876-7, 265 ; in the summer of 1877, 269 ; in the winter of 1877-8, 238 ; in the summer of 1878, 271. The numbers entering as students of theology since 1871 are scarcely half those in the previous years.

None of those who have been consecrated priests since 1875 can be appointed, because they have not passed the Government examination. It is obvious that the supply of recruits is insufficient to fill the vacant places, and that the Catholic cure of souls will come to an end if the Roman Curia does not give way and the State continues firm. Under these conditions, in ten years half the pulpits in Catholic parishes will probably be empty.

The next point to which we would call attention is the most remarkable phenomenon of our times. The Centre, the Ultramontane political party in the Reichstag, has adopted the protective programme of Prince Bismarck. Now, however true it may be that many of the members have done this because their constituencies demand it, the object of the leaders of the party in this policy, whatever may be said to the contrary, is beyond question. They hope, by supporting the Chancellor on this point, to induce him to change his policy with regard to the Church. We shall see whether they have miscalculated or not, and shall return to this subject at some future time. There is no trace of any such political combination among the Protestants. Free-traders and Protectionists are found alike in the Protestant Church and in all its branches.

VII. *External Church Organization.*—We have endeavoured to throw light upon various aspects of Church-life in Germany. In order rightly to understand them, the external organization of the Church must be kept in view, as it alone supplies the full explanation of many of the phenomena we have observed.

The Roman Catholic Church is one compact organization. The Pope stands, since the dogma of July 18, 1870, was universally adopted, as its sovereign infallible head; his colleagues and vicars are the bishops; they carry out what Rome wills; the people obey, and still recognise as bishops those whom the State, by a judicial sentence, has deprived of office. The name Catholic embraces three groups, which in the eye of the State all occupy the same legal status. The first, the Ultramontanes or strict Roman Catholics, comprehend the great mass of the Catholic population, and the majority of the nobility. These are blind followers of Rome. The second, the Old Catholics, who openly avow their allegiance to old, as distinguished from modern Catholicism, are a small number, about 60,000 in all Germany. Their importance consists in this: that they form a living protest against the violence done by the Papacy to the Church; that they make an essential point of rejecting all abuses; that by their organization they have restored to the Church its rights, and have brought the State to recognise religion and Church-life as a thing which cannot be overruled by a mere peremptory decision. The third group consists of the indifferent, those who are absolutely without any faith, and the State Catholics, who think they can unite their belief in an infallible Pope with their duties to the State, who attempt to obey at once the laws of the Pope and those laws of the State which Rome has denounced as subversive of the divine right.

Ultramontanism can, as we have already shown, ignore the utterly indifferent, nay, can even regard them as its best helpers. It is accustomed to pay as little regard to the State Catholics, since it knows that these are carried hither and thither by any wind that blows from high quarters, and that they would soon alter their course if the Government sounded the summons to retreat.

Against the Old Catholics, Ultramontanism uses the weapons of calumny, lies, mockery, and scorn. Whether it will succeed in an apparent reconciliation with the State, and induce it to withdraw its protecting hand from the only opponents it really fears, may be doubted. Should it succeed, the withdrawal of outward favour from its opponents would only increase their inward strength. One thing, however, is clear. Ultramontanism finds itself in a position in which it must either slowly succumb, or must rush blindly into a life-and-death struggle. If it chooses the latter, then a page of history will begin, the result of which will be the triumph or the collapse of the Romish Church system in Germany.

The Protestant Church presents a completely different picture. In Prussia the Established Church has two branches under the King as head. The control of the one is vested in the Protestant Oberkirchenrath, of the

other in the Minister of Worship. In Bavaria it is the same. Each of the other twenty-four States has its own Established Church. Thus there are twenty-six different Churches, besides the Old Lutheran, and a number of sects not belonging to the National Church. There is neither unity nor a willingness to unite for practical purposes. When, in January, 1876, Prussia succeeded in drawing up for the eight old provinces a united Constitution with a general synod as its organ, it might have been thought that there would have been an eager attempt made by all parties to hold fast that which had been gained with so much difficulty, and that they would have appreciated the value of such an organization for the sake of the position and power of the Church. Instead of this it was soon found that the Constitution was too liberal for the orthodox, and too orthodox for the liberal. The former are doing all in their power to pull down the scarcely-completed edifice. They are making every effort to banish again the liberal element, and to restore creeds and confessions. On the other hand, the *Protestanten-Verein* is endeavouring to get rid of all dogmatic confessions. The choice of a freethinking preacher is magnified by the orthodox, and its non-ratification is magnified by the liberals, into a matter of the first importance to the State; and the appointment of this or that orthodox Court preacher is declared by the highest ecclesiastical authority in Prussia to be a Cabinet question. The religious literature and Church periodicals all take up the same strain; indeed, it is almost as much the case with the Protestants as with the Ultramontanes that the stronger ecclesiastical bias forms a social barrier and becomes the shibboleth of a political party. If this continues, we can form no hopeful augury for the Protestant Church.

The signs of the times are not to be mistaken. Orthodoxy has already begun to hold out a hand to Ultramontaniam. There is a large class of the Protestant clergy who long for the same sort of power which the Romish clergy possess. There are very many Conservatives who earnestly desire a more rigid ecclesiastical constitution, because they think this would give them that firm support of authority which seems to them so imposing in the Church of Rome, and would enable them to hold in check the Social Democrats, and to remedy all other social, political, and domestic evils.

Every day shows that the more sentiments like these prevail in the high places of the Church, the more rapid will be the growth of indifferentism and atheism all around.

In fine, Church-life in Germany is sharing in the restlessness which pervades every other department of society—social, political, and economic. Every one is dissatisfied, and each accuses the other as the cause of the general depression. Meanwhile there is but one reasonable way to amend matters: namely, to cease the present system of experimenting; to allow existing institutions quietly to work out their own issues; and leave it to time to prove what is true and lasting, and what must be abandoned as injurious and false.

FRIEDRICH VON SCHULTE.

CHEAP JUSTICE.

IT too often happens that our law reformers are precisely those who profit most by the abuses of the law. A leading Queen's Counsel who takes the chair at some Law Reform Committee or Social Science Section can hardly be expected to see the merits of cheap justice and the demerits of our extravagant system as clearly as those who are not dazzled by the enormous fees now current in the profession. Litigants are, no doubt, always in a minority, non-litigants in a majority; but the minority has so smarted and bled under legal extortion, that the threat of legal proceedings is to most of us a more formidable threat than that of personal violence. Those who really know the state of things are the persons who shrink most from going to law, or even from defending an action brought against them. They would rather put up with an injury than seek justice in our superior courts; they would rather pay a small sum to an unjust claimant than run the risk of the loss or ruin consequent upon an adverse verdict. The remedy is two-fold—firstly, to extend cheap and local justice; secondly, to reform the system of advocates and their remuneration. Superior courts will always be more expensive than inferior courts. To obtain cheap justice, the inferior court should be made the first stage to the superior court. An action should only be removed from a local inferior court into a superior court for some distinct reason—such as difficulty in the law, the intricate nature of facts, or the importance of the question from a social or moral point of view. This is, in truth, only the completion of that progress which has been accomplished, and is the final outcome of what has occurred during the last thirty years. All other reforms, like that of the system of advocacy, are secondary and incidental to this, which is primary and fundamental.

Two views have been held, which are unfavourable to cheap justice:

one is, that the very fact of justice being expensive operates as a deterrent, preventing quarrelsome people from going to law, and promoting peaceful settlements and the compromise of disputes. In this there is a fragment of truth; but the same argument might be used for the abolition of all justice. There is, indeed, no justification for the expensive system. It has grown up as a system of redress for the wealthy, for which they were able and willing to pay. The rule has been—law for the rich, not for the poor. A real progress has been effected on this subject in modern times. A just legislation has gradually, but only partially, destroyed this iniquity by substituting a system of cheap and equal justice. Reforms are required to complete this process of conversion. Looking to the fact that in the past our laws were made for the rich, and not for the poor, we understand why the amount of damages should still be the measure of the importance of the dispute; why this “money value” idea has so deeply tainted our laws and vitiated our justice. This is the case with the rules relating to the assessment of damages, and with what now concerns us more—namely, the legal rules as to jurisdiction and costs. In both these respects there has been considerable improvement. The judicial powers have been increased in reference to costs, enabling the courts to make just orders in reference to costs in many cases where, if the costs followed the event, injustice would occur. But still there is great room for improvement. The absolute money value of the wrong to the injured person determines the question of whether the lawsuit shall be in a superior or inferior court. A great relief to the higher courts would be attained by reform in this direction. Not only is justice in the superior courts very expensive, but its price has hitherto continually increased.*

Another objection to cheap justice has been found in the abuses of the process of justice. A learned and eminent judge, when he heard any one expatiate on the advantages of cheap justice, used to say, doubtfully, that there were as many defendants as there were plaintiffs. He meant that many unjust claims were preferred, and that justice consisted in resisting wrong claims as well as in establishing right ones. “Gentlemen,” said the same judge, summing up to a jury, “in days long gone by the man who intended to rob you presented a pistol at your head, demanding your money or your life—he now serves you with a writ.” The evil effect of the law being abused and made the instrument of intimidation, extortion, or fraud, can hardly be exaggerated. The administration of justice, civil and criminal, is beset with these difficulties. Our rules of evidence and our rules of practice, even when most mistaken and mischievous, have always been framed with a view to elucidate truth and guard against error and deceit. If it were true that cheap justice would increase these evils, that would be a real objection. No doubt

* This article was written before the introduction of the Government measure now before the House of Lords, in which it is proposed to extend the county court jurisdiction from £50 to £200, and that plaintiffs should have the power of commencing suits in the county courts for still larger amounts.

cheap justice in one sense increases litigation—there are more trials; but it does not follow that it increases improper or fraudulent litigation in the same proportion, or at all. There are, on the contrary, reasons for believing that cheap justice is the most effective remedy against such abuses, provided that it be *speedy, local, and efficient*, as well as *cheap*.

Justice should be speedy and local. It should be sought by the complainant as soon as possible. The defendant should be required to answer as soon as possible; and there should be no delay about the final decision. Lapse of time between the wrong committed and the complaint made, means increase of difficulty. The difficulty tends to increase with the time, and is least when the facts are fresh in the minds of the witnesses. Immediate recourse to law raises a presumption in favour of the *bona fides* of the complainant—just as when a girl charges a man with having outraged her, the fact of her having made an immediate complaint to her mother, or to the first person she meets, is a strong confirmation, not of the correctness of her statement, but of the honesty and truthfulness of her belief. Unreasonable delays on one side or the other excite suspicion. Time is required for fraudulent inventions and manœuvres, whether concocted by the parties or by counsel drawing up the perjured affidavits in their chambers. At the same time many honest persons do constantly let a considerable time elapse before they have recourse to law, hoping to avoid the necessity by delay. Still the practical advantage, for the purposes of justice, of having claims preferred as soon as possible is sufficient justification of time limitations, by which legal remedy is limited to a definite time. The law is right that discourages delay. If there were no statute of limitations, that would encourage delay, and give opportunity and facility to fraud.

Our error lies in not making these limits narrower and more stringent. I believe this view is contrary to legal opinion, which is opposed to limitations of the right to legal redress. We often hear professional lamentations over the Statute of Limitations and the Statute of Frauds. The latter of these enacts that certain contracts shall not be enforced at law, unless reduced to writing and signed by the person liable. Happily, popular common sense has triumphed over legal sophisms and legal interests, and the principle will not only be maintained, but will be in the future largely extended in its application. For example, the mass of the working classes are quite satisfied that such contracts as those of yearly hiring should be, and are properly required by law to be, in writing. They treat with ridicule and contempt the notion that the value of this is done away with because sometimes employers take undue advantage of men, and get them to sign written contracts which they do not understand. This is often the case with the yearly hirings of agricultural labourers. But the leaders of the Agricultural Union and the most intelligent farm labourers are precisely those who are insisting most strongly on the advantages of such restrictions and contracts. Nor must we forget that, on the discussion of Mr. Cross's Labour Laws in the

House of Commons, the two workmen members deliberately urged upon the Government the policy of not enforcing any labour contracts that were not in writing. Probably the Government was right in declining to take so large a step, the consequences of which it was extremely difficult to foresee. But the fact remains that the working classes are desirous to have these restrictions forced upon them by law. They clearly see that which our so-called "scientific lawyers" do not see, that the object of law is to prevent disputes by practical rules and well-defined limitations. The jurists, who believe that law is a science, generally tell us that the great object of the law and of our judicial system is to discover and carry out by law the actual "intention" of the parties.

This doctrine is only calculated to multiply litigation and fill the pockets of the lawyers, not to settle differences and create habits of prudence and foresight among us. Therefore, to obtain speedy justice, complainants must be made to come early by stringent limitations of time, and to the local court by preventing them from bringing their actions in distant places. Moreover, these conditions of justice, that it should be speedy and local, obviously contribute towards justice being cheap. The longer the time and the greater the distance, the greater the expense.

A system of cheap, speedy, local, and efficient justice would doubtless be very disagreeable to the wrong-doer and contract-breaker, who profit by the law's delays. Complicated, protracted, expensive justice, such as the lawyer's soul is supposed to delight in, is more of a terror to the injured than to the injurer. And why is this? Because we know that, apart from the uncertainty, success is very often a money loss. We see, "Verdict for the plaintiff, damages £100," in the newspaper report. But how much of that £100 ever finds its way into the plaintiff's hands? He may be in reality a considerable loser, though victorious in the action-at-law.

Another source of dissatisfaction and of bitter complaint is the practice of compelling causes to be referred to arbitration when the parties have come to trial. The parties select their tribunal, they have on one side often exhausted all other means of settlement. They come to fight it out and have it finally decided by judge and jury. The judge, who does not like the trouble of trying it, suggests an arbitration, which he thinks would arrange matters in a more satisfactory way, the result of which is that neither party is satisfied, that often the affair is not finally disposed of, and, lastly, that there are the costs of the arbitration plus the costs of the trial. Again and again have I known parties compelled by the judge against their will to forego the very tribunal upon whose decision they relied, and to accept one in which they had no confidence.

It is now thirty years since the establishment of the county courts, unquestionably the greatest legal innovation of modern times. For thirty years, in spite of many difficulties, of many bad appointments by

Lord Chancellors of incompetent judges, there has been a continuous development of a cheap and popular system of justice. In these courts the aims and objects of law reformers have been realised; and if our legal statesmen had been wise enough to complete this development, and then take the county court system as the basis of their reconstruction, we might have been saved from the expensive and incomplete system they have erected, and many valuable acquisitions of time might have been preserved from destruction. All the more necessary is it then to point out that the county court system has been one of organic growth and development; standing firm in the midst of the tottering chaos of legal institutions.

At first the powers of these courts were carefully circumscribed by the Legislature. But as they have grown in popularity, their powers have been continually extended. At first they had only a common law jurisdiction, and no claim for debt or damage above £20 could be tried.

In the year 1850 this was extended to £50, and this limit still remains. But statutes were passed in 1856, 1858, 1859, 1865, increasing the jurisdiction in various ways. Again in 1867 another statute was passed, adding to the common law jurisdiction of these courts; and that measure, half-hearted as it was, gave such an impetus to the common law business of the county courts, that whereas the number of writs issued in the superior Courts of Common Law in 1867 amounted to 127,702, in 1868, the year after the Act was passed, they diminished by rather more than one-third, and fell to 83,174. In 1870 they had fallen to 72,760. Now, the reforms proposed by the Judicature Commissioners approximated very closely to and are in the same direction as the reform which it is the object of this paper to insist upon—namely, that the county court shall be the basis of the system, and that every action shall be begun in the county court, and only transferred to a superior court upon proper cause being shown.

The Judicature Commissioners thought that these courts, as branches of the High Court, should, subject to a power of transfer, have a jurisdiction unlimited by the amount claimed, whatever be the nature of the case, provided the parties to the dispute are content it should be decided in the county court; that in common law matters an exclusive jurisdiction should be given in all matters of contract, and in all actions of tort, without any exception, up to the limit of £50. My objection to this limitation is that no mere money distinction ought to give a right to proceed in a superior court. And a further proposal was made by the Commissioners that the registrars of the courts should have power to deal with the smaller class of cases. This was another vicious money proposal, against which Lord Penzance and Mr. Justice Quain firmly protested. There is, of course, no objection to the decision by the registrar in any case where both sides consent; but the amount of money claimed ought to make no difference. Justice for small claims is as important as for large ones.

"One of the great hindrances," says an authority, "to commercial and trading success, especially in small towns, is the limitation to £50 as the sum recoverable in the county courts. Numbers of traders of the classes found in these towns and neighbourhoods, such as millers, builders, farmers, lime-burners, and others, are hampered by this restriction. A £50 credit is too small, a few pounds more would suffice to save many a concern; but a creditor knows he cannot recover more than £50 in the county court, and when the debt gets near that amount he stops supplies. £50 or less he can sue for without expense; if he gives further or larger credit he knows that to recover he must encounter the expenses and delay of the superior courts, and the trader will have none of them. As it is, a county court is not often held without a plaintiff giving up some portion of the money due to him, so as to bring his claim below £50, and enable him to recover the debt there."

In some districts where the county court judges are very good, the county court has almost superseded the higher courts. Trials of the most important causes take place by consent, and the attorneys thus obtain cheap and satisfactory justice for their clients. Too much praise can hardly be given to such conduct in these days of enormous costs and fees. There are, however, some litigants who will fight, who will not listen to reason or advice, who will not compromise a jot of their supposed rights, who will go on, and who will fight while they have money to spend. For them the full trial at *Nisi Prius* before judge and jury is the right arena, and if legal harpies leave them sucked dry of coin and credit, we can only look upon them as more foolish than the litigants of old, who fought it out valiantly with their bands of armed retainers.

Besides the county courts, we have another remarkable success to point to, namely, the cheap justice administered by the stipendiary magistrates and the best country justices, under Mr. Cross's Employers and Workmen Act. It is quite refreshing to read in the newspaper reports of important cases, often settling a whole series of cases, in which the costs only amount to seven or eight shillings. This jurisdiction is confined to labour and work, as between employers and employed, and the court has no jurisdiction when the claim is over £10. In that event the county court is the proper tribunal. Whether this limit is right or wrong in this class of legal actions, is not material now. I wish to point out the great success of this tribunal wherever the magistrates are competent, and to ask the question, why should employers and employed have this benefit and not the rest of the community? Is not this the typical justice—local, speedy, and cheap? Ought we not to aim at a development of this part of our system by increasing the jurisdiction and improving the quality of the administration? It has often been insisted that a reform in the quality of the magistracy should be undertaken to improve the administration of criminal justice at petty sessions. We now urge a different object for the same reform, namely, the construction of a system of cheap, speedy, local justice on the model and by a development of the Employers and Workmen Act of 1875. In the extension of the county court and petty sessions systems lies the true path of law reform; coupled with the simplification and codi-

fication which is required in all branches of the law, for its more practical and efficient administration. This is the real relief wanted for overcrowded superior courts, not the multiplication of superior judges. If our Chancellors and lawyers had not been so blinded by their system and surroundings, instead of judicature acts and palaces of justice, endless expense with small and doubtful result, we might now be seeing the rise and working of efficient and commodious little courts in the towns and villages, and we might have advanced a long way towards the ideal formulated by the Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, of justice brought to every man's door, and law to every man's knowledge.

In the establishing of a scheme like the one suggested, there will be some difficult questions of a practical nature that will have to be solved. Such, for example, are those relating to the right of trial by jury in civil cases. An extension of the county court and petty sessional jurisdictions obviously means the trial of a larger number of causes by a judge without a jury. When both sides consent to the trial of a civil cause by a judge without a jury no one can object: not even where the wrong complained of is of a criminal character; as, for instance, libel. The difficulty is to define the rights of the parties when they do not agree: when is each side, in a civil court, entitled to claim trial by jury as a right and against the will of the other? It would be easy to suggest some practical rule that would sufficiently guarantee the liberties of the individual. On the whole, greater evils at present exist from the fact that there are a great many cases disposed of at petty sessions without a jury, in which there is the greatest conflict of testimony, which require the best judicial faculties, and which involve the highest human interests. Such, for example, are the bastardy cases. Not only are a man's business and material position imperilled by a charge of this sort, but his happiness and reputation. And yet, any man may have a false charge trumped up against him; and if this happens, the accusation must be heard without a jury; too often by two country gentlemen, wholly ignorant of law and incompetent to discharge the judicial duty. A few years ago I knew of an instance in which a servant-girl fathered her child upon an old gentleman of seventy, of unblemished life and reputation. Two country justices decided against him. The law is, that there shall be no conviction unless there be some evidence to corroborate the story of the prosecutrix. Luckily, there was no corroboration of any kind, and the justices ought to have dismissed the charge, even if they had believed the girl. The Court of Quarter Sessions did quash the conviction on appeal; but it was thought to be so perilous a situation that an eminent and judicious Queen's Counsel was retained at great expense. In this instance, the whole fault lay in the incompetency of the magistrates: but in many cases, especially where there is some corroborative evidence, the accused ought to be able to claim to have so important an issue tried by a jury.

One thing that might be easily effected is the complete separation of

the criminal from the civil side of the Court of Petty Sessions.* At the assizes, as everybody knows, the distinction is very clear. The judge who presides in the Crown Court wears his red robes. When he first opens the Crown Court for the trial of prisoners, and charges the grand jury, he wears all the marks and insignia of his office, and of this duty.

The *Nisi Prius* judge sits in a plain black silk gown. The forms and procedure of the two courts are quite different. There should be the same practical distinction for the two sides of the petty sessions—the criminal and civil; different formalities, and, if possible, some visible distinction, to mark the difference of jurisdiction. Let no one regard this as unimportant. Such an idea as that of the “red judge” is a valuable popular acquisition, to be used, not to be thrown away. It is a great mistake for the judge at quarter sessions, or stipendiary magistrates, to have no official dress. The use of dress and formalities is chiefly to mark these important differences, and prevent the confusion which now exists not only in the popular mind, but in the law, and in the minds of the administrators of the law.

A magistrate, who occupies an important position in a county as a large landowner, and who is thoroughly competent as a lawyer and efficient as a judge, writes on this very point as follows:—

“I am glad to see you insist so strongly on the necessity of distinguishing between the civil and criminal jurisdiction of magistrates. I am sure one cause of miscarriage of justice is the almost universal belief (which is fostered by the forms of procedure) that any proceeding before magistrates is necessarily of a criminal nature. The result is that magistrates who have not had a legal training are prone to treat every defendant as a criminal the moment any case is made out against him. I think it is this, the feeling that an offence for which a man can be ‘had up’ before the magistrates must necessarily be legally and morally a crime, which is the cause of severe sentences rather than any class or other sinister motive. This, of course, would be much altered by codification, which would at once set the distinction between the civil and criminal duties of magistrates in a clear light.”

Cheap justice at petty sessions is perfectly feasible; but it should be accompanied by a reform, improving the quality of the magistracy. It is useless to give large powers to inefficient magistrates; more especially when there is so much distrust and dissatisfaction abroad, which cannot be removed except by a wide measure of reform.

The great obstacle, after all, to the institution of cheap justice is the existence of the lawyers as a powerful and numerous body, not only interested in, but living and making large fortunes out of the present system. The lawyers will not readily part with the sources of their wealth and power. If cheap justice is desirable for the mass of the people, dear justice, prolonged lawsuits, extravagant attorneys’ bills, and gigantic counsel’s fees are desirable for the lawyers. It would be a great step for us to get a development of the local courts. But before

* Mr. Cross, in his excellent Bill on Summary Jurisdiction, now before the House of Commons has taken a step in this direction, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated, and from which there may be gradually developed the whole of the reform relating to petty sessions, advocated in this article.

cheap justice is really obtained, the lawyers, their corporations and interests must be fought. Let us see what the lawyers consider as legitimate gain, which they appropriate without scruple. There is a moral as well as a political question here. We have no occasion to examine cases of fraud, or of any malpractices; to point to mere abuses of the system only would be to fail in proving the charge against the system. We ought to examine a case where *bona fides* is not disputed, where the attorneys and counsel are in the highest position and of unblemished reputation; then we should be in a position to judge the system fairly, its uses and its practice. However large an attorney's bill may be, his position cannot be impugned merely on that account. He is always entitled to say, "It may be that these things could be done more cheaply, but we are first-class attorneys, and set a high value on our knowledge and skill, and we name our own price, and do not care to do the work for less." This happens with the best firms. In no sense are such attorneys to be blamed, except as part of the system of extravagant justice. So, a barrister ought to be able to put his own price upon his own services. A great orator—an Erskine or a Cockburn—might well say, "I only intend to advocate great causes, and my fee is a thousand guineas." He ought to be able to do so. But supposing him retained, and supposing him to win his cause, the defeated litigant ought not to be condemned to pay the thousand guineas, but only such costs as are compatible with cheap and reasonable justice.* These remarks may be illustrated by reference to the fact that the *Hour* newspaper, after being defeated in an action and condemned to pay the plaintiff's costs, actually printed *verbatim* the whole of their opponent's bill of costs, which they were compelled to pay; and certainly a more extraordinary and melancholy document has seldom appeared in a newspaper. We assume that each transaction is perfectly honest, and that it is sanctioned by professional opinion. Our purpose is only to protest against the system, and against any opinion which sanctions such proceedings. Indeed, the very force of this bill of costs, as against the system, is that it applies to the highest and most respectable members in both branches of the profession.

The action was for libel, and was settled by agreement on the terms that the defendant should pay a hundred guineas and the plaintiff's costs; and no doubt he was astonished when that bill was sent in, for the amount was £1592 3s. 6d., and he had, after taxation, to pay £1361 8s. 10d.; the difference, £230 14s. 8d., being the amount taxed off. Unfortunately the defendant's costs in this case have not been published. But few persons will say that where the costs of one side amount to £1361 8s. 10d., it is not an extravagant and monstrous system of expensive justice, more especially as the case was not tried out, though a verdict was taken by consent. The items are even

* It will be said that a fee of a thousand guineas would be taxed down. And it might be; but the fact is true, that the litigant who is condemned in costs has to pay costs calculated on a most extravagant scale.

more extraordinary than the total. Counsel is consulted and feed for the most trivial things, for instance for "settling" a letter which the attorney writes to the defendant. Three counsel are employed, Mr. —, the junior counsel, gets thirty-eight different fees, amounting to £198 4s., the action extending over rather more than two months. Mr. —, Q.C., gets £193 17s. 6d., being in twelve fees, and the Attorney-General £247 7s. 6d. in eight fees. Total of fees £639 9s. None of this was taxed off. One fee of £1 6s., which I have not reckoned, was taxed off the junior counsel's fees, and I suppose was paid by the plaintiff out of his damages. This is what any of us are liable to have inflicted upon us if an action is brought against us. £105 damages, and £1361 8s. 10d. the enemy's costs—without counting our own attorney's bill! And one cannot but make the observation, though it counts for little, that this very Attorney-General, Sir John Holker, was the man who got up in the House of Commons and lectured the colliers on their not being satisfied with £1 a week wages! It is useless to go into the attorney's charges, we all know what an attorney's bill is,—how every visit and every letter and everything done is charged for. We are after all concerned with the total and not with the items. But what is to be thought of a system in which the attorney charges £210 for one item, and the respectable attorney who taxes the bill of costs reduces this to £105; that is, by half? That amount is taken off by the gentle and hesitating taxation of the friendly attorney. We take it at the best, we assume the taxation right. It is, then, in the legal profession thought morally right for a respectable attorney to make out a bill for double the proper charge. What can be said in defence of a system which allows such things to occur, and attaches no disgrace or discredit to those who share and profit by the plunder? Let those who choose spend what they will in law; let them employ attorney-generals and solicitor-generals as they like. But when a man is condemned in costs by order of a tribunal and by the force of law, it should only be for an amount which is consistent with a system of the cheapest and most reasonable justice.*

This subject of the extortionate charges of attorneys might be illustrated in many ways: by the enormous expense of legal charges for conveyance and transfer of land or houses; or by the way in which attorneys charge for copying and abstract-making. Where a respectable

* It is deeply to be regretted that the Legislature should have been so unwise as to give criminal courts power to make the accused pay the costs of the prosecution. There is no relation whatever between the degree of guilt and the costs of the prosecution, and the power has only been given in felonies, not in misdemeanours; that is, in respect of the more serious crimes, for which payment of costs is not a proper punishment, but which must have the effect of offering to weak tribunals the temptation to forego real punishment in consideration of the defendant's paying the expenses of the prosecution. This power has actually been given in cases where the Legislature has not given the power to fine! It has been done in deference to the opinion of lawyers, who have thus introduced this mischievous provision into the administration of criminal justice, which had hitherto been free from it.

I am sorry to say that the Royal Commission on the Criminal Code has been so ill-advised as to retain this law as part of the revised Code.

solicitor has to investigate a title, and requires the production of deeds in the custody of a second attorney, the latter sends in an enormous bill of charges, which the first solicitor is obliged to pay without remedy. I have come chiefly in contact with the extortion of attorneys in reference to criminal matters. Now with very few exceptions (the game laws being the chief) all the expenses of prosecutions of serious crimes are paid by the Government. Speaking generally, the scale of payment is sufficient, and when occasion requires there is no stint. But the expenses of the defence are not paid, and when an attorney is privately engaged to prosecute, he is not satisfied with the Government allowances, which he gets; but brings in a bill against his client. I have seen a good many of these bills against private persons; and a good many of those against trade societies, both for prosecuting and defending. I have now before me several bills, which one trade society has paid. These cases can only be described as a wilful plundering of the working classes. It is true that the leaders of the workmen ought to have known better, in some cases; but that does not diminish the iniquity of the practice. In other cases the attorneys have simply cheated the men by persuading them that a certain course was necessary; having taken advantage of the position of men who had been accused of crime under the labour laws. Again and again, when a number of men have been accused, attorneys have used the situation to multiply expenses and wring costs out of their victims. They employ a great array of counsel, they make the accused "sever" in their defences,—that means that each prisoner must have separate counsel and separate briefs. This has been done when one counsel for all would have been much better; but the attorneys have deliberately sacrificed the interests of their clients for the purpose of robbing them. I could cite instances and give undoubted testimony. But I am not going to give any one a chance of bringing an action of libel against me, to make me pay his costs. I give the statement as the result of my own experience, having been an officer of a criminal court for twenty years, employed in the taxation of costs, and therefore familiar with the special detail of the subject. I have known a bill for the defence in a criminal trial exceed a thousand pounds, in which two hundred would have been amply sufficient remuneration and good pay for the work to all concerned in it.

Probably, however, the greatest abuses in the way of extravagant costs are those which have grown up in parliamentary committees: where it is openly allowed that there is no relation between the costs and the work done. This has, most likely, had a noxious influence upon the whole of our system, and has more than anything else tended to increase the costs of litigation in the superior courts. The time is in fact come for a searching inquiry into the subject, and it would be well if the whole subject could be brought before the House of Commons.

Meanwhile, it is comforting to know, that better systems exist in more favoured parts of the earth, and those who take up this question

would do well to study the institutions of North Germany. It seems that in that country real efforts are made to supply the proper means of defence or of prosecuting litigation in the case of the poor. There are a certain class of advocates, who are government and official advocates, and who are obliged to take cases at a certain scale of prices from any one who chooses to employ them; not, however, to the exclusion of others, who are free to ask what price their talents can command. I regret that I have not sufficient materials at present to give an account of this state of things, so interesting to us from the present point of view. But the knowledge that different systems exist elsewhere may serve to strengthen and support the conviction so many people now entertain: that the narrow and obstructive character of our Inns of Court, and the monopolies which our barristers and attorneys possess, had better give way, either to a free system, or to one really regulated and controlled by some efficient power.

The Inns of Court pretend to regulate the conduct of barristers; but they never, in fact, do so, except in some extraordinarily gross case—or where some unfortunate sinner has been discovered and trampled on, in which case they solemnly eject him from their associations. The most notorious and disgraceful conduct, if not actually criminal, does not procure expulsion or even rebuke. The most crass ignorance is admitted and allowed by the Inns of Court. If counsel take fees and neglect their work, this is not even thought disgraceful. Very recently a case of murder was called on at the sitting of the court. This was a trial of life and death, where the prisoner's life depended upon a judicious defence. When the prisoner came to the bar he was informed that his counsel had just returned the brief. There was no one present to defend him. I need hardly say that, under the circumstances, the court postponed the trial for a day. Yet this kind of dereliction of duty is never taken notice of. Not long ago in the House of Commons Mr. Burt, M.P., in answer to some very unworthy and prejudiced taunts by the Attorney-General upon the colliers, said that

“He was sorry the Attorney-General had not confined himself to the purely legal aspect of the question—a point on which he spoke with clearness and authority. He had drawn upon his imagination for illustrations, some of which were not only irrelevant, but displayed exceedingly bad taste. (Hear, hear.) The hon. and learned gentleman spoke, for instance, of the high, and what he was pleased to call the extravagant, wages earned by the miners; and, not satisfied with this, he went on to speak most offensively of their luxurious living, and of their drinking champagne. He (Mr. Burt) would not degrade himself by attempting to make a serious answer to such stuff and nonsense. (Laughter and cheers.) Such expressions might be tolerated and excused as the gossip and claptrap of idlers and loungers at the street corners or in the taprooms; but they were utterly unbecoming and indefensible when uttered in a grave debate in that House by an hon. and learned member who held a high and responsible position in the government of the country. (Loud cheers.) He (Mr. Burt) did not know what the hon. and learned gentleman considered extravagant wages. On a matter of that kind opinions would no doubt differ. (Hear, hear.) He had heard of a certain profession, of which perhaps the hon. and learned gentle-

man knew something, in which it was not at all unusual for men to earn—or at any rate to obtain—as much in a single hour as the best paid miner with the utmost energy and exertion, notwithstanding all the risk to which he was admittedly exposed, could earn in a full year's hard work. In that learned profession, too, it was not illegal, and he believed it was not even deemed dishonourable, for a man, after having been handsomely remunerated, never so much as to honestly attempt to perform the work for which he had already pocketed the pay. (Loud laughter and cheers.)"

The only rule among the barristers tending towards cheap justice is that any prisoner is supposed to be entitled to the services of any barrister, practising in the court before which he is arraigned, for the sum of one guinea. But this rule is constantly and openly disregarded; the guinea fee is invariably refused by those who think it prudent to do so. But the expenditure in criminal courts and the justice administered in them contrast well with those of civil courts, because a stricter system is maintained, and even if there is room for economy in certain directions, there is on the other hand need of further expenditure to make justice less one-sided than it is at present. If the Inns of Court are to retain their monopolies, they ought to be compelled to afford a system of cheap justice to the mass of the people as far as barristers are concerned. But this can best be done by legislation. The Law Society, which is entrusted by law with important duties with reference to the examination and registration of attorneys, although better in some respects than the Inns of Court, does not attempt really to purge their branch of the profession of wicked and corrupt members, though I believe they do take steps for getting attorneys struck off the rolls who have been convicted of crime. Not long ago I was applied to by the Law Society, as clerk of assize, for information as to whether a certain attorney had been convicted on my circuit of a criminal offence. I replied that he had been convicted, under a particular statute, of a fraudulent crime, in the course of his practice as an attorney, but that the Court of Criminal Appeal had quashed the conviction on a technical point of law. Owing to the inadequacy and clumsiness of our criminal laws this particular fraud did not come within the terms of the statute. I pointed out that the jury had found by their verdict that what was done was done with a fraudulent intention; I offered to answer any further questions, and referred them to the judge who tried the case. Great pressure was also put upon them from the locality to take action in the matter, and they were informed by unquestionable authority that this attorney was pursuing practices of a similar character. Nothing was done. And this is only one example of the inefficiency of the Law Society to fulfil its duty, which gives rise to feelings of great dissatisfaction throughout the country at its culpable neglect in these matters. The long and short of the whole matter is, that cheap justice cannot be obtained while these associations are permitted to exist in their present unreformed condition. They have had these monopolies and advantages, and have not done their duty in educating their members, or in controlling and

weeding out the disreputable. They have most certainly failed. They not even attempted to reform or regulate the system of costs or fees they might have done. The reason is that the heads of these associations are the very persons who have profited by the system. When a barrister or attorney becomes eminent and makes a great deal of money by the system, he is at once elected to be one of the heads of the institution of which he is a member. The Inns of Court profess exultant loyalty to grandees and royal personages, and spend lavishly on banquets and feasting sums of money, often wrung by force and coercion from unwilling subscribers, whom they compel to contribute by the legal fees they hold, and which they have not scrupled to use in the most offensive and unjust way. But they have been entirely wanting in the patriotism which should have led them to make efforts to institute a system of cheap justice, which might have made them a help and blessing to the nation, instead of an incubus that the English people would be glad to shake off and be rid of.

HENRY CROMPTON

AN AMERICAN DIVINE:

HORACE BUSHNELL, D.D.

THAT honourable title, *Minister et Interpres*, which has been conferred on man in his relationship with Nature, may also be claimed by him in reference to the system which comprehends all spiritual existence, and of which Nature is the mere platform and instrument. Gathered round the materialism of creation, it is this system which is chiefly in our view when we speak of the Universe. In large measure, it has been made known. And, whatever "advanced thinkers" may affirm, we instinctively feel that, if we are living in it as its loyal ministers, we can intelligently survey it as interpreters.

What relation it bears to the subordinate system, how it is constituted, by what laws it works, what relations are contained in it, and to what ends it is directed, may surely be in large measure ascertained by one who is duly qualified for the inquiry. Watchful against false judgments, however generally accepted—exercising the same habits of patience and humility and diligence which have won such illustrious triumphs in the inferior region—large and invaluable knowledge may here also be obtained by him. And he who has thus exercised the functions of an interpreter with regard to our higher sphere of life, should be gratefully recognised as one of the benefactors by whom human thought has been advanced. He has carried our regards into regions hitherto unexplored, besides casting a fuller light on scenes and movements which have been already brought within our range of contemplation.

Not many, indeed very few, in any generation, answer this description. But it may be justly applied to that distinguished man, lately removed from his people, whose name is given in the title of this paper. Of Dr. Bushnell it may be truly affirmed that, in the sense above explained, he was one of the advanced thinkers of his age. In a very effective manner, and very usefully also, he discharged the functions of an interpreter,

both by making known the true order of the universe, and explaining the laws by which it is moving onwards to its appointed ends.

We hope to establish these claims on behalf of one who, comparatively speaking, is as yet unknown. He has, indeed, a continually widening circle of disciples who are distinguished as much by their personal affection for the man as they are by their zeal in diffusing the lessons which they have learnt from him. For they find that, in a very practical sense, his is helpful thinking: he strengthens his readers while he instructs them; and obligations of gratitude make them spread his influence with a zealous enthusiasm which is unusual among disciples in our day. And yet he has not hitherto commanded that wider public which he is so well entitled to address. Perhaps this may in part be accounted for by his professional designation, and by the nature of the subjects with which he has been chiefly occupied. For, certainly, it is no help to a writer's reputation in these times that he can put "Reverend" before his name; and we know that, in the eyes of many readers, anything in the guise of theology looks uncouth and mystical, if not absolutely repulsive. Moreover, that so little can be learned about him, has been a serious drawback to his influence: men like to have some knowledge of the place and occupations of one who puts forth such claims on their attention. And further, if this may be said without offence, his position as an American divine is not in his favour; and especially when the dialect is so thoroughly native as it is in his pages. Yet still, after all these deductions have been made, it remains strange that he has not received that wide hearing to which he is as well entitled as any of the thinkers of our day. Not unfairly may he be described as Isaac Taylor and Thomas Carlyle combined; looking as he does, in their manner, with searching and courageous gaze on the most momentous problems of existence, piercingly looking into all mysteries, and then discoursing, often with rarest eloquence, respecting them, in tones the genuineness of whose ring cannot be mistaken. He seems to make himself at once the trusted friend of his readers, although what little is generally known about him can be told in very few sentences. We gather from his writings that he was trained after the usual hardy manner of the rustic settlements of New England, some sixty years ago; and that he thence proceeded, in what he calls "homespun guise," to Yale College, where, after passing honourably through his undergraduateship, he became one of the Professors. What are called practical matters, as apart from theological, seem to have engaged him at that time, for he was then employed as editor of the *Journal of Commerce*. So far as we can ascertain, he went direct from Yale to Hartford in Connecticut; and there, as minister of a Presbyterian church, passed the remainder of his life. He seems to have been always known as a genial, assiduous, persevering man; frugal, brave, and self-controlled; possessing his soul in patience, yet ever intent, and even eager, in his work, and always striving to make it fruitful and effective. Here and there, autobiographical passages may

be gathered from his writings. And his appearance corresponds with the impression which they convey. An excellent photographic likeness of him is now before the writer. The broad and lofty forehead, the eyes fixed and wistful—mournful, too, in their expression—bring before us just such a man as his readers would expect to look upon. It is a face which remarkably expresses arduous toil of spirit, earnest and exhausting intellectual, and also moral, conflict. Any one considerably looking at him would say at once, "Evidently, he has walked through the valley of the death-shadow; he has seen the mocking faces, and heard the doleful voices, in the abysses which border it on either side; and he has manfully fought Apollyon upon the way." His look reminds one of a memorable passage in his Discourse on "The Dissolving of Doubts," where he describes one "clear of all the vices, having a naturally active-minded inquiring habit, never meaning to get away from the truth, who has yet relapsed into such doubt as to find that he has nearly lost the conviction of God, and cannot, if he would, say with emphasis that God exists. Such an one, pacing his chamber, comes some day suddenly upon the question, 'Is there then no truth that I do believe? Yes, there is one. There is a distinction of right and wrong. That I never doubted; and I see not how I can. Nay, I am even quite sure of this.' Then, forthwith, starts up the question, 'Have I ever taken the principle of right for my law? have I ever thrown my life out on it to become all that it requires of me? No matter what becomes of my difficulties if I cannot take a first principle so inevitably true, and live in it. Here then will I begin. If there is a God, as I rather hope than dimly believe there is, He is a right God. If I have lost Him in wrong, perhaps I shall find Him in right. Will He not help me, or perchance even be discovered to me?' . . . Then he prays to the dim God so dimly felt. It is an awfully dark prayer in the first look of it; but it is the truest and best that he can, the better and more true that he puts no orthodox colours on it; and the prayer and the vow are so profoundly meant, that his soul is borne up with God's help as it were by some unseen chariot, and permitted to see the opening of heaven. He rises, and it is as if he had gotten wings. The whole sky is luminous about him. It is the morning of a new eternity. After this, all troublesome doubt of God's reality is gone. A being so profoundly felt must inevitably be." We feel certain that Dr. Bushnell was here describing his own experience. He was preaching in the chapel of Yale College; and after the above description, occurs this bracketed passage in his sermon—"There is a story lodged in a little bedroom of one of these dormitories which, I pray God, His recording angel may note, allowing it never to be lost."

The substance of what we have called his interpretation of the order of spiritual existence, and of the laws by which its ends are carried forward, is given in his "Nature and the Supernatural," and in his "Treatise on Vicarious Sacrifice." In the former of these works, with which his

"Moral Uses of Dark Things" should be connected, he lays down, as the basis of his expositions, the absolute subordination of all the materialism of the universe to the uses and ends of its spiritual occupants; and in these ends and uses he recognises the "final causes, about which Paleyan and Bridgewater-Treatise writers have perplexed themselves."

Thus, speaking of Nature, in which he includes the substances and forces of the earth, the worlds outside our own, and in short all natural things bound together by the chain of cause and effect—those which, in our view, are their last causes being "determined by causations back of them"—speaking of all this materialism, which he generalises under the head of "things," he says, "It is not the system of God, and is really no co-ordinate part of His universe, considered as related to the 'powers' that have their society in it, and get their reactions from it. They, the 'powers,' are practically the universe, having Nature as their field of activity, and the tool-house of their instrumentalities. Nature is only the stage, medium, vehicle for the universe, that is, for God and His 'powers.' These are the real magnitudes, because they contain at once the import, and the final causes, or last ends, of all created substance. The grand, universal, invisible system of God, therefore, is a system that centralises in these, subordinating all mere 'things,' and having them for its instruments. For the serving and training of its members, He loosens the bonds of Orion, and tempers the sweet influences of Pleiades, spreading out the heavens, not for the heavens' sake, but as a tent for these to dwell in. Is it anything new that the tent is a thing less solid, and of meaner consequence, than the occupant?"

This view of the entire subordination of "things," under whatever form they are beheld, to the "powers" which are everywhere acting on them, is brought out with amazing force and vividness in many parts of "Nature and the Supernatural." (See especially pp. 34, 57, 173.) Under the designation of "powers," he comprehends all beings, wherever existing, which are kindred with God. He speaks of them as constituting those "dominions and principalities," whose identity with mankind in essence, and probably in form and aspect too, is guaranteed by the relationship which is sustained towards them by Him, who is declared to be their Head and Chief. He is the representative and pledge of their oneness with ourselves; and the witness of that close fellowship in which we here live with them. They all work upon the lower creation with an effectiveness which is proportioned to their degrees of knowledge and ability. And since, by endowment and exercise, these are inconceivably varied, the working "upon the chain of cause and effect on the part of some of these 'powers' will produce effects that move the wonder of other lower natures, and evince the presence of faculties greater than their own." This is illustrated by our own experience. Many of our achievements in the present day would have been wholly unaccountable in the view of earlier generations.

So, in like manner, beings higher than ourselves, with superior faculties and knowledge, may now produce results which would bear the same aspect in our regard and apprehension: in the same sense they also would be unaccountable. It is in like manner, and with the same results, that God, also, as the Chief Representative of wise intelligence, carries out His will. His workings upon Nature are the highest illustrations of supernatural agency, differing infinitely in degree from our common working upon "things," and yet at the same time being similar, or, we should rather say, identical, in kind. In the manner of their working, as "things" are thus seen to be always pliant and submissive to the behests of "powers," they are identical; and they are so, also, in their objects, wherever they are working in their appointed order. For this is the order of obedience to God's will, which is fixed upon the "schooling" of each creature's choice or consent, as one of the "powers," so that it may be fully established in harmony with His character, and hence may share with Him in His eternal blessedness.

In this view of the universe, as constituted of "powers" and "things"—of "things" fast set in fixed order, and of "powers" moving freely under the influence of reasons authoritatively made known to them—Dr. Bushnell discerns the origin of evil, and the main characteristics both of the ordinary and of the miraculous agencies by which man is to be delivered from its influence and its consequences.

For, in order that the beings who are thus moving amidst the system of agencies which has been made subject to them, may work out their appointed ends, consenting obedience is needed, and this by its very nature implies a power of non-consent. Now, what is this but a power of deviation or disobedience? And who can decide beforehand whether, having such a power, its possessor will not sometimes use it. "If," our author says,—“if it be asked why God should have created a realm of ‘powers’ or free agents, since they must needs be capable in this manner of wrong and misery, then—without acknowledging for one moment that I am responsible for the answer of any such question, and denying explicitly the right of any mortal to disallow or discredit an act of God because he cannot comprehend its reason—I will only say, in reply, that it is enough for me to be allowed the simple hypothesis that God preferred to have ‘powers,’ and not ‘things’ only, because He loves character; and, apart from this, cares not for all the mere ‘things’ that can be piled in the infinitude of space, even though they be diamonds. In bestowing on a creature the perilous capacity of character, he bestows the highest possibility of wealth and glory; a capacity to know, to love, to enjoy, to be consciously great and blessed in the participation of His own divinity and character.” Now, whichever among conceivable systems, the “possibles,” as Leibnitz called them, He may choose for carrying out this purpose of His, limitations, “defects, and privations,” are involved in it. Defects of knowledge, lack of experience, exposure to the assaults of agents already gone astray—

these are disadvantages necessarily involved in every system possible. Without any positive necessity for evil being created, these "privative conditions" will have all the effects of such a necessity. In an illustration resembling that of Leibnitz in the "*Théodicée*," but more definitely put, Dr. Bushnell imagines the case of one who is founding a school. His end is the training and instruction of men for useful service in the world. For this end his school-house, with its implements of education, is provided; and the founder makes this provision with a distinct foresight of the evils flowing from the conduct of those who, from various causes, do not sympathise with his wish and purpose. Yet, for the sake of that purpose and desire, he establishes the institution. The evils, so foreseen, which come into existence, do not come from him. Nay, in foresight of and provision for them, he may be imagined to establish a remedial system, embedded in the constitution of the school, which shall avert or mitigate the foreseen evils, and so help in working out his main intention, which system will of course be effective in proportion to the extent of his foresight and the amount of his resources.

In and by means of this illustration, Dr. Bushnell uses his view of the relation of "things" and "powers" to show how evil has originated. And steadfastly holding the same view, he also brings forward the main characteristics both of the ordinary and of the miraculous agencies by which man may be delivered from the influence of evil, and from its consequences.

Among the first of these two classes, he places what he calls the "dark things" of the universe, those unsightly and cruel facts the existence of which is unaccountable, unless God's supreme regard to character is borne in mind. "All the enigmas and lowering difficulties," he says, "which we meet with, are shadows from moral evil, for it is to meet the condition, and prepare the discipline of this, that so many rough unseemly kinds of furniture are required. . . . Hence our treatises on natural theology are so commonly at fault in tracing what they call their 'argument from design,' assuming that physical uses are the decisive tests or objects of all the contrivance to be looked for in God's works. Whereas they are resolvable, in far the greater part, by no such tests, but only by their 'moral uses,' which are, in fact, the last ends of God in everything, including even His 'physical uses' themselves." From this position he is enabled to confront fully and boldly the sombre problems of existence, as they present themselves in "want and waste," "physical pain and danger," "insanity," "bad government," and evils of like kind. Dr. Bushnell is here seen to high advantage as an interpreter and teacher. Courageously, he looks the ugliest and most terrible facts of man's life all round and in their face; and he shows that all may be, if not complacently, yet unanxiously, regarded. Not one of the "advanced thinkers," to say nothing of the mocking atheists of our day, has explored with such boldness the "dark places of the earth," or looked so firmly and deliberately on the menacing forms which are ever rising

from the abysses by which man's life is everywhere surrounded. Searchingly and bravely in the strength of the revealed principles of the Divine government, yet mournfully, too, "sighing in his spirit" while he looks heavenward, he declares, "I know in whom I have believed." Wonderful glances of insight, and passages of singular power and vividness, as also of high sublimity, abound in his volume "On the Moral Uses of Dark Things." See, for example, the chapters on "Bad History," on "Winter," on "Insanity," where he shows that in all these severities of discipline we may discover the deepest counsels of beneficence.

But, besides explaining the reasons of these severe provisions in the constitution of Nature for averting or curing mischiefs which necessarily arise from the "defects and privations" of the system chosen, this view of the relations of "powers" and "things," and the absolute subjection of the latter to the former, brings under a new and very striking aspect those miraculous interpositions which God has undertaken for the same end. The value of the contribution which has been made by Dr. Bushnell in his "Nature and the Supernatural," on the subject of miracles, has been widely acknowledged, and yet not so widely as it should have been. For the truth is, that he has so stated this greatest problem of theology, that he has practically solved it. Carefully defining miracles as "supernatural acts,—acts, *i.e.*, which operate on the chain of cause and effect in Nature from without the chain, producing in the sphere of the senses results which move our wonder, and evince the presence of more than human power,"—he brings them forward as manifestations of a prerogative which belongs to every creature which is kindred with God and created in His image. All these, regarded as "powers," work supernaturally upon "things;" and hence the miracles of Scripture, considered in relation to man, are, in respect of kind, as the work of higher beings are to his own works, or they are in the same relation to the works which he does at the present time as these are to those of which he was capable centuries ago. His knowledge of "things" is now so much enlarged, and 'things' themselves are now so pliant to his will, that the difference between what he now does and what he did formerly is of the same kind as that between the miracles recorded in the Gospels and the achievements which are at present beyond his knowledge and ability. Christ's miracles were superhuman, but they were not supernatural in any other sense than that in which man's works, as one of the "powers" which are ever operating upon "things," may be so designated. "There are," says our author, "many grades of the supernatural." And he shows, in a well-known chapter on Christ's character, that the four Gospels contain internal evidence that "He is the supernatural manifested in the highest grade, or order—viz., the Divine. The laws of Nature are not suspended in His works any more than they are by our own supernatural action; but they are so subordinated as to permit the performance of 'signs and wonders' in which we may recognise superhuman force."

This is an outline of Dr. Bushnell's Theory of Miracles. It suggests no interference with the systematic fixedness of Nature, or with the steadfastness of Nature's laws. In no way does it affect the researches and conclusions of the natural philosopher. His work and its results are altogether undisturbed. Nor are the highest verities of theology disregarded in this theory, because it represents God as being moved by a fixed law and purpose, even "the law of His end, the law which His wisdom imposes in the way of attaining His end. Moral law shapes the character of God, and determines His purpose. Perfection and holiness is the last end of His being, that for which He creates and rules. If He were to value holiness only as the means to some other end, such as happiness, then He would disrespect holiness, rating it only as a convenience, which is not the character of a holy being, but only an imposture in the name of such a character. Regarding holiness, then, as God's last end, His world-plan will be gathered round it to fulfil it, and all His counsels will crystallise into order and system, subject to that end. For this, Nature will exist in all her vast machinery of courses and laws; to this, all the miracles and supernatural works of redemption will bring their contribution. Having this for His end, and the supernatural as means to His end, the Divine Reason will, of course, order all under fixed laws of reason, which laws will be so exact and universal as to make a perfect system."

Of course, in this view of miracles, their constancy is implied; and to this subject, accordingly, our author addresses himself in one of the most interesting of his chapters. The opinion that, "because the canon of Scripture is closed, there is no longer any use or place for miracles, is," he says, "a conclusion taken by a mere act of judgment, when, plainly, no judgment of man is able to penetrate the secrets and grasp the economic reasons of God's empire, with sufficient insight to affirm anything on a subject so deep and difficult. There may certainly be reasons for miracles and special gifts of the Spirit, apart from any authentication of new books of Scripture. Indeed, they might possibly be wanted even the more, to break up the monotony likely to follow when revelations have ceased, and the word of Scripture is for ever closed up; wanted also possibly to lift the Church out of the abysses of a mere second-hand religion, keeping it alive and open to the realities of God's immediate visitation. At the same time, there are classes of teachers and disciples, now and then, who spring up, raising the question whether miracles are not restored, or some time to be restored? Thus Archbishop Tillotson was of opinion that they probably enough might be, in the case of an attempt to publish the gospel among heathen nations. But, in all these cases, the point is virtually conceded that miracles have been discontinued; whereas the truer and more rational question is, whether they have not always remained as in the Apostolic age? Of course there have been cessations here and there, just as there have been cessations of faith, and decays of holy living; just as there

are cessations of spiritual influence, too, for the same reason ; though no one supposes, on that account, that the work of the Holy Spirit has been discontinued, and requires to be reinstituted in order to be an existing fact. There is no likelihood that a miraculous dispensation would be restored after being quite passed by and lost. But there may be casual suspensions and reappearances, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, that are quite consistent with the conviction that the dispensation is perpetual, never withdrawn, and never to be withdrawn. And this, on very deliberate and careful search, appears to be the true opinion. We are able too, it will be seen, to verify this opinion by abundance of facts." Many of the facts which in this view he brings forward, are, for this purpose, sufficiently remarkable. Now, however, they must be passed over, for we wish to call attention to the agreement of the above remarks with some words of Dr. Newman, in his "Essay on Miracles," where (p. 103), he says, "There is no presumption against miracles generally, because inspiration has stood the brunt of any such antecedent objection, whatever it be worth, by its own supernatural histories ; and, in establishing their certainty in fact, has disproved their impossibility in the abstract. If miracles are antecedently improbable, it is either from want of a cause to which they may be referred, or of experience of similar events in other times and places. What neither has been before, nor can be attributed to an existing cause, is not to be expected, or is improbable. But miracles are occurrences not without a parallel ; for they followed upon Apostolic works, and they are referable to the author of those as an All-sufficient Cause. Whatever be the regularity and stability of Nature, interference with it can be, because it has been : there is One who both has power over His own work, and who before now has not been unwilling to exercise it. . . . What has happened once, may happen again." Undoubtedly. And, from the commanding position in which Dr. Bushnell's great generalisation places us, we see not only that it may, but that it must.

Such is the nature of his interpreting work, so far as his statement of the order of the universe and its relations is concerned. It not only gives all the definiteness of which it is capable to the great problem of the origin of evil, and enables us to face the most sombre aspects of our earthly life ; but, besides, it brings the miracles by which the Christian revelation has been commended to our acceptance into "continuity and correlation" with our experience elsewhere.—Nor has he been less helpful in his interpretation of the great Fact which lies at the centre of that revelation, in what he has written on Vicarious Sacrifice, for that is the title, many will say the ill-omened title, of one of his chief works.

The subject is not treated by Dr. Bushnell as a systematic theologian. Indeed the designation of theologian cannot, in any technical sense at all events, be applied to him. And this is just saying, in other words, that he did not regard man's condition as exceptional in any sense which implies that it mars the symmetry of the Divine Order, or

contravenes laws which are universally prevailing. On the contrary, he evidently looked on our human sphere as entering so harmoniously into the Universal Economy that the oneness of the material universe, and the uniformity of its laws, may be taken as a symbol of the oneness of the individual and social life whereof it is the platform and instrument. This he regarded as the same everywhere; though in many scenes it is developed into more various, and into unspeakably higher, modes than any with which we have been made acquainted. This view is illustrated in the work of which we are now speaking. For its keynote is just this—That the redeeming and restoring work which The Eternal Son has carried forward on man's behalf, is simply the manifestation, in its intensest form, of Divine Love, as this is seen in all natures and all worlds. "Love," he says, "is a principle essentially vicarious in its nature, identifying the subject of it with others, so as to suffer their adversities and pains, and take upon itself the burden of their evils. It does not come in, officiously and abruptly, and propose to be substituted in some formal and literal way that overturns all moral relations, but it clings to the evil and lost man, as in feeling afflicted for him, burdened by his ill-deserts, capacities, and pains, encountering gladly any loss or suffering for his sake. Approving nothing wrong in him, but faithfully reproofing and condemning him in all sin, it is yet made sin—plunged, so to speak, into all the fortunes of sin by its friendly sympathy. In this manner it is entered vicariously into sacrifice on his account. So naturally and easily does the vicarious sacrifice commend itself to our intelligence by the stock ideas and feelings out of which it grows."

Such is love in its genuine manifestation. And, thus regarded, it may, as our author shows, be recognised in all holy beings. It is in this form an essential attribute of goodness. In God Himself, and in the Holy Spirit, it may be discerned as truly as in The Eternal Son. Good angels, all holy beings, all the glorified and good minds of the heavenly kingdom, have borne the burdens, struggled in the pains of their vicarious feeling for others, and it necessarily begets, in the objects towards which it is exercised, the same feeling, through which they are rescued and restored and blessed, thus "gathering us in after Christ our Master, as they that have learned to bear His Cross, and be with Him in His passion." He is thus a power on character and life, and after this is seen, we are able to discern what our author calls the "greatly inferior question, how far, and in what manner, He becomes our substitute before the law which has been violated by our transgression."

In His work we see the typical example of love's vicarious sacrifices. He is in it not by office but by character, and is "only just as good as he ought to be, and suffers what he ought to suffer. He has no thought of doing an artificial somewhat, in a scheme of artificial compensations, when He can be actuated by no assignable motive within the possible range of moral ideas. How far off do we place Him, how poorly conceive Him, when we put Him thus away,

and compel Him to die for ends contrived, apart from all behests of character! All that is most central in His mission—the love of God in tears and deep groanings—is dried away and lost to feeling, in the sterile and dry figment we require it to be, as a mere quantitative sufficiency of pain, contributed under no assignable principle, and having no moral quality whatever.”

In the human life of Jesus of Nazareth we see the highest example of vicarious affection, and those who have been released or recovered by so great expense of suffering and sacrifice, give Him their testimony of thanks in the most natural way possible, by telling how He “was made a curse for them,” “bore their sins in His own body,” “gave Himself for them,” “was made sin for them,” “gave Himself to be their ransom,” “died for them,” “suffered, the just for the unjust.” Dr. Bushnell illustrates this by imagining that a prison has been contrived for the punishment of public malefactors on the plan of an ordeal by Providence. “It is placed in the region of some deadly miasma, the design being to let every convict go free, after some given number of years are passed; on the ground that, being still alive, he must have learned to govern himself for so long a time, and is also marked for life and liberty by the acceptance of Providence. The fell poison of the atmosphere decimates of course the number of the prisoners almost every week. At length it comes to the knowledge of a certain Christian in the city, who has learned to follow his Master, that a notable prisoner who, a long time ago, was his bitter private enemy, begins to show the working of the poison, and is giving way to the incipient burnings of the fever—whereupon this godly servant says, ‘This man was my enemy, and for Christ’s sake I must go to him, trying, if I can, to save him.’ Becoming thus the prisoner’s faithful nurse and attendant, the sufferer is recovered and goes free; but the benefactor takes the infection and dies. And now the rescued man throws out his soul on words, trying vainly to express the inexpressible tenderness of his obligation. He writes, and talks, and sings nothing but gratitude all his life long, telling how the Christly man saved him, by what poor figures he can raise. ‘O he bore my punishment’—‘became the criminal for me’—‘gave his life for mine’—‘died that I might live’—‘stood in my lot of guilt’—‘suffered all my suffering.’ It will not be strange if he should even go beyond Scripture and testify in the fervour of his homage to so great kindness—‘He took my debt of justice’—‘satisfied the claims of justice for me;’ for he will mean by that nothing more than he has meant by all he has been saying before. Then, after a time, when he and his benefactor are gone, some one, we will imagine, undertakes to write their story; and the dull, blind-hearted literaliser takes up all this fervour of expression in the letters and reported words of the rescued felon, showing most conclusively from them that the good man actually got the other’s crime imputed to him, took the guilt of it, suffered the punishment, died in his place, and satisfied the justice of the

law that he might be released ! Why, the malefactor himself would have even shuddered at the thought of a construction so revolting, hereafter to be put upon his words ! The honours now for Christian theology, by this kind of interpretation, put upon the free words of Scripture, make a very sad figure, and are better lost than preserved. I do not, to speak frankly, know a passage of Scripture that can with any fairness be turned to signify a legal or judicial substitution of Christ in the place of transgressors ; none that, taken with only a proper Christian intelligence, can be understood as affirming, either the fact or the necessity, of a compensation made to God's justice for the release of sin."

It will be gathered from these extracts that the entire work is a protest, supplied by great principles, and uttered in a lofty spirit, against those ghastly theories of the atonement which, in effect, convert Him, "Who, of His tender love for mankind," gave His Son for man's redemption, into a sanguinary Moloch who demanded so much blood and pain as a penalty equivalent to so much transgression. The evil influence of this theology, so called, lingers where it is formally denied ; and this explains a lurking suspicion of our author, which is entertained in many quarters, and ominous suggestions of doubt which are cast upon his orthodoxy. Dr. Bushnell knew his liability to misrepresentations of this kind ; but, unlike so many of our advanced thinkers, instead of defying, he sought to convince, those from whom he anticipated such opposition. Under the title of a "reclamation of lost texts," he carefully showed that the Moloch theory of atonement, as it may be called, is not sanctioned by the passages which are brought forward to support it. He said that he accepted the "term propitiation, but accounted for it, as a phrase by which the disciple objectifies his own feelings ; conceiving that God Himself is representatively mitigated, or made propitious, because the man himself is inwardly reconciled to God." In a later work, however, which he put forward as a "revision of the third and fourth parts of his 'Vicarious Sacrifice,' " and of which he says that, "having undertaken to find the truth of this great subject, at whatever cost, he is not willing to be excused from further obligation because the truth appears to be outgrowing his published expositions,"—he tells us he "now asserts a real propitiation of God, finding it in evidence from the propitiation which we instinctively make ourselves when we heartily forgive. But," he continues, "if it should be imagined that I now give in to the legal-substitution, legal-satisfaction theory, it will only be true that I assert a scheme of discipline for man, which is contrived to work its own settlement, in being fulfilled and consummated by an obedience in the higher plane of liberty itself. I still assert the 'moral view' of the atonement as before, and even more completely than before, inasmuch as I propose to interpret all that is prepared and suffered in the propitiation of God and the justification of men, by a reference to the moral pronouncements of human nature and society ; assuming that nothing can be true of God, or of Christ, which is not true, in some sense, *more humano*, and is

not made intelligible by human analogies. We cannot interpret God, except by what we find in our own personal instincts and ideas. And just here is the sin of all our theologic endeavours in the past ages, especially as regards this particular subject, that we invent so many ingredients that are verbals only, having no reality and no assignable meaning. We contrive a justice in God which accepts the pains of innocence in place of the pains of wrong, and which is, in fact, the very essence of injustice. We contrive a forgiveness on the score of compensation, which to our human conception mocks the idea. We imagine that Christ has a virtue more transcendent than any of mortal kind, because it is optional; whereas nothing is a virtue save as it is done for the right, and as being under moral obligation."

In the course of the introduction to this revision of his work, we have a very characteristic disclosure of his feelings respecting it. "It will," he says, "be understood that I suppose the revised statements, or solutions of doctrine I am now going to propound, to be really new. I frankly allow that I do; and also as frankly confess that, in this simple fact, my courage and confidence are most weakened by misgivings. For who can expect a great subject like this, which has engaged so many of the most gigantic minds of so many past ages, to be now, in these last times, more sufficiently apprehended, and better expounded, by an ordinary teacher, at his common level of standing? It is difficult, I allow, not to be greatly appalled when confronted by this objection. But it must not be forgotten that, now and then, some person will be stronger in his accidents, than other and greater men have been in their powers; also that God Himself sometimes makes accidents for mind by His own private touch, which will unfold some needed lesson; further that God has a way of preparing times for the uncovering of truth, and that, as He would not have His Son appear till the 'fulness of time' should come, so He will not expect His Son's gospel to be duly conceived till the times are ready, and all the suggestive conditions ripe that may set us in upon it. No greatest man, or champion, is going to conquer a truth before its time, and no least competent man, we may also dare to say, need miss of a truth when its hour has come, and the flags of right suggestion are all out before him. How easy a thing it is, in fact, to think what the times have got ready to be thought, and are even whispering to us from behind all curtains of discovery, and out of all most secret nooks and chambers of experience! That now the clock has finally struck, and the day has fully come, for some new and different thinking on this great subject, I most verily believe. And, to make this evident, I propose to occupy the few remaining pages of this preliminary chapter in showing by what signs the two staple matters of what has heretofore been called the Christian Atonement—viz., Propitiation and Legal Substitution—appear to be asking, or rather expectantly waiting, for some more satisfactory, better-grounded exposition."

We should not pass from this valuable treatise without remarking its very practical suggestions of a better use in public teaching of the "lustral and altar figures" of the Bible: its mention of washings and blood, which often are so dwelt upon, and so sensuously represented, that thinking hearers find them objectionable, and even revolting. His suggestions show that the "offence of the cross," which will always continue to be an "offence" to the carnal and self-willed, need not, as now, be made offensive to docile and tender spirits: that the gospel of our salvation need not be made repellent to the minds before which it is presented.

Thus has Dr. Bushnell done his work as an interpreter of the moral system into which we have been incorporated. Fixing, steadying himself, in deliberate comprehensive survey of the things within his range; listening with reverent attention to the reports of others, and striving to discern their meaning amidst whatever uncouthness of expression,—he has seen and shown, more than any man of our generation has, the true order of the universe, its laws, and its relationships. In large measure its open secrets have been beheld by him, and by him have been revealed. In noble unlikeness to many of our so-called "advanced thinkers," and with powers of insight and of expression inferior to none of them, renouncing all Voltairian methods of scorn and denunciation, with calmness and dignity too, and with tender prophetic sympathy,—he takes his place amongst the greatest teachers of our age, building up, in the spirit of all true prophets, the "old waste places, raising up the foundations of many generations, repairing the breaches and restoring paths" for men to dwell and walk in.

And like all benefactors of that order, he was not satisfied unless he made his insight constantly and practically serviceable in daily usefulness, however humble. Every week he looked into the faces of wearied and perplexed, of struggling, tempted men, and they looked up to him for help and guidance, and for encouragement. Nor, whatever may be the case elsewhere, were they ever disappointed. Even Newman and Robertson were surpassed by him in that direct contact with human spirits which makes the volumes of those men so precious to all who want motive and impulse to help them in their weakness, and who seek wise guidance in their spiritual perplexities. Dr. Bushnell's readers feel that they are indeed taught by him and helped. They feel that a brother is by their side, who tells them exactly how their case stands, and who is pointing out the next step that must be taken, and that can be taken by every one whose will is seriously bent towards what is right and good. One might illustrate these statements by almost every sermon in the three volumes which he published. As a discerning critic has well said, "There is, in all of them, an insight into the working of the human soul, a grasp and breadth of thought, and a depth of experience, such as we have never seen equalled. The soul of the reader comes into vital

contact with another soul which has reflected deeply on life's great problems, has suffered in life's struggles, and found a healing balm in Christ's work, and repose in communion with God." What strikes one first and chiefly, as in Robertson's Sermons, is that each topic is presented in closest and most logical order, and with a strong intensity of purpose. It is not anxiously chipped and squared into conformity with any theological system, though at the same time it is governed in its treatment by the ruling verities of the Apostolic Creeds. There is evidently in the man a fixed determination to work the matter out in its individuality, and in all its bearings on daily life. In this respect, even Robertson is surpassed by him. Even more closely does he wind himself around, in a close grapple with, the spirits of his readers. Yet this is always kindly done. His suggestions too are always practicable, as well as practical. Herein his readers feel that they get more help than even from Dr. Newman. Things at hand are suggested which can be done at once : steps are shown which can be taken immediately in the way of recovery, or usefulness. His sermons can never be burdened with the common reproach of sermons, that they are unpractical. See for example those on "The Lost Purity Restored," on "Living to God in Small Things," on "The Bad Consciousness Taken Away," and especially the one on "Christian Ability," where, taking up St. James's figure of the "small helm which turns about the ship whithersoever the governor listeth," he works out the truth that "man masters all his hardest difficulties in the same way. He gets an immense power thus where his sufficiency is most restricted ; and his Christian ability is of just this kind. We have no power to handle ships at sea by their bulk ; as little have we to do, or become, in the grand whole of character, what God requires of us. The soul is a magnitude more massive than any ship, and the storms which it encounters are wilder than those of the sea. And yet there are small helms given by which we are able to steer it triumphantly on. . . . We cannot govern a bad passion, or grudge, by choking it down, or master a wild ambition by melting it away, or stop the trains of bad thoughts by a direct fight with them. All that we can do in such matters, in the way of self-regulation, is simply to steer the mind off from its grudges, ambitions, bad thoughts, by getting it occupied with good and pure objects that work a diversion . . . to just the good we seek, and the highest we can even conceive."

Moreover, as might have been expected, we find him in complete freedom from all sectarian trammels ; adopting, in genuine catholicity of spirit, wise teaching wherever he might find it. This he did in a manner which must have often brought him into sore conflict with the pedantic formalists of his communion. Thus, in his "Christian Nurture," we find him writing of Infant Baptism almost in the language of an Anglican high-churchman. So also we might think that we had fallen in with one of the ascetic writers, when, in the same volume, in his discourse on "Physical Nurture as a Means of Grace," we come

upon such passages as this: "One must be a very inobservant person not to have noticed that all his finest and most Godward aspirations are smothered under any load of excess or over-indulgence. It is as if the body were calling down all the other powers, even those of poetry, magnanimity, and religion, to help it to do the scarcely possible work of digestion. At that point they gather. The sense of beauty is there, and the soul's angel of hope, and the testimony of God's peace, and the music of devotion, and the thrill of sermons, dosing all together, and souging in dull dreams round the cargo of poppies in the hold of the body. To raise any fresh sentiment is now impossible. Even prayer itself is mixed and cannot struggle out. The news of some best friend's death can only be answered by dry interjections, and forced postures of grief, that will not find their meaning till to-morrow. . . . And much the same thing holds true, only under a different form, when the body is prematurely diseased and broken by the excesses of self-indulgence. Its maladies will distemper the higher nature; its pains prick through into all the spiritual sensibilities. Out of the pits of the body dark clouds will steam up into the chambers of the soul, and all the devils of dyspepsia will be hovering in them, to scare away its peace, and choke the Godlike possibilities out of which its better motions should be springing. . . . So important a thing for the religious life of the soul is the feeding of the body. Vast multitudes of disciples have no conception of the fact. Living in a swine's body, regularly overloaded and oppressed every day of their lives, they wonder that so great difficulties and discouragements rise up to hinder the Christian clearness of their spirit. Could they but look into Agar's prayer, and take the meaning—'Feed me with food convenient for me, lest I be full and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord?'—they would find a real gospel in it."

No question could there be as to Dr. Bushnell's strong conviction about our missionary obligations, as they are set forth in what have been well called "the marching orders" of the Church. And yet one might think he had forgotten the command, "Go into all nations, and proclaim the Gospel to every creature," when he speaks of what he calls the "out-populating power of the Christian stock." "How trivial," he says, "how unnatural, weak, and at the same time violent, in comparison, is that overdone scheme of individualism, which knows the race only as mere units of will and personal action, dissolves even families into monads, makes no account of organic relations and uses, and expects the world to be finally subdued by adult conversions, when growing up still, as before, in all the younger tiers of life, toward a mere convertible state of adult ungodliness. Such a scheme gives a most ungenial and forlorn aspect to the family. It makes the Church a mere gathering in of adult atoms, to be increased only by the gathering in of other and more numerous adult atoms. It very nearly makes the scheme of existence itself an abortion, finding no great law of propagative good and mercy

in it, and taking quite away the possibility and prospect of that sublime vindication of God which is finally to be developed, and by which God's ways in the creation are to be finally crowned with all highest honours of counsel and beneficence. Opposite to this, we have seen how it is God's plan, by ties of organic unity and nature, to let one generation extend itself into and over another in the order of grace, just as it does in the order of nature; to let us expect the growing-up of children in the Lord, even as their parents are to be parents in the Lord, and are set to bring them up in the nurture of the Lord; on this ground of anticipation, permitting us to apply the seal of our own faith to them, as being incipiently in the quickening of our faith, even before they have intelligence to act it and consciously choose it; so accepting them to be members of the Church, as being presumptively in the life of the Church; in this manner incorporating a great law of grace and sanctifying power, by which, finally, the salvation will become an inbred life and populating force, mighty enough to over-live, and finally to completely people the world. This is what we call the day of glory. It lies, to a great degree, in the scheme of Christian nature itself. If I rightly conceive the Gospel work and plan, this is the regeneration (*παλιγγενεσία*) which our Lord promises—viz., that He will reclaim and resanctify the great principle of reproductive order and life, and at last people the world with a 'Godly seed.'"

We have no space to dwell longer upon works which surely must be capable of considerable increase. Every one who has read those which have been above referred to, will eagerly look for additions to such wise and helpful teaching; and the more so, as his knowledge of that which we already have is deepened. Those piercing glances of insight, and those singular felicities of expression, which so often startle Dr. Bushnell's readers, must surely have often been remarked in his letters and his conversation. And we may well ask, Is not his already large and constantly increasing audience to be satisfied with more knowledge, from these sources, of 'the man and his communications?' We have ourselves applied for such information, but hitherto without success. Others, we trust, will be more fortunate. For, after all the disappointments which we have suffered from "biographies," we cannot resist the conviction that thought so lofty and heroic as Dr. Bushnell's, must have had practical developments which should be more widely known. It must, surely, have had an outcome in a lofty and heroic life, the record of which would greatly bless our generation.

G. S. DREW.

THE CLASSICAL CONTROVERSY :

ITS PRESENT ASPECT.

IN the present state of the controversy on classical studies, the publication of George Combe's contributions to Education is highly opportune. Combe took the lead in the attack on these studies fifty years ago, and Mr. Jolly, the editor of the volume, gives a connected view of the struggle that followed. The results were, on the whole, not very great. A small portion of natural science was introduced into the secondary schools; but as the classical teaching was kept up as before, the pupils were simply subjected to a greater crush of subjects; they could derive very little benefit from science introduced on such terms. The effect on the Universities was *nil*. They were true to Dugald Stewart's celebrated deliverance on their conservatism.* The public, however, were not unmoved; during a number of years there was a most material reduction in the numbers attending all the Scotch Universities, and the anti-classical agitation was reputed to be the cause.

The reasonings of Combe will still repay perusal. He puts with great felicity and clearness the standing objections to the classical system; while he is exceedingly liberal in his concessions, and moderate in his demands. "I do not denounce the ancient languages and classical literature on their own account, or desire to see them cast into utter oblivion. I admit them to be refined studies, and think that there are individuals who, having a natural turn for them, learn them easily and enjoy them much. They ought, therefore, to be cultivated by all such persons. My objection is solely to the practice of rendering them the main substance of the education bestowed on young men who have no taste or talent for them, and whose pursuits in life will not render them a valuable acquisition."

* "The academical establishments of some parts of Europe are not without their use to the historian of the human mind. Immovably moored to the same station by the strength of their cables and the weight of their anchors, they enable him to measure the rapidity of the current by which the rest of the world is borne along."

Before alluding to the more recent utterances in defence of classical teaching, I wish to lay out as distinctly as I can the various alternatives that are apparently now before us as respects the higher education—that is to say, the education begun in the secondary or grammar schools and completed and stamped in the Universities.

1. The existing system of requiring proficiency in both classical languages. This requirement is imperative everywhere at present. The Universities agree in exacting Latin and Greek as the condition of an Arts Degree, and in very little else. The defenders of classics say with some truth that these languages are the principal basis of uniformity in our degrees; if they were struck out, the public would not know what a degree meant.

How exclusive was the study of Latin and Greek in the schools in England, until lately, is too well known to need any detailed statement. A recent utterance of Mr. Gladstone, however, has felicitously supplied the crowning illustration. At Eton, in his time, the engrossment with classics was such as to keep out religious instruction!

As not many contend that Latin and Greek make an education in themselves, it is proper to call to mind what other things have been found possible to include with them in the scope of the Arts Degree. The Scotch Universities were always distinguished from the English in the breadth of their requirements; they have comprised for many ages three other subjects—mathematics, natural philosophy, and mental philosophy, including logic and ethics. In exceptional instances, another science is added; in one case, natural history, in another, chemistry. According to the notions of scientific order and completeness in the present day, a full course of the primary sciences would comprise mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, physiology or biology, and mental philosophy. The natural history branches are not looked upon as primary sciences; they give no laws, but repeat the laws of the primary sciences while classifying the kingdoms of Nature.

In John Stuart Mill's celebrated address at St. Andrews, he stood up for the continuance of the classics in all their integrity, and suddenly became a great authority with numbers of persons who probably had never treated him as an authority before. But his advocacy of the classics was coupled with an equally strenuous advocacy for the extension of the scientific course to the full circle of the primary sciences; that is to say, he urged the addition of chemistry and physiology to the received sciences. Those that have so industriously brandished his authority for retaining classics, are discreetly silent upon this other recommendation. He was too little conversant with the working of Universities to be aware that the addition of two sciences to the existing course was impracticable; and he was never asked which alternative he would prefer. I am inclined to believe that he would have sacrificed the classics to scientific completeness; he would have been satisfied with the quantum of these already gained at school. But while we have no

positive assurance on this point, I consider that his opinion should be wholly discounted as not bearing on the actual case.

The founders of the University of London attempted to realize Mill's conception to the full. They retained classics; they added English and a modern language, and completed the course of primary science by including chemistry and physiology. This was a noble experiment, and we can now report on its success. The classical languages, English and French or German, mathematics and natural philosophy, and (after a time) logic and moral philosophy, were all kept at a good standard; thus exceeding the requirements of the Scotch Universities at the time by English and a modern language. The amount of attainment in chemistry was very small, and was disposed of in the matriculation examination. Physiology was reserved for the final B.A. examination, and was the least satisfactory of all. Having myself sat at the Examining Board while Dr. Sharpey was Examiner in Physiology, I had occasion to know that he considered it prudent to be content with a mere show of studying the subject. Thus, though the experience of the University of London as well as of the Scotch Universities proves that the classics are compatible with a very tolerable scientific education, they will need to be curtailed if every one of the fundamental sciences, as Mill urged, is to be represented at a passable figure.

In the various new proposals for extending the sphere of scientific knowledge, a much smaller amount of classics is to be required, but neither of the two languages is wholly dispensed with. If not taught at college, they must be taken up at school as a preparation for entering on the Arts curriculum in the University. This can hardly be a permanent state of things, but it is likely to be in operation for some time.

2. The remitting of Greek in favour of a modern language is the alternative most prominently before the public at present. It accepts the mixed form of the old curriculum, and replaces one of the dead languages by one of the living. Resisted by the whole might of the classical party, this proposal finds favour with the lay professions as giving one language that will actually be useful to the pupils as a language. It is the very smallest change that would be a real relief. That it will speedily be carried we do not doubt.

Except as a relaxation of the gripe of classicism, this change is not altogether satisfactory. That there must be two languages (besides English) in order to an Arts Degree is far from obvious. Moreover, although it is very desirable that every pupil should have facilities at school or college for commencing modern languages, these do not rank as indispensable and universal culture, like the knowledge of sciences and of literature generally. They would have to be taught along with their respective literatures to correspond to the classics.

Another objection to replacing classics by modern languages is the necessity of importing foreigners as teachers. Now, although there are

plenty of Frenchmen and Germans that can teach as well as any Englishmen, it is a painful fact that foreigners do oftener miscarry, both in teaching and discipline, with English pupils, than our own countrymen. Foreign masters are well enough for those that go to them voluntarily with the desire of being taught; it is as teachers in a compulsory curriculum that their inferiority becomes apparent.

The retort is sometimes made to this proposal—Why omit Greek rather than Latin? Should you not retain the greater of the two languages? This may be pronounced as mainly a piece of tactics; for every one must know that the order of teaching Latin and Greek at the schools will never be topsyturried to suit the fancy of an individual here and there, even although John Stuart Mill himself was educated in that order. On the scheme of withdrawing all foreign languages from the imperative curriculum, and providing for them as voluntary adjuncts, such freedom of selection would be easy.

3. Another alternative is to remit both Latin and Greek in favour of French and German. Strange to say, this advance upon the previous alternative was actually contained in Mr. Gladstone's ill-fated Irish University Bill. Had that Bill succeeded, the Irish would have been for ten years in the enjoyment of a full option for both the languages.* From a careful perusal of the debates, I could not discover that the opposition ever fastened upon this bold surrender of the classical exclusiveness.

The proposal was facilitated by the existence of professors of French and German in the Queen's Colleges. In the English and Scotch Colleges endowments are not as yet provided for these languages; although it would be easy enough to make provision for them in Oxford and Cambridge.

In favour of this alternative, it is urged that the classics, if entered on at all, should be entered on thoroughly and entirely. The two languages and literatures form a coherent whole, a homogeneous discipline; and those that do not mean to follow this out should not begin it. Some of the upholders of classics take this view.

4. More thorough-going still is the scheme of complete bifurcation of the classical and the modern sides. In our great schools there has been instituted what is called the modern side, made up of sciences and modern languages, together with Latin. The understanding hitherto has been that the votaries of the ancient and classical side should alone proceed to the Universities; the modern side being the introduction to commercial life, and to professions that dispense with a University degree. Here, as far as the schools are concerned, a fair scope is given to modern studies.

As was to be expected, the modern side is now demanding admission to the Universities on its own terms; that is, to continue the same line

* No doubt the classical languages would have been required, to some extent, in matriculating to enter college. This arrangement, however, as regarded the students that chose the modern languages, would have been found too burdensome by our Irish friends, and on their expressing themselves to that effect, would have been soon dispensed with.

of studies there, and to be crowned with the same distinctions as the classical side. This attempt to render school and college homogeneous throughout, to treat ancient studies and modern studies as of equal value in the eye of the law, will of course be resisted to the utmost. Yet it seems the only solution that can bring about a settlement that will last.

The defenders of the classical system in its extreme exclusiveness are fond of adducing examples of very illustrious men who at college showed an utter incapacity for science in its simplest elements. They say that by classics alone these men are what they are, and if their way had been stopped by serious scientific requirements, they would have never come before the world at all. The allegation is somewhat strongly put; yet we shall assume it to be correct, on condition of being allowed to draw an inference. If some minds are so constituted for languages, and for classics in particular, may not there be other minds equally constituted for science, and equally incapable of taking up two classical languages? Should this be granted, the next question is, Ought these two classes of minds be treated as equal in rights and privileges? The upholders of the present system say, No. The language mind is the true aristocrat; the science mind is an inferior creation. Degrees and privileges are for the man that can score languages, with never so little science; outer darkness is assigned to the man whose *forte* is science alone. But a war of caste in education is an unseemly thing; and after all the levelling operations that we have passed through, it is not likely that this distinction will be long preserved.

The modern side, as at present constituted, still retains Latin. There is a considerable strength of feeling in favour of that language for all kinds of people; it is thought to be a proper appendage of the lay professions; and there is a wide-spread opinion in favour of its utility for English. So much is this the case, that the modern-siders are at present quite willing to come under a pledge to keep up Latin, and to pass in it with a view to the University. In fact, the schools find this for the present the most convenient arrangement. It is easier to supply teaching in Latin than in a modern language, or in most other things; and while Latin continues to be held in respect, it will remain untouched. Yet the quantity of time occupied by it, with so little result, must ultimately force a departure from the present curriculum. The real destination of the modern side is to be modern throughout. It should not be rigorously tied down even to a certain number of modern languages. English and one other language ought to be quite enough; and the choice should be free. On this footing, the modern side ought to have its place in the schools as the co-equal of classics; it would be the natural precursor of the modernized alternatives in the Universities; those where knowledge subjects predominate.

The proposal to give an inferior degree to a curriculum that excludes Greek should, in my judgment, be simply declined. It is, however, a

matter of opinion whether, in point of tactics, the modern party did not do well to accept this as an instalment in the meantime. The Oxford offer, as I understand it, is so far liberal, that the new degree is to rank equal in privileges with the old, although inferior in *prestige*. In Scotland, the degree conceded by the classical party to a Greekless education was worthless, and was offered for that very reason.*

Among the adherents of classics, Professor Blackie is distinguished for surrendering their study in the case of those that cannot profit by them. He believes that with a free alternative, such as the thorough bifurcation into two sides would give, they would still hold their ground, and bear all their present fruits. His classical brethren, however, do not in general share this conviction. They seem to think that if they can no longer compel every University graduate to pass beneath the double yoke of Rome and Greece, these two illustrious nationalities will be in danger of passing out of the popular mind altogether. For my own part, I do not share their fears, nor do I think that, even on the voluntary footing, the study of the two languages will decline with any great rapidity. As I have said, the belief in Latin is wide and deep. Whatever may be urged as to the extraordinary stringency of the intellectual discipline now said to be given by means of Latin and Greek, I am satisfied that the feeling with both teachers and scholars is that the process of acquisition is not toilsome to either party; less so perhaps than anything that would come in their place. Of the hundreds of hours spent over them, a very large number are associated with listless idleness. Carlyle describes Scott's novels as a "beatific lubber land;" with the exception of the "beatific," we might say nearly the same of classics. To all which must be added the immense endowments of classical teaching; not only of old date but of recent acquisition. It will be a very long time before these endowments can be diverted, even although the study decline steadily in estimation.

The thing that stands to reason is to place the modern and the ancient studies on exactly the same footing; to accord a fair field and no favour. The public will decide for themselves in the long run. If the classical advocates are afraid of this test, they have no faith in the merits of their own case.

The arguments *pro* and *con* on the question have been almost exhausted. Nothing is left except to vary the expression and illustration. Still, so long as the monopoly exists, it will be argued and counter-argued; and, if there are no new reasons, the old will have to be iterated.

Perhaps the most hackneyed of all the answers to the case for the classics is the one that has been most rarely replied to. I mean the fact that the Greeks were not acquainted with any language but their

* One possible consequence of the new Natural Science Degree may be, that the public will turn to it with favour, while the old one sinks into discredit.

own. I have never known an attempt to parry this thrust. Yet, besides the fact itself, there are strong presumptions in favour of the position that to know a language well, you should devote your time and strength to it alone, and not attempt to learn three or four. Of course, the Greeks were in possession of language A 1, and were not likely to be gainers by studying the languages of their contemporaries. So we too are in possession of a very admirable language, although put together in a nondescript fashion; and it is not impossible that if Plato had his Dialogues to compose among us, he would give his whole strength to working up our own resources, and not trouble himself with Greek. The popular dictum—*multum non multa*, doing one thing well—may be plausibly adduced in behalf of parsimony in the study of languages.

The recent agitation in Cambridge, in Oxford, and, indeed, all over the country, for remitting the study of Greek as an essential of the Arts' Degree, has led to a reproduction of the usual defences of things as they are. The articles in the March number of this REVIEW, by Professors Blackie and Bonamy Price, may claim to be the *derniers mots*.

Professor Blackie's article is a warning to the teachers of classics, to the effect that they must change their front; that, whereas the value of the classics as a key to thought has diminished, and is diminishing, they must by all means in the first place improve their drill. In fact, unless something can be done to lessen the labour of the acquisition by better teaching, and to secure the much-vaunted intellectual discipline of the languages, the battle will soon be lost. Accordingly, the professor goes minutely into what he conceives the best methods of teaching. It is not my purpose to follow him in this sufficiently interesting discussion. I simply remark that he is staking the case for the continuance of Latin and Greek in the schools on the possibility of something like an entire revolution in the teaching art. Revolution is not too strong a word for what is proposed. The weak part of the new position is that the value of the languages *as languages* has declined, and has to be made up by the incident of their value as *drill*. This is, to say the least, a paradoxical position for a language teacher. If it is mere drill that is wanted, a very small corner of one language would suffice. The teacher and the pupil alike are placed between the two stools—interpretation and drill. A new generation of teachers must arise to attain the dexterity requisite for the task.

Professor Blackie's concession is of no small importance in the actual situation. "No one is to receive a full degree without showing a fair proficiency in two foreign languages, one ancient and one modern, with free option." This would satisfy the present demand everywhere, and for some time to come.

The article of Professor Bonamy Price is conceived in even a higher strain than the other. There is so far a method of argumentation in it that the case is laid out under four distinct heads, but there is no decisive separation of reasons; many of the things said under one head might

easily be transferred without the sense of dislocation to any other head. The writer indulges in high-flown rhetorical assertions rather than in specific facts and arguments. The first merit of classics is that "they are languages; not particular sciences, nor definite branches of knowledge, but literatures." Under this head we have such glowing sentences as these: "Think of the many elements of thought a boy comes in contact with when he reads Cæsar and Tacitus in succession, Herodotus and Homer, Thucydides and Aristotle." "See what is implied in having read Homer intelligently through, or Thucydides, or Demosthenes; what light will have been shed on the essence and laws of human existence, on political society, on the relations of man to man, on human nature itself." There are various conceivable ways of counter-arguing these assertions, but the shortest is to call for the facts—the results upon the many thousands that have passed through their ten years of classical drill. Professor Campbell, of St. Andrews, once remarked, with reference to the value of Greek in particular, that the question would have to be ultimately decided by the inner consciousness of those that have undergone the study. To this we are entitled to add, their powers as manifested to the world, of which powers spectators can be the judges. When, with a few brilliant exceptions, we discover nothing at all remarkable in the men that have been subjected to the classical training, we may consider it as almost a waste of time to analyse the grandiloquent assertions of Mr. Bonamy Price. But if we were to analyse them, we should find that *boys* never read Cæsar and Tacitus through in succession; still less Thucydides, Demosthenes, and Aristotle; that very few *men* read and understand these writers; that the shortest way to come into contact with Aristotle is to avoid his Greek altogether, and take his expositors and translators in the modern languages.

The professor is not insensible to the reproach that the vaunted classical education has been a failure, as compared with these splendid promises. He says, however, that though many have failed to become classical scholars in the full sense of the word, "it does not follow that they have gained nothing from their study of Greek and Latin; just the contrary is the truth." The "contrary" must mean that they have gained something; which something is stated to be "the extent to which the faculties of the boy have been developed, the quantity of impalpable but not less real attainments he has achieved, and his general readiness for life, and for action as a man." But it is becoming more and more difficult to induce people to spend a long course of youthful years upon a confessedly *impalpable* result. We might give up a few months to a speculative and doubtful good, but we need palpable consequences to show for our years spent on classics. Next comes the admission that the teaching is often bad. But why should the teaching be so bad, and what is the hope of making it better? Then we are told that science by itself leaves the largest and most important portion of the youth's nature absolutely undeveloped. But, in the first place, it is not pro-

posed to reduce the school and college curriculum to science alone; and, in the next place, who can say what are the "impalpable" results of science?

The second branch of the argument relates to the greatness of the classical writers. Undoubtedly there are some very great writers in the Greek and Roman world, and some that are not great. But the greatness of Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Plato, and Aristotle can be exhibited in a modern rendering; while no small portion of the poetical form can be made apparent without toiling at the original tongues. The value of the languages then resolves itself, as has been often said, into a *residuum*. Something also is to be said for the greatness of the writers that have written in modern times. Sir John Herschel remarked long ago that the human intellect cannot have degenerated, so long as we are able to quote Newton, Lagrange and Laplace, against Aristotle and Archimedes. I would not undertake to say that any modern mind has equalled Aristotle in the *range* of his intellectual powers; but in point of intensity of grasp in any one subject, he has many rivals; so that to obtain his equal, we have only to take two or three first-rate moderns.

If a number of persons were to go on lauding to the skies the exclusive and transcendent greatness of the classical writers, we should probably be tempted to scrutinize their merits more severely than is usual. Many things could be said against their sufficiency as instructors in matters of thought, and many more against the low and barbarous tone of their *morale*; the inhumanity and brutality of both their principles and their practice. All this might no doubt be very easily overdone, and would certainly be so, if undertaken in the style of Professor Price's panegyric.

The professor's third branch of the argument comes to the real point; namely, what is there in Greek and Latin that there is not in the modern tongues? For one thing, says the professor, they are dead, which of course we allow. Then, being dead, they must be learnt by book, and by rule; they cannot be learnt by ear. Here, however, Professor Blackie would dissent, and would say that the great improvement of teaching, on which the salvation of classical study now hangs, is to make it a teaching by the ear. But, says Professor Price: "A Greek or Latin sentence is a nut with a strong shell concealing the kernel—a puzzle, demanding reflection, adaptation of means to end, and labour for its solution, and the educational value resides in the shell and in the puzzle." As this strain of remark is not new, there is nothing new to be said in answer to it. Such puzzling efforts are certainly not the rule in learning Latin and Greek. Moreover, the very same terms would describe what may happen equally often in reading difficult authors in French, German, or Italian. Would not the pupil find puzzles and difficulties in Dante, or in Goethe? And are there not many puzzling exercises in deciphering English authors? Besides, what is the great objection to science, but that it is too puzzling for

minds that are quite competent for the puzzles of Greek and Latin. Once more, the *teaching* of any language must be very imperfect, if it brought about habitually such situations of difficulty as are here described.

The professor relapses into a cooler and correcter strain when he remarks that the pupil's mind is necessarily more delayed over the expression of a thought in a foreign language (whether dead or alive matters not), and therefore remembers the meaning better. Here, however, the desiderated reform of teaching might come into play. Granted that the boy left to himself would go more rapidly through Burke than through Thucydides, might not his pace be arrested by a well-directed cross-examination; with this advantage that the length of attention might be graduated according to the importance of the subject, and not according to the accidental difficulty of the language?

The professor boldly grapples with the alleged waste of time in classics, and urges that "the gain may be measured by the time expended," which is very like begging the question.

One advantage adduced under this head deserves notice. The languages being dead, as well as all the societies and interests that they represent, they do not excite the prejudices and the passions of modern life. This, however, may need some qualification. Grote wrote his history of Greece to counterwork the party bias of Mitford. The battles of despotism, oligarchy, and democracy are to this hour fought over the dead bodies of Greece and Rome. If the professor meant to insinuate that those that have gone through the classical training are less violent as partisans, more dispassionate in political judgments, than the rest of mankind, we can only say that we should not have known this from our actual experience. The discovery of some sweet, oblivious antidote to party feeling seems, as far as we can judge, to be still in the future. If we want studies that will, while they last, thoroughly divert the mind from the prejudices of party, science is even better than ancient history; there are no party cries connected with the Binomial Theorem.

The professor's last branch of argument, I am obliged, with all deference, to say, contains no argument at all. It is that, in classical education, a close contact is established between the mind of the boy and the mind of the master. He does not even attempt to show how the effect is peculiar to classical teaching. The whole of this part of the paper is, in fact, addressed, by way of remonstrance, to the writer's own friends, the classical teachers. He reproaches them for their inefficiency, for their not being Arnolds. It is not my business to interfere between him and them in this matter. So much stress does he lay upon the teacher's part in the work, that I almost expected the admission, that a good teacher in English, German, natural history, political economy, might even be preferable to a bad teacher of Latin and Greek.

The recent Oxford contest has brought out the eminent oratorical

powers of Canon Liddon ; and we have some curiosity in noting his contributions to the classical side. I refer to his letters in the *Times*. The gist of his advocacy of Greek is contained in the following allegations. First, the present system enables a man to recur with profit and advantage to Greek literature. To this, it has been often replied, that by far the greater number are too little familiarized with the classical languages, and especially Greek, to make the literature easy reading. But farther, the recurring to the study of ancient authors by busy professional men in the present day, is an event of such extreme rarity that it cannot be taken into account in any question of public policy. The second remark is, that the half-knowledge of the ordinary graduate is a link between the total blank of the outer world, and the thorough knowledge of the accomplished classic. I am not much struck by the force of this argument. I think that the classical scholar might, by expositions, commentaries, and translations, address the outer world equally well, without the intervening mass of imperfect scholars. Lastly, the Canon puts in a claim for his own cloth. The knowledge of Greek paves the way for serious men to enter the ministry in middle life. Argument would be thrown away upon any one that could for a moment entertain this as a sufficient reason for compelling every graduate in Arts to study Greek. The observation that I would make upon it has a wider bearing. Middle life is not too late for learning any language that we suddenly discover to be a want ; the stimulus of necessity or of strong interest, and the wider compass of general knowledge, compensate for the diminution of verbal memory.

A. BAIN.

INDIAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

PART III.

IN my last paper on Indian religious sects I endeavoured to show how the worship of the god Vishnu, who was originally a form of the Sun, and subsequently the second member of the Hindū trinity of Creator, Preserver, and Dissolver, has become the most popular religion of two hundred million subjects of the British Empire. Not, indeed, that every Hindū, educated and uneducated, is a Vaishnava, or exclusive worshipper of the god Vishnu, but that the peculiar aspect of the Supreme Being represented by the attributes and character of that god has attraction for all the adherents of Hindūism, to whatever sect or school of thought they may belong.

What I attempted, in fact, to point out was that Vishnu is the most human and humane god in the Hindū Pantheon, and that the system called Vaishnavism is a kind of protest in favour of a personal deity as opposed to the impersonal Pantheism of Brāhmanical Philosophy.

I then gave an account of three principal sects of Vishnu-worshippers—founded by three religious leaders (*āchāryas*) named Rāmānuja, Madhya, and Vallabha respectively,—and of one minor sect founded by Svāmi-Nārāyana. The first three leaders are believed to have been natives of Southern India, and the followers of the first two are chiefly found in the South.

I come now to another principal division of Vishnu-worshippers—those found in Bengal. They are the followers of a celebrated teacher named Chaitanya, and constitute the fourth principal sect of Vaishnavas. It should, however, be noted at the outset that their precepts and practices have a close community with those of the Vallabhāchāryans already described. The biography of Chaitanya, as given by native writers, is, as usual, chiefly legendary. Only scattered elements of truth are discoverable amidst a confused farrago of facts, fiction, and romance.

I believe there is no doubt of his having been born at Nadiya (=Navadvipa) in Bengal in the year 1485 of our era, two years after Luther in Europe. His father was an orthodox Brāhman named Jagannāth Misra. His mother was the daughter of Nilāmbar Chakravartī. Since Chaitanya is held to have been an incarnation of Krishna various prodigies are described as having marked his first appearance in the world. He was thirteen months in the womb. Then soon after his birth, at the end of an eclipse, a number of holy men (among whom was his future disciple Advaita) arrived at the house of his parents to do homage to the new-born child, and to present him with offerings of rice, fruits, gold and silver. In his childhood he resembled the young Krishna in condescending to boyish sports (*lilā*). Yet his intellect was so acute that he rapidly acquired a complete knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and literature. His favourite subject of study was the Bhāgavata-Purāna. This book, with the Bhagavad-gītā—a celebrated poem in praise of Krishna inserted into the Mahā-bhārata—may be regarded as together constituting the Vaishnava bible. Both works exalt Vishnu under the name of Krishna to the highest possible eminence, identifying him with the one God in opposition to the orthodox Brāhmanical doctrine that his position as a manifestation of Brahma must always be secondary to that of the Supreme Being.

Yet Chaitanya, notwithstanding his addiction to religious study, did not shrink from what every Hindū believes to be a sacred obligation—the duty of marrying a wife, and becoming a householder (*grihastha*). He even married again when his first wife died from a snake-bite. At the age of twenty-five (A.D. 1509) he resolved to abandon all worldly connexions, and give himself up to a religious life. Accordingly, like Vallabhāchārya and at about the same period, he commenced a series of pilgrimages. His travels occupied six years, and he is known to have visited some of the most celebrated shrines of India, especially those of Benares, Gayā, Mathurā, Srīrangam, and ultimately the temple of Jagan-nāth at Purī in Orissa.

Having thus prepared himself for his mission, he addressed himself to the real work of preaching and propagating his own view of the Vaishnava creed. It is noteworthy that just about the time when Luther was agitating the minds of men in Europe, Chaitanya was stirring the hearts of the people of Bengal. After making many converts he seems to have appointed his two most eminent followers, Advaita and Nityānanda, to preside over his disciples in that part of India. He himself settled for twelve years at Katak in Orissa. There he lived for the rest of his life in close proximity to the great temple of Jagan-nāth, and contributed to the reputation of the shrine by his presence at the annual festivals.

His success as a preacher was remarkable. Even his enemies were attracted by the persuasiveness of his manner and the magnetic power of his eloquence. The lower classes flocked to him by thousands. Nor was their admiration of him surprising. The first principle he inculcated

was that all the faithful worshippers of Krishna (= Vishnu) were to be treated as equals. Caste was to be subordinated to faith in Krishna.* "The mercy of God," said Chaitanya, "regards neither tribe nor family."

By thus proclaiming social equality he secured popularity. In this respect he wisely imitated the method of Buddhists and Tāntrikas, whose systems he professed otherwise to oppose. Nor were his doctrines altogether different from theirs. It is true that long before his time the atheistical teaching of Buddha had been generally rejected by the Hindū community. The Buddhists had disappeared in name from most parts of India. Yet much of the spirit of Buddhism survived in Vaishnavism. Even the doctrine of Nirvāna, or individual annihilation, emerged again in the Vaishnava dogma that the highest object of human aspiration was to lose all individual existence in union with Krishna identified with the Supreme Being. Nothing, too, could have been more consonant with the spirit of Vaishnavism than the Buddhist respect for animal life. As to the Tāntrikas or followers of Śāktism, they abounded everywhere, especially in Bengal. Their doctrine was that magical powers might be acquired by the worship of the female principle or generative faculty (*śakti*) in nature, personified as Śiva's wife. They believed that the male principle, personified as the great Reproducer (the god Śiva, or "the Blessed One"), was helpless in the work of Reproduction without the energizing action of the female principle. Hence the union of the sexes was with Tāntrikas typical of a great cosmical mystery.

Chaitanya professed to oppose these Śākta doctrines, both as tending to licentious practices, and as ignoring the supremacy of the god Vishnu over Śiva. Yet his system, like that of Vallabhāchārya, had a tendency in the same direction. He taught that the devotion of the soul to Vishnu was to be symbolized under the figure of human love. "Thou art dear to my heart, thou art part of my soul," said a young man to his loved one; "I love thee, but why, I know not." So ought the worshipper to love Krishna, and worship him for his sake only. Let him offer all to God, and expect no remuneration. He acts like a trader who asks for a return." Such are the words of a modern exponent of the Vaishnava system.

I have already pointed out that the idea of faith (*bhakti*) as a means of salvation, which was formally taught by the authors of the Bhagavad-gītā, Bhāgavata-Purāna and Śāṇḍilya-sūtras, was not unknown in earlier times. It was certainly adumbrated in the Upanishads. The leading doctrine, however, of the Vedic hymns and Brāhmanas is that works (*karma*), especially as represented by the performance of sacrifices (*yajna*), constitute the surest pathway to beatitude, while the Upanishads insist mainly on abstract meditation and divine knowledge (*jñāna*) as the true

* This was his theory, but among his numerous followers of the present day the doctrine of equality does not overcome caste-feeling and caste-observances except during religious services. The food presented to the idol of Jagan-nāth is distributed to all castes alike, and eaten by all indiscriminately at the annual festival.

method. Chaitanya affirmed that faith and devotion—displayed by complete submission of the soul to Krishna—was the only road to heaven. Faith, in fact, superseded all other duties. “Whatever is accomplished by works, by penance, by divine knowledge, by suppression of the passions, by abstract meditation, by charity, by virtue, by other excellences,—all this is effected by faith in me. Paradise, Heaven, supreme beatitude, union with the godhead,—every wish of the heart is obtainable by faith in me.” Such are Krishna’s own words, according to the belief of Chaitanya and other Vaishnava teachers. (Bhāgavāta-Purāna XI.)

But the devotional feelings of Krishna’s votaries are supposed to be susceptible of five phases, or rather, perhaps, to be exhibited in five different ways, which are thus enumerated:—1. Calm contemplation of the godhead (*śānti*); 2. Active servitude (*dāsyā*); 3. A feeling of personal friendship (*sākhyā*); 4. A feeling of filial attachment like that of a child for its parent (*vātsalyā*); 5. A feeling of tender affection like that of a girl for her lover (*mādhuryā*).

The last of these is held to be the highest feeling. Indeed, Chaitanya taught that the great aim of every worshipper of Krishna ought to be to lose all individuality and self-consciousness in ecstatic union with his god. To bring about this condition of intense religious fervour various expedients were enjoined—such as incessant repetition of the deity’s name (*nāma-kīrtana*), singing (*sankīrtana*), music, dancing, or movements of the body compared to dancing.* Chaitanya was himself in the constant habit of swooning away in paroxysm of ecstatic emotion, which at last affected his reason. His biographers assert that in one of these fits he was translated directly to Vishnu’s heaven (*Vaikuntha*). According to some accounts he ended his life by walking into the sea near Puri in Orissa, fancying he saw a beatific vision of Krishna sporting on the waves with his favourite Gopīs. Certain it is that he disappeared in a mysterious manner about A.D. 1527, at the age of forty-two.

Then happened what has constantly taken place in the history of India. Men of high religious aspirations, who have laboured for the revival or reformation of religion, and received homage as inspired teachers from crowds of disciples during life, have been worshipped as actual deities at death. The only question in the minds of Chaitanya’s devoted followers was as to whether he was a full manifestation of the Supreme Being (Krishna) or only a descent of a portion (*ansa*) of his essence. The difficulty seems to have been settled by deciding that Chaitanya was none other than very Krishna incarnate, and that his two principal disciples, Advaita and Nityānanda, were manifestations of

* These correspond to the Zikr and religious dancing of the Muhammadan dervishes. For even cold Islām has its devotees who aim at religious ecstasy, resorting to expedients very similar to those of the Chaitanyas. I have been twice present at the weekly services of the Cairo dervishes. One sect repeat the name of God with violent ejaculations and contortions of the body, while another fraternity whirl themselves round till they swoon away in the intensity of their religious fervour.

portions of the same deity. These three leaders of the sect are therefore called the three great lords (*Prapñus*). They constitute the sacred triad of this phase of Vaishnavism.

But a fourth leader, named Hari-dās, who during his lifetime was a companion of Chaitanya, is worshipped as a separate divinity in Bengal. Indeed, all the living successors and the present leaders of the sect, called Gosains, are venerated as little less than deities by the Vaishnavas of this school.

For the worship of living religious leaders and teachers (usually called by the general name *Guru*) is a marked feature of this as of all forms of Vaishnavism. The Guru with Vaishnavas is far more than a teacher, and even more than a mediator between God and men. He is the present god—the visible living incarnation of the deity. His anger or favour make themselves instantly felt. He is on that account even more feared and honoured than the very god of whom he is the representative and embodiment.

Another marked feature of the system is the extraordinary value attached to the repetition of Krishna's names, especially of his name Hari. The mere mechanical process of constantly repeating this word Hari secures admission to Vishnu's heaven. Nothing else is needed. All religious ceremonies and Vedic texts are comparatively useless. Hari-dās is said to have retired to a secluded place in a wood for the purpose of repeating the word Hari 300,000 times daily.* Even a blasphemous repetition of Krishna's name is believed by his followers to be quite sufficient to secure final beatitude. The Pandits of the Marātha country affirm that there is a form of devotion called *Virodha-bhakti*, which consists in a man's cursing the deity with the sole object of achieving the supreme bliss of being utterly annihilated by him, and so reabsorbed into the god's essence.

A great many treatises (such as the *Chaitanya-charitāmrita* written by Krishna-dās in 1590) have been composed by the disciples of Chaitanya in support of his tenets. These works are in high repute in Bengal.

Two other sects of Vaishnavas merit a brief notice—the followers of Nimbārka and those of Rāmānanda, scattered over particular districts in Upper India and Bengal.

The former are sometimes called *Nimānandis* or *Nimāvats*, and in point of time are probably the earliest of the Vaishnava sects. Their founder Nimbārka (or Nimbāditya) is thought to have been identical with the astronomer Bhāskārāchārya, who flourished about the twelfth

* The repetition of particular Vedic texts is by some regarded as equally efficacious. A certain converted Hindū took occasion not long ago to recount his experiences. It appears that he was once troubled with a constant longing for a vision of Vishnu, and in his distress consulted a certain Brāhman, who informed him that to obtain the desired vision he would have to repeat a particular text (*Mantra*) 800,000 times. This he accomplished by dint of hard work night and day in three months, and, on complaining to his friend the Brāhman that no result followed, was told that he must have made some mistake in repeating the text, and that he must go through the whole process again.

century. The poet Jaya-deva, who is also supposed to have lived in the twelfth century, may have been his disciple. If so, it is certain that the disciple did more than his master to promote the doctrine of devotion to Krishna. In Jaya-deva's mystical poem, *Gita-govinda* (compared by some to our *Song of Solomon*), are described the loves of Krishna and the Gopis (wives and daughters of the Cowherds), and especially of Krishna and Rādhā, as typical of the longing of the human soul for union with the divine.

Others again believe Nimbārka to have been an actual incarnation of the Sun-god, and maintain that he derived his name of "Nimb-tree-Sun" from having one day stopped the course of the sun's disk, dislodged it from the heavens, and confined it for a brief season in a Nimb (Nim) tree. According to Hindū ideas, this remarkable miracle was worked for no unworthy or insufficient purpose. It enabled Nimbārka to offer food just before sunset to a holy guest whose religious vows prevented his eating after dark.

No peculiar doctrines distinguish Nimbārka's creed, except, perhaps, that his followers, who are not very numerous, are particular to worship the goddess Rādhā in conjunction with Krishna.

As to Rāmānanda, the sect founded by him about the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century has many adherents in Gangetic India, especially around Agra. They are often called Rāmānandīs or Rāmavats, and are sometimes confounded with the Rāmānujas, the fact being that Rāmānanda was probably one of Rāmānuja's disciples. The Rāmānanda Vaishnavas, however, have distinctive doctrines of their own. They worship Vishnu under the form of Rāma (the hero of the Rāmāyana) either singly or conjointly with his wife Sītā, and they are not, like the Rāmānujas, hyperscrupulous about the privacy of their meals. Their favourite book is the *Bhakta-mālā* of Nābhājī—a work interesting for its biographies of certain Vaishnavas and adherents of the sect, among whom are included two well-known poets, Sūr-dās and Tulasī-dās (commonly Tulsī-dās). The former was blind. He wrote a vast number of stanzas in praise of Vishnu, and is regarded as a kind of patron of blind men, especially if they roam about as wandering musicians.

Tulsī-dās, whose verses are to this day household words in every town and rural district where the Hindī language is spoken, ranks as a poet of a higher order. He was born near Chitra-kūta about A.D. 1544, and settled at Benares, where he became an enthusiastic worshipper of Rāma and Sītā. His Hindī poem, the *Rāmāyana*, or history of Rāma, is no mere translation of Valmiki's great work. It has all the freshness of an independent and original composition. He died about 1624.

But Rāmānanda is chiefly noted for his twelve immediate disciples, the most celebrated of whom were Kabīr, Pipā, and Rāvi-dās. Of these again by far the most remarkable was Kabīr. He founded a distinct sect; and his doctrines are worthy of a full description, both on

their own account, and as having exercised a most important influence throughout Upper India in the fifteenth century. That they formed the basis of the Sikh movement in the Panjāb is clear from the fact that they are constantly quoted by the Guru Nānak and his successors, the authors of the sacred writings which constitute the bible (*Grantha*) of the Sikh religion.

Kabīr was a weaver, and in all probability a Musalmān by birth. He is believed to have lived partly at Benares and partly at Magar, near Gorakhpur, in the reign of Sikandar Shāh Lodi, between 1488 and 1512. According to a legend he was miraculously conceived by the virgin widow of a Brāhman. His name Kabīr—an Arabic word meaning "Great"—gives support to the now generally accepted opinion that he was originally a Musalmān. But he never had any sympathy with Muhammadan intolerance and exclusiveness. It is certain that in the end he became a true Hindū, and, what is important to bear in mind, a true Vaishnava, who, like other Vaishnava leaders, had imbibed much of the democratic, tolerant, and liberal spirit of Buddhism. No wonder, then, that he laboured to free the Vaishnava creed from the useless incrustations of caste-observances with which it had become overlaid. But he did more than other Vaishnava leaders. He rejected all idol-worship and taught Vaishnavism as a form of strict monotheism. True religion, according to Kabīr, meant really nothing but devotion to one God, who is called by the name Vishnu, or by synonyms of Vishnu such as Rāma and Hari, or even by the names current among Muhammadans. For Kabīr, in his tolerance, had no objection to regard Muhammadans as worshipping the same God under a different name. In this way he was the first to attempt a partial bridging of the gulf between Hindūism and Islām.

It might seem, indeed, to an ordinary observer that Hindūism and Islām are as wide apart as opposite poles. What fellowship can there be between Pantheism with its countless divine and semi-divine manifestations, and monotheism with its severe conception of the Unity of the Godhead? Yet, as a matter of fact, the more severe the monotheism the more likely is it to lapse into forms of both Pantheism and Polytheism. In India, as in other countries, the opposite extremes of religious beliefs are constantly meeting; and frequent interchange of ideas takes place between the adherents of hostile systems. Pantheism is continually sliding into Monotheism, Monotheism into Pantheism, and both into Polytheism. Hindūism in its universal receptivity is open to impressions from Islām; Islām, notwithstanding its exclusiveness, is adulterated with Hindūism. Hence it happens that Vaishnavism, however decidedly it may insist on the separate personality of the Godhead, is perpetually slipping back, like a broad wheel, into the old Pantheistic rut. And Islām, however uncompromising its view of the Unity of the Deity, has its school of Sūfī philosophers, who hold opinions almost identical with those of the Vedānta Pantheists. It is no matter of wonder

therefore, that Kabir—while asserting the Unity of God, the Creator of the world, who is admitted to have attributes and qualities and can assume any shape at will—also maintained that God and man are parts of one essence, and that “both are in the same manner everything that lives and moves and has its being.”

Kabir's adherents—still very numerous in Northern India—are called Kabir-panthis, or Kabir-bhaktas. His doctrines and precepts are embodied in the Sukh-nidhān and other Hindī works, as well as in the Sikh Grantha. His successors have added precepts of their own, many of which are attributed to Kabir. His alleged sayings are innumerable.

I subjoin a few specimens:—*

“Hear my word; go not astray. If man wishes to know the truth let him investigate the word.

“My word is from the first. Meditate on it every moment.

“Without hearing the word, all is utter darkness. Without finding the gateway of the word, man will ever go astray.

“There are many words. Take the pith of them.

“Lay in provender sufficient for the road while time yet serves. Evening comes on, the day is flown and nothing will be provided.

“With the five elements is the abode of a great mystery. When the body is decomposed has any one found it? The word of the teacher is the guide.

“That a drop falls into the ocean all can perceive; but that the drop and the ocean are one, few can comprehend.

“The dwelling of Kabir is on the peak of a mountain, and a narrow path leads to it.

“No act of devotion can equal truth; no crime is so heinous as falsehood; in the heart where truth abides, there is my abode.

“Put a check upon the tongue; speak not much. Associate with the wise. Investigate the words of the teacher.

“When the master is blind, what is to become of the scholar? When the blind leads the blind both will fall into the well.”

It is evident from these examples that the key-note of Kabir's teaching was the duty of obeying spiritual teachers. He maintained, in fact, that every man was bound to search for a true and trustworthy spiritual pastor (*Guru*), and, having found one, to make him his master—to submit mind, conscience, and even body to his will and guidance. Yet he never claimed infallibility for his own utterances. He constantly warned his own disciples to investigate the truth of every word he uttered for themselves.

And this leads me to some further notice of the religious system founded in the Panjāb by Kabir's most celebrated follower Nānak, about the time of the Emperor Bābar. In my last paper I viewed the Sikh system in its political bearing on the Afghān question. It remains to treat of it more fully in its religious aspect.

It is well known that certain sects of Christians call themselves “brethren,” to denote their relationship to each other and to their Head as members of a religious society typified by a family. Much in the same way the sect founded by Nānak styled themselves “disciples”

* These are selected from H. H. Wilson's “Hindū Religious Sects.”

(*Sikhs*) to express their close dependence on their teachers or Gurus. For if—to borrow the Premier's metaphor—the diapason of Kabīr's doctrine, and, indeed, of all Vaishnava teaching, was, "Hear the word of the Guru, the word of the Guru is the guide," much more did Nānak insist on a similar submission. Literally interpreted, the Sanskrit terms *Guru* (derived from the Sanskrit root *gri*, "to utter words"), and *Śishya* (corrupted into Sikh), meaning in Sanskrit "one who is to be instructed," are simple correlatives like teacher and taught. Hence, the system might as suitably be called Guruism as Sikhism.

Great light has recently been thrown on its religious aspect by the labours of Professor Trumpp, of Munich. He was commissioned by our Government to translate what is called the *Ādi-Granth*, or first Sikh bible, and his work has recently appeared with valuable introductory essays. It is not too much to say that we are now for the first time able to form an accurate idea of the true nature of one of the most interesting and important religious and political movements in the history of India.

I have already pointed out that the first Sikh Guru, Nānak, was merely a religious reformer. He did not even claim to be the founder of a new sect; nor were his precepts marked by any originality of either conception or diction. They followed in the lines laid down by his predecessor, Kabīr. In plain truth, Nānak was neither more nor less than a thoughtful and energetic Hindū who aimed—as others had done before him—at delivering Hindūism from the festering mass of corruption with which it had become surrounded.

Of course the various biographies of Nānak—called *Janam-sākhīs*, and written in the Panjābi dialect—were filled with myths and stories of miraculous events, invented to justify the semi-deification of the founder of the sect soon after his death.

It seems certain that he was born in a village called Talvandī on the river Rāvī, not far from Lahore, in the year 1469, a few years before Chaitanya in Bengal and Martin Luther in Europe. That all the Hindū gods appeared in the sky and announced the birth of a great saint (*Bhagat*) to save the world, is not quite so capable of proof. Nor can we quite accept as a fact another statement of his chroniclers, that one day angels seized him while bathing, and carried him bodily into the presence of the Deity, who presented him with a cup of nectar and charged him to proclaim the one God, under the name of Hari, upon earth. But we need not disbelieve the statement that at an early age he became a diligent student of Hindū religious books, and that in his youth he imitated the example of other incipient reformers, wandering to various shrines in search of some clue to the labyrinth of Hindūism. It is even affirmed that his travels included the performance of a hajj to Mecca, and that on being reproved by the Kāzī for lying down with his feet towards the Ka'bah, he replied, "Put my feet in that direction where the house of God is not."

His death is known to have occurred on the 10th of October, 1538. One of his sons expected to succeed him, but to the surprise of those who were present at Nānak's death, he passed over his own son and nominated as second Guru his disciple Lahanā, whose name had been changed to Angada because of his devotion. He had, so to speak, given up his person (*anga*) to the service of his master. This appears to have been his chief merit. He was quite illiterate, though tradition makes him the inventor of the peculiar alphabet called Guru-mukhī (a modification of the Devanāgarī) in which the Sikh bible was written. Angada nominated Amar-dās to succeed him as third Guru. Seven others were appointed to the succession in a similar manner. These make up the ten chief Gurus of the Sikh religion. They were 4. Rām-dās; 5. Arjun; 6. Har-Govind; 7. Har-Rai; 8. Har-Kisan (for Har-Krishna); 9. Teg-Bahādur; and 10. Govind-Sinh.

Professor Trumpp has given an interesting account of each, though he does not vouch for the truth of the native biographies from which his details are taken. One thing is certain, that notwithstanding the agreement of Sikhs and Muhammadans in regard to the great doctrine of the Unity of the Godhead, a violent political antagonism soon sprang up between the adherents of the two creeds. The real fact was that when the Sikhs began to combine together for the promotion of their worldly as well as spiritual interests, they rapidly developed military tastes and abilities. This was the signal for an entire change of attitude between Sikhs and Muhammadans. So long as the former were a mere religious sect they were left unmolested; but when they began to band themselves together for purposes of political aggrandizement, they encountered opposition and persecution. The Muhammadan Government naturally took alarm. It could not permit the growth of an *imperium in imperio*. Internecine struggles followed. Both parties treated each other as deadly enemies; but the hardy and energetic Sikhs, though occasionally vanquished and dispersed, were not to be driven off the field. Nor is it surprising that they gradually developed a taste for rapine and spoliation. The decaying Mogul Empire was quite unable to hold its own against their aggressiveness. Ultimately, as we have already seen, they combined into powerful associations (*misals*) under independent marauding chiefs, seized large tracts of land, and took possession of the whole Panjāb.

The first to inspire the Sikhs with a desire for political union was the fourth Guru, Rām-dās. He was himself a quiet unassuming man, but he understood the value of money and the advantage of organization. His affable manners attracted crowds of adherents, who daily flocked to his house and voluntarily presented him with offerings. With the contributions thus received he was able to purchase the sacred tank of Amrita-sar, and build the well-known lake-temple which afterwards became a rallying point and centre of union for the whole Sikh community.

Rām-dās conveyed his precepts to his followers in the form of verses. Many of his stanzas, together with the sayings of the previous Gurus, and especially of the first Guru, Nānak, were for the first time collected and introduced into the *Ādi-Granth*, or first Sikh bible, by his son, the fifth Guru, Arjun, who was appointed by his father to the Guruship just before his death in 1581. From that time forward the succession was made hereditary, and the remaining five Gurus were regarded as rulers rather than as teachers.

A distinguished place among the ten chief Sikh Gurus must be claimed for Arjun. He was the first to convert the Sikh community from a religious sect into an important political organization. He not only compiled the first Sikh bible, but substituted a regular tax for the voluntary contributions of his followers. He was the first Sikh Pope who aimed at temporal as well as spiritual power. It is not surprising, then, that his death is said to have been brought about by the Emperor Jehāngir.

The lives of the sixth, seventh, and eighth Gurus may be passed over as unimportant. The ninth Guru, Teg-Bahādur, attracted the attention of the Emperor Aurangzib. This fanatical monarch, who was bent on forcing the whole world to embrace Islām, did not long leave the Sikhs undisturbed. He imprisoned Teg-Bahādur, and tortured him so cruelly that the Guru, despairing of life, induced a fellow-prisoner to put an end to his sufferings. But Aurangzib's tyranny was quite powerless to suppress the Sikh movement. It was rather the chief factor in Sikh progress. The murder of the ninth Guru was the great turning-point in the history of the sect. Thenceforward the Sikhs became a nation of fighting men.

Teg-Bahādur's son, Govind-Sinh, succeeded as tenth Guru. Burning to revenge his father's death, he formed the ambitious design of establishing an independent dominion on the ruins of the Muhammadan Empire. He was a man of extraordinary energy and strength of will, but, born and brought up at Patna, was deeply imbued with Hindū superstitious feelings. The better to prepare himself for what he felt was too gigantic a task to be accomplished without supernatural assistance, he went through a course of severe religious austerity. He even so far abjured the principles of his predecessors as to propitiate the goddess Durgā. Nay it is even affirmed that, instigated by the Brāhmans to offer one of his own sons as a sacrifice, and unable to obtain the mother's consent, he allowed one of his disciples to be beheaded as a substitute at the altar of the bloody goddess. The story is noteworthy as pointing to the prevalence of human sacrifice at that time in Upper India.

We need not repeat the account already given of the history and character of Govind, nor dwell on the process by which he converted the Sikhs from a religious sect to a nation of fighting men. One point, however, must be adverted to again. The first bible (*Ādi-Granth*),

containing the precepts of Nānak and his successors, which had been compiled by Guru Arjun, was too full of passages suggestive of meekness and pacific feelings to satisfy Govind. A second canonical book was needed, suited to the revolution effected by him in the whole character of the Sikh community—a revolution well symbolized by the name *Sinh* (*lion*) which he required to be appended to that of every Sikh. This second bible was added by Govind as a supplement to the first, and called the book of the tenth Guru. Yet, in regard to mere religious doctrine, Govind in his own portion of the Granth adhered to the half monotheistic, half pantheistic teaching of the Ādi-Granth. He prohibited idolatry, and insisted on the Oneness of God. His chief innovation was the inculcation of war as a religious duty. He was himself more of a military than a religious leader. He was not only a brave soldier, but a daring and resolute commander, and his fighting propensities were intensified by his innate superstition and fanaticism.

It need not, therefore, be matter of astonishment that the greater part of Govind's own life was passed in strife and warfare. But he was no match for the Emperor Aurangzib, who was his equal in fanatical intolerance, and greatly his superior in ability and military resources. Forced to withdraw from a hopeless contest, he built himself a large residence in Mālwa (called Damdamā). This place is still a central point of resort for the Sikh community. On the death of Aurangzib, Govind is said to have gained the goodwill of his successor, Bahādur Shah, and even to have accepted a military command in the Dekhan. There a certain Pathān, who owed him a grudge, attempted his assassination and wounded him severely. He is said to have lingered some time, but eventually died of his injuries at a town called Nader, in the valley of the Godāvarī (A.D. 1708). Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the later Sikh system was the quasi-deification of the sacred book, or Granth. Govind refused to appoint a successor to the Guruship, but he well knew that to maintain the Sikh religion as a distinctive creed some visible representative and standard of authority was needed. He therefore constituted the Granth a kind of permanent religious Guru, gifting it with personality, and even endowing it with the personal title Sāhib (Lord). "After me," he said, "you shall everywhere mind the book of the Granth-Sāhib as your Guru; whatever you shall ask it will show you."

It may be worth while, therefore, to inquire a little more closely into the nature of the book thus exalted to the position of an infallible guide, and made to do duty as a kind of visible vicegerent of God upon earth.

It consists, as we have seen, of two parts, the Ādi-Granth or first book, which is the portion most generally revered, and the book of the tenth Guru, Govind, which finds greater favour with the more fanatical section of the community. We can only here glance at the form and contents of the Ādi-Granth. The translator (Professor Trumpp) considers

it to be "an extremely incoherent and wearisome book, the few thoughts and ideas it contains being repeated in endless variations." Nor will this estimate of its merits be matter of wonder when it is found that the *Ādi-Granth* is, in fact, a jumbling together of metrical precepts and apophthegms supposed to have been composed by at least thirty-five different authors, among whom were six of the ten chief Gurus (*Nānak*, *Angada*, *Amar-dās*, *Rām-dās*, *Arjun*, and *Teg-Bahādur*), fourteen *Bhagats* or saints (*Rāmānand*, *Kabīr*, *Pipā*, *Ravi-dās*, *Dhanna*, *Nāmdev*, *Sūr-dās*, &c.), and fifteen *Bhatts* or professional panegyrists, whose names are not worth recording. These latter were employed to write eulogies on the Gurus, and their panegyrics, introduced into the *Granth*, are curious as specimens of abject adulation, though absolutely worthless in themselves. It is noticeable that one verse by *Govind-Sinh* has been appended to the *Ādi-Granth*, and is regarded as an integral portion of the volume.

The language in which the whole work is written is not so much the old *Panjābī* dialect as the old *Hindī*. This ancient dialect was probably used by the Sikh Gurus, though natives of the *Panjāb*, that they might be better able to commend their utterances to the whole *Hindū* community. It may be conveniently called *Hindū-ī* to distinguish it from the modern *Hindī*.* The graphic system used by the writers was a modification of the *Devanāgarī* alphabet, called *Guru-mukhī*, the chief peculiarity of which is that it preserves the forms of most of the *Sanskrit* letters, but changes their phonetic power.

Perhaps it is as unjust to disparage the *Granth* as to exalt its merits unduly. To say that it contains many noble thoughts is as true as to say that it abounds in mere twaddle and silly repetition. Nor can it be fairly accused of absence of arrangement. The verses, though unconnected, are arranged in six divisions:—(1) we have the *Japu* (commonly called *Jap-jī*), which consists of introductory verses by *Nānak*; (2) then follows the *So-daru*; (3) the *So-purkhu*; (4) the *Sohilā*, three short sections, consisting chiefly of verses adapted for evening devotion; lastly come (5) the *Rāgus*, verses sung in particular *Rāgs* or musical keys, thirty-one in number, which constitute the great body of the *Granth*, especially the first four, called *Siri Rāg*, *Rāg Māgh*, *Rāg Gaurī* and *Rāg Āsā*; and (6) the *Bhog*, consisting of verses by *Nānak*, *Arjun*, and the earlier Gurus, besides others by *Kabīr*, whose sayings are also scattered everywhere through every section of the *Granth*.

I select a few examples from different parts of the book, slightly abridged and altered from Professor *Trumpp*'s version:—

"At the beginning is the True One.

"The True One is, O *Nānak*! and the True One also will be.

"Know, that there are two ways (that of *Hindūs* and that of *Musalmanās*), but only one Lord.

* Professor *Trumpp* designates it by this name. I believe I was one of the first to recommend its being so distinguished, in the Preface to my *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, published by the University of Oxford in 1872.

"By thyself all the creation is produced ; by thyself, having created, the whole is caused to disappear.

"Thou, O Hari, alone art inside and outside ; thou knowest the secrets (of the heart).

"Mutter the name of Hari, Hari, O my heart, by which comfort is brought about ; by which all sins and vices disappear ; by which poverty and pain cease.

"Thou art I, I am thou, of what kind is the difference ? Like gold and the bracelet, like water and a wave.

"In the seven insular continents, the seven oceans, the nine regions, the four Vedas, the eighteen Purānas : In all, thou, O Hari, art abiding, in all thy decree, O Hari, is working.

"By the perfect Guru the name of Hari is made firm in me. Hari is my beloved, my king. If some one bring and unite (him with me), my life is revived.

"Thou art my father, my mother, my cousin, my brother, my protector in all places. Then what fear and grief can there be to me ? By thy mercy I have known thee. Thou art my support, my trust. Without thee there is none other all is thy play and thy arena, O Lord !

"The Lord is my dear friend. He is sweeter to me than mother and father, sister, brother, and all friends ; like thee there is none other, O Lord !

"Be united with the Lord of the Universe. After a long time this (human) body was obtained. In some births thou wast made a rock and mountain. In some births thou wast produced as a pot-herb. In the eighty-four lakhs (of forms of existence) thou wast caused to wander about.

"No hot wind touches those who are protected by the true Guru. The Guru is the true creator.

"Protected by the Guru he is admitted to the true house and palace (of Hari). Death cannot eat him.

"I am continually a sacrifice to my own Guru.

"I am become a sacrifice to my own Lord. From the Veda, from the book (the Kurān), from the whole world he is conspicuous. The King of Nānak is openly seen.

"Having forgotten all things meditate on the One ! Drop false conceit, offer up (thy) mind and body !"

The following are examples of Kabir's sayings quoted in the Granth :—

"Kabir says : I am the worst of all, every one is good except me.

"Death, of which the world is afraid, is joy to my mind.

"The gate of salvation is narrow, not wider than the tenth part of a mustard-seed.

"If I make the seven oceans ink, if I make the trees my pen, if I make the earth my paper, the glory of God (Hari) cannot be written.

"Hope should be placed on God (Rām), hope in others is useless.

"What thou art doing to-morrow do now ; what thou art doing now do at once. Afterwards nothing will be done when death descends on thy head."

It will be sufficiently evident from these passages that Sikhism was a great religious reform, and yet in its essence very little better than Brāhmanism. The Granth declares the Oneness of the Deity, but when we sound the depths of its inner doctrines we find that this unity is to be interpreted pantheistically. There is but One God, but he manifests Himself everywhere and is everything. From various passages of the Granth it is clear that the Hindū names Hari, Krishna, Rāma, and Govind are accepted by the Sikhs as names of the Supreme. They are even willing to regard the different divine personalities represented by these names as manifestations of the one Supreme Being. The point

on which they pride themselves is the prohibition of image-worship. Yet they make an idol of their own sacred book, worshipping it as truly as the Hindūs do their idols, dressing it, decorating it, fanning it, putting it to bed at night, and treating it much in the same manner as the idols of Krishna are treated.

We have seen that one great distinguishing feature of their system is that war is made an essential part of religion. To indicate their belief in this doctrine they worship the military weapons of their Gurus. In other respects they conform to the customs of the Hindūs. They even surpass the ordinary Hindū in some of his most inveterate superstitions; as, for example, in ascribing divine sanctity to the cow. The killing of a cow is, with Sikhs, the most heinous of crimes,* meriting nothing less than capital punishment—not, however, from any injunction to that effect in the Granth, but from simple opposition to the Musalmāns, who, whenever they conquered any district peopled by Hindūs, invariably slaughtered cows, both to ratify their victories and to show their contempt for Hindū superstitions.

Then again they accept, in more than its fulness, the Hindū doctrine of metempsychosis, believing that there are eighty-four lakhs (or eight millions four hundred thousand) forms of existence through which all souls—represented as flames emanating from the great fountain of light—are liable to pass before returning to their source.†

But after all the chief distinctive feature of Sikhism is that, accepting the Vaishnava doctrine of complete submission to the Guru or ordained religious teacher, the Sikh Guru is made, so to speak, to out-Guru all other Gurus. His word is to be law in every single matter, human and divine. First, he baptizes the novice with a decoction of sugar and water, which he has previously consecrated and stirred with a two-edged dagger. Then he imparts the name of Hari to his disciple in a particular sacred text, which loses all its efficacy unless orally communicated. He tells him to mutter it perpetually, enjoins him to fix his mind on Hari's excellences, and never to rest until he has extinguished all self-consciousness, and merged his own separate existence in that of Hari. In return for the instruction thus imparted, the disciple, even in the earliest period of Sikhism, had to render a certain amount of personal and even menial service to his Guru. Then as Sikhism advanced and the Guru gained temporal as well as spiritual authority, he became to the disciple not only teacher and spiritual pastor, but master, military leader, and king. Finally, when he had ceased to act as a military leader, he was regarded as an all-powerful mediator between God and man, and

* At one time in the Punjab it was infinitely more criminal to kill a cow than to kill a daughter.

† These forms of life are supposed to consist of 2,300,000 quadrupeds; 900,000 aquatic animals; 1,000,000 feathered animals; 1,100,000 creeping animals; 1,700,000 immovable creatures (such as trees and stones); 1,400,000 (or according to some only 400,000) forms of human beings. Final emancipation can only be achieved in this last form of existence.

even as an actual god to whom prayers were to be addressed as to the Supreme Being Himself.

Before concluding this sketch of one of the most interesting religious movements that have ever taken place in India, I ought to state that I visited the tombs of Ranjit Sinh and Guru Arjun at Lahore, the birth-place of Govind at Patna, and the sacred metropolis or Jerusalem of Sikhism at Amritsar.

I noticed that the mausoleum which contains the ashes of Ranjit Sinh at Lahore had idols of the Hindū gods Ganeśa and Brahmā over the entrance. Inside, resting on a small elevated platform, was the sacred Granth, and all around were eleven small tombs, mere mounds of earth, under which are preserved the ashes of Ranjit's eleven wives, who became Satīs at his death.

It may be worth while here to mention that it is against the practice of the Hindūs to preserve the remains of their deceased relatives in tombs. The body is burnt, and, however illustrious the man may have been, the ashes are scattered on sacred rivers. The Sikh leaders were, like the Muhammadans, ambitious of perpetuating their own memories after death. They continued the Hindū practice of burning their dead, but, like the Muslims, spent larger sums in erecting magnificent tombs for the reception of their own ashes than in building palaces for their own ease and self-indulgence during life.

The temple dedicated to the tenth Guru Govind, at Patna, was rebuilt by Ranjit Sinh about forty years ago. I found it, after some trouble, in a side street, hidden from view and approached by a gateway, over which were the images of the first nine Gurus with Nānak in the centre. The shrine is open on one side. Its guardian had a high-peaked turban encircled by steel rings (*chakra*), used as weapons. He was evidently an Akālī—or "worshipper of the timeless God"—a term applied to a particular class of Sikh zealots who believe themselves justified in putting every opponent of their religion to the sword. As I entered the court of the temple, accompanied by a Musalmān friend, this Akālī displayed great excitement, and I began to fear an outburst of fanaticism which might have been dangerous to both of us. Happily my companion knew the man we had to deal with, and, under a process of judicious handling, the fiery zealot cooled down, and even allowed us to inspect the interior of the tenth Guru's shrine.

On one side, in a small recess—supposed to be the actual room in which Govind was born more than two centuries before—were some of his garments and weapons, and what was once his bed, with other relics, all in a state of decay. On the other side was a kind of low altar, on which were lying under a canopy a beautifully embroidered copy of the Ādi-Granth and of the Granth of Govind. In the centre, on a raised platform, were a number of sacred swords, which appeared to be as much objects of worship as the sacred books.

As to the golden temple at Amritsar, called Hari-mandir, or some-

times Durbār Sahib, it may be said to rank next to the Taj at Agra as one of the most striking sights of India. To form an idea of the unique spectacle presented by this sacred locality, one must picture to oneself a large square sheet of water, bordered by a marble pavement, in the centre of a picturesque Indian town. Around the margin of this artificial lake are clustered numerous fine mansions, most of them once the property of Sikh chiefs who assembled here every year, and spent vast sums on the endowment of the central shrine. One of the houses is now occupied by Sirdār Mangal Sinh Ramgharia, a well-known and much esteemed member of the Sikh community. It has two lofty towers, from one of which I enjoyed a grand panoramic view of the lake and its vicinity—one of those rare sights seen at intervals during life, which fix themselves indelibly on the memory. In the centre of the water rises the beautiful temple with its gilded dome and cupolas, approached by a marble causeway, and quite unlike any other place of worship to be seen throughout India. In structure and appearance it is a kind of compromise between a Hindū temple and a Muhammadan mosque, reminding one of the attempted compromise between Hindūism and Islām, which was once a favourite idea with both Kabīr and Nānak.

In point of mere size the shrine is not imposing, but its proportions strike one as nearly perfect. All the lower part is of marble, inlaid, like the Taj, with precious stones, and here and there overlaid with gold and silver. The principal entrance facing the causeway looks towards the north. The interior is even more gorgeous than the exterior. On the ground-floor is a well-proportioned vaulted hall—its richly gilded ceiling ornamented with an infinite number of small mirrors, and its walls decorated with inlaid work of various designs, flowers, birds, and elephants. Four short passages, entered by carved silver doors, one on each of its four sides, lead to this vaulted chamber, giving it a shape not unlike that of a Greek cross. All around on the outside is a narrow corridor. In the interior, opposite the principal entrance, sits the presiding Guru—his legs folded under him on the bare ground—with the open Granth before him. He is attended by other officials of the temple, who assist him in chanting the sacred texts.

And be it observed, that although the temple is conspicuously free from images, and is dedicated to the one Supreme Being (under his name Hari), a visible representation of the invisible God is believed to be present in the sacred book. The Granth is, in fact, the real divinity of the shrine, and is treated as if it had a veritable personal existence. Every morning it is dressed out in costly brocade, and reverently placed on a low throne under a jewelled canopy, said to have been constructed by Ranjit Sinh at a cost of 50,000 rupees. All day long chowries are waved over the sacred volume, and every evening it is transported to the second temple on the edge of the lake opposite the causeway, where it is made to repose for the night in a golden bed

within a consecrated chamber, railed off and protected from all profane intrusion by bolts and bars.

On the occasion of my first visit to the Golden Temple two or three rows of temple officials and others were seated in a circle round the vaulted chamber, to the number of about a hundred, listening to the Granth which was being chanted by the presiding Guru and his assistants in a loud tone, with an accompaniment of musical instruments. The space in the centre was left vacant for offerings and was strewn with flowers, grain, and small coin. A constant line of worshippers, male and female, entered one after the other, cast down their offerings, bowed their heads to the ground before the Granth and before the presiding Guru, and reverently circumambulated the corridor of the temple. I noticed that one poor old woman threw in two coins, and then, bending low, touched the marble floor with her forehead.

On leaving the temple I talked for a time with an intelligent Sikh who had received an English education. Pointing to an idol of Krishna which had been set up on the margin of the lake, I asked whether the Sikhs were returning to the worship of the Hindū gods. "Yes," he said, "we are gradually lapsing back into our old habits. Our first Guru abolished caste and forbad the worship of idols. Our tenth Guru was a thorough Hindū at heart, and by his own example encouraged the return to Hindū practices; so that out of the 200,000 Sikhs now found in the Panjāb a large number adopt caste, wear the Brāhmanical thread, keep Hindū festivals, observe Hindū ceremonies (such as the Śrāddha), and even present offerings to idols in Hindū temples."

In short, a careful observation of the present condition of Sikhism must lead to the conclusion that the Sikh reforming movement, like others which preceded it, is gradually being drawn back into the all-absorbing current of ordinary Hindūism. Yet the possession of a distinct rule of faith and standard of doctrine in the Granth must have, so to speak, a prophylactic effect. It must keep the crumbling elements of Sikhism together for a time. Nor need the process of reabsorption involve the obliteration of all distinctive marks. For just as the strength of Hindūism is Vaishnavism, so the strength of Vaishnavism is its tolerance of an almost infinite diversity within its own pale. Probably in the end the Granth itself will be accepted by the whole body of Vaishnavas as a recognised portion of their sacred literature, and its creed as a recognised variety of the Vaishnava system.

To compress a description of all such varieties within the limits of these papers would be impossible. Even the school founded by the great reformer Kabīr branched out into many ramifications in different parts of India. Sikhism was not its only offshoot. Kabīr is said to have had twelve disciples, like his predecessor Rāmānanda; and each disciple is supposed to have taken a distinct line (*panthā*) of his own, and to have originated a distinct school of religious thought.

Of minor sects thus brought into existence two may be singled out

for special notice—the Dādu-panthīs and the Satnāmīs. The former sect, founded by Dādu, a cotton-cleaner of Ahmedabad, who flourished about A.D. 1600, are Vaishnava monotheists; that is, worshippers of the one God under some of the names of Vishnu, according to the doctrine of Kabīr, on whose precepts the religious works of the sect are all founded.

In the same way, the Satnāmīs are really only Vaishnava Unitarians, who call the one God by a peculiar name of their own (Satnām), and base their doctrines on Kabīr's school of theology.

According to Professor H. H. Wilson, the founder of the Satnāmīs was Jag-jīvan-dās, a native of Oudh, whose samādh or tomb is shown at Katwa, a place between Lucknow and Ajudhya. He is said to have flourished about the year 1750, and to have written certain tracts in Hindi, called Jnāna-prakās, Mahā-pralaya, and Prathama-grantha. When I was last in India I heard of a branch of the Satnāmīs at Chatisgarh, in the Central Provinces. They are the followers of a low-caste Chamār named Ghāsī-dās and his son Bālak-dās, who flourished about the beginning of this century. I was able to obtain some account of their tenets and practices from the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society at Madras. They are also described in one or two numbers of the *Madras Missionary Record* for 1872.

Like other varieties of Hindū Unitarians, all of whom mix up pantheistic ideas with monotheistic doctrines, they submit implicitly to their Gurus, regarding them as vicegerents of God upon earth, and occasionally as actual incarnations of the Deity.

Here are a few of their precepts and rules :—

“ God pervades the universe. He is present in every single thing. The title Lord (Sāhib) should be added to every object in which God is present. God is the spring and source of everything good and evil. Idols must not be worshipped. The ordained religious teacher (Guru) is holy. Even the water in which his feet are washed is holy, and should be drunk by his disciples. Distinctions of caste are not to be observed. Fasts need not be kept. Feed the poor. Wound no one's feelings. When the dead are burned let no one cry or weep; let them only exclaim, ‘The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away!’ ”

My next paper will contain an account of some remaining religious creeds of India, including those of the Jains and Pārsīs.

MONIER WILLIAMS.

THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

THE subject of education is one full of such momentous issues, whether considered in relation to its probable influence upon individuals, upon communities, or, in course of time, on the future of the whole human race, that it justly demands most careful attention.

In using the word "education," it is, however, necessary to avoid limiting its meaning to the acquirement of a few arts, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic. Indeed, we object to restricting the term to any merely mental training, and seek from the word itself, when traced fully back, an apt notion of the proper extent of the subject. To educate is to develop all those faculties and talents which are latent in the individual: to train, harmonize, and regulate the properties of that three-fold nature comprised in the body, mind or soul, and spirit of man. Nor is it possible to start fairly on this inquiry without a right conception of these three distinct, but inseparable, parts of which human nature is composed, and which must each receive its proper education if we would elevate the whole.

Every person professes to be aware that if the body receives undue indulgence, and the intellectual and spiritual natures are neglected, the man sinks to a position little above that of one of the lower animals. And so likewise if the mental and physical only are educated, the result is still defective—namely, the production of a powerful intellectual being, but one in whom, no counterpoise having been provided against the inherent selfishness of man's nature, the finer qualities of humanity will be more or less wanting and the baser predominant. Or again, if the spiritual be cultivated and the intellectual neglected, the result will be superstition and other defects arising from narrowness of view. And lastly, even the neglect of bodily training tends to produce a state of physical ill-health, which is found often so to react upon the mental and spiritual faculties as seriously to impair their usefulness.

If these views be correct, it is a question of most serious importance whether the progress of education at the present time is in harmony with them—whether the tendency of present systems is beneficially to affect the whole man, or to operate only partially, and, so far, injuriously. The subject receives additional interest from the evident fact that we are now passing through one of the recognised critical periods of the world's history.

The beginning of this era may be dated from the establishment of the great American Republic and the occurrence of the French Revolution; events which developed an intellectual activity largely concentrated on acquiring a knowledge of the physical phenomena of the world and on the application of physical forces to useful purposes. The electric telegraph, the introduction of steam power, the invention of the many varieties of labour-saving machinery, are amongst the greatest triumphs of this period, and illustrate the great characteristic of the present age: the conquests won by the power of mind in the enslavement of matter. From the immense achievements of the past it is hard to place a limit upon the possible triumphs of the future.

We find, also, that by means of these inventions the whole world is being brought into closer intercourse. Its remotest corners are being explored, the inferiority of uncivilized nations as compared with those more civilized is being intensified, savages are becoming powerless in the face of modern weapons, and thus a way is preparing for the civilization of all peoples—a civilization which will necessarily include education. We are, therefore, fully justified in saying that, for the welfare of the whole world, the most important question a Christian or philanthropist has now to consider is the principles upon which education shall proceed.

Important, however, as this subject is to all nations, its consideration has an especial interest for the Anglo-Saxon race, which is fast covering the habitable parts of the American continent, Australia, and the isles of the sea, and appears destined to supplant the aborigines of these countries, to absorb emigrants of other nationalities, and before long to make the English language the language of the world; so that not only for this one race, but for all who are being brought within the sphere of its influence, it is of the first importance that the principles on which its education is conducted shall be calculated to raise and ennoble mankind.

It would be vain to deny that hitherto the English nation has been sadly oblivious of its important obligations in this respect. Switzerland, Germany, the American Republic, and other nations have left it far behind in the matter of national education, although it must be allowed that the results in these countries have not always been such as might have been hoped for and seem to point to imperfect systems. We may take as an example the great German nation, which presents the striking phenomenon of a highly-educated people unable to maintain either

political freedom or reasonable faith; whose citizens are, for the most part, either devotees of the Romish superstition, or actual, if not avowed, atheists; who either bow submissively to military despotism or break out in manifestations of wild socialism.

It is, however, necessary, in order to realize the progress made, and rightly to understand the educational position of England, to glance back to the latter part of the last century. At that time the social position of this country was lamentable, and presented a state which may be described as almost total stagnation. The higher classes were openly profligate, the lower sunk in a state of abject misery and degradation. Vast wealth was being squandered by its rulers and princes, while the poor were so heavily taxed that the most industrious could barely eke out a miserable existence, and the operation of the old poor-law had almost destroyed the independence of the labouring classes. Of course, at such a time, any system of education for the people was entirely unthought of, and a proposal to form one would have been only met with derision. But the spread of revolutionary ideas in France, and their propagation in neighbouring countries, followed by the development of many of the nobler qualities of the British people during the life-and-death struggle between England and France, roused the country from its state of apathy; and consequently, after the close of the war, when remunerative occupations for the people increased and wealth began to accumulate, when the passing of the Reform Bill inspired the country with hope of better government, and, lastly, when the religious revival commenced long previously by Wesley amongst the poor began to arouse the attention and startle the consciences of the wealthier classes, an effect was produced which brought the subject of education prominently forward.

The earliest movement towards a system of national education may, perhaps, be said to date from 1832, or about the time of the passing of the Reform Bill. The position of the country at that time is, perhaps, fairly represented by the city of Manchester, where, out of a population of 200,000, only 11,000 scholars were found attending school, although the number of children needing education was over 34,000. Thus about two-thirds of the population were growing up in entire ignorance. As regards the quality of the education, we have a remarkable description in a report of the Statistical Society, issued in 1834. It says:—

“One-half of the schools are the so-called ‘dame-schools’—the greater part kept by females, but some by old men, whose only qualification for this employment seems to be their unfitness for every other. These schools are generally found in very dirty, unwholesome rooms, frequently in close, damp cellars, or old, dilapidated garrets. In by far the greater number there are only two or three books amongst the whole number of scholars. The terms vary from twopence to sevenpence per week, averaging fourpence. It appears,” add the Committee, “that no instruction really deserving the name is received in them, and in reckoning the number of those to be considered as partaking of the condition of useful education, the 4700 children attending these schools must be left entirely out of the account.

"The common day-schools, kept by private adventure teachers, are in rather better condition, but still very little fitted to give really useful education. The masters are, generally, in no way qualified for their occupation, and take little interest in it. Religious instruction is seldom attended to, and moral education totally neglected. 'Morals,' said one master, in answer to the inquiry whether he taught them morals, 'how am I to teach morals to the like of these?'"

The facts thus brought forward are sufficiently startling, but still more sad evidence of the absence of education among the people is found in the reports sent up to the Government by the prison authorities in 1838. It is stated in these that only nine out of every hundred criminals were able to read and write, and that "the leading characteristic of the prisoners committed for crime was a heathenish ignorance of the simplest truths of religion and morality."

Moved, no doubt, by these melancholy disclosures, the Government brought in an Act which enabled it to make grants in aid of education and contributions towards the building of schools, and from this time the attention of the country continued to be directed with increasing earnestness to this subject, so that by the year 1868 almost every parish church had a school attached to it, while various Nonconformist bodies, especially the Wesleyans, were also actively providing for the education of the poor. At length Mr. Forster succeeded in passing what is known as the Elementary Education Act of 1870, by which it became the law of the land that every child should receive a certain amount of education, and that parents should be held legally responsible for the attendance of their children at school.

The position of education in the United Kingdom at the time of the passing of this Act was stated by Mr. Forster to be as follows:—Voluntary effort had provided 11,000 day and 2000 night schools. The number of children upon the registers was 1,450,000, with an average attendance of about 1,000,000; so that, even in these schools, the education could be but very imperfect, owing to the irregularity of the attendance. Thus, only two-fifths of the children between the ages of six and ten years, and only one-third of those between the ages of ten and twelve, were receiving even this insufficient amount of education; and, although many others may have been receiving some sort of instruction from other sources, yet, as the educational standard, even in the inspected schools, was so very low, it may be concluded that in those uninspected it was almost worthless.

In regard to the general question, one of the speakers in the debate on this Bill brought forward the following curious comparisons. He mentioned a town containing a population of 12,000, where less than 700 children were attending school, whereas in a town of the same population in Germany there would have been 2000 scholars. In Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester, with an estimated population of 1,500,000, the average attendance in elementary schools was 124,000, while if the four towns had been in Germany, there would have been

found at least 250,000 children attending schools daily for eight years.

So far as to what may be called the statistics of quantity in respect of popular education. Regarding the quality of the instruction given in the inspected schools, one of the Government Inspectors, referring to the sixth standard, which required that the pupil should be able to read an ordinary newspaper paragraph with fluency, write the same from dictation, and do sums in bills-of-parcels, stated that in Birmingham and Leeds, with a population of 600,000, only 530 pupils succeeded in passing it.

In contrast to this, we find that, on an inquiry being made as to the number of children who left school in Germany and Saxony without acquiring such an amount of education as would be equivalent to our sixth standard, the answer given was that it was below the *lowest* Saxon or German standard. In Saxony, the pupils, before leaving school, were required, not only to read fluently and to write a good, readable hand, but also to write from memory, in their own words, a short story which had been previously read to them, and were, besides, instructed in geography, in singing, and in the history of their Fatherland. With the exception of children mentally deficient or else suffering from ill-health, no child failed to pass this examination. This comparison may be put very briefly:—In England only 20,000 children in a population of 20,000,000 passed the sixth standard; in Old Prussia, 380,000 in a population of 19,000,000 passed every year.

By the Elementary Education Act of 1870 the country was divided into school districts, in each of which it was required that a sufficient amount of accommodation should be provided for all the resident children, and where such accommodation was not provided within a certain time by voluntary effort, a School Board should be erected to supply the deficiency and compel the attendance of the children. So much lack of information is being constantly shown as regards the working of this great measure, that it may be useful to give a short account of the way in which its provisions are carried out.

The members of the School Boards are elected by the ratepayers in the different districts, and each Board must consist of not less than five, nor more than fifteen members, except in the case of the Metropolis, which possesses fifty representatives. These Boards have the power committed to them to build schools, to borrow from the Government the necessary funds, repayable in fifty years, with interest at three-and-a-half per cent., to provide industrial schools, and to carry out the intention of the Industrial Schools Act in regard to children who are in danger of becoming criminals. It also rests with them to appoint local Managers to Schools, and Divisional Committees to enforce the Bye-laws for compelling the regular attendance of the children. They possess power to raise the funds for carrying on their work by levying a rate over the whole school district, and to charge fees to the parents.

Board Schools, as well as Voluntary Schools, obtain grants from Government, according to the excellence of the pupils.

It is left with each Board to decide whether the education given in the schools under its control shall be purely secular or shall include religious instruction: provided that, in any such instruction given, no catechism or religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination is taught.

It will sufficiently illustrate the operation of this Act during the past eight years, if we confine our remarks to the work of the London School Board, since not only does this Board control a population of over three and a half millions, but it has had to deal with all kinds of cases, exemplifying the practical requirements arising in most of the other large towns in the country. Before proceeding, however, to this part of our task, it will be interesting to compare the present state of education in the whole of England with the description already given of its condition in 1834.

We find, then, that in the year ending 31st August, 1877, 15,187 day-schools were inspected by the Government, containing 22,033 departments, under separate teachers, and furnishing accommodation for 3,653,418 scholars. There were on the registers the names of 3,154,973 children; 1,100,000 being under seven years of age, 1,929,000 between seven and thirteen, and 125,000 above thirteen years of age. 771,000 passed the prescribed examination without failure in any one of the three subjects—reading, writing, and arithmetic. In addition to the day-schools, 1,733 night-schools, having 57,000 scholars above twelve years of age,* were recognised as efficient by the Government. Of these 57,000 scholars, 48,000 were examined, and, out of every 100 scholars, eighty-seven passed in reading, sixty-nine in writing, and fifty-eight in arithmetic. To carry on this education, 24,841 certificated teachers were at work, these teachers being mainly supplied from forty training colleges, containing over 3000 students. We find, also, that 270,000 children were presented for examination in specific subjects, and that, of these, 45,000 passed successfully. Grammar, elementary geography, and history, which up to 1876 were treated as specific subjects, are now included in the ordinary work of the schools, and, in 1877, formed (with needlework) part of the examination of more than a million scholars. Ordinary school drill is also part of the work in every good school, and in 1178 day-schools military drill is systematically taught to the boys.

The following Table, from the Government Report, will best show the number of schools of different classes, and of the scholars provided for in them, together with the principal sources of the income by which they are supported—such items as endowments, &c., being omitted, as beside the purpose of the present article:—

* No child under twelve years of age is allowed to attend a night-school.

CLASS OF SCHOOLS.	Number of Schools— i.e., Institutions under separate Manage- ment.	Number of Scholars for whom Accomoda- tion is provided, at 8 sq. feet of area per Scholar.	INCOME.			Rate of Income per Scholar in Average Attendance, calculated on Complete Annual Re- turns only.
			Voluntary Contributions.	School Pence.	Government Grants (1875-6).	
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Schools connected with the National Society or the Church of England British, Wesleyan, and other Schools, <i>not</i> con- nected with the Church of England	10,472	2,171,639	620,034 6 11	654,925 13 11	801,590 15 7	1 13 8
	1,974	563,485	104,930 1 8	235,753 17 11	218,227 11 8	1 13 10½
Roman Catholic Schools .	659	213,172	57,459 12 6	51,822 15 4	73,839 0 3	1 11 1½
School Board Schools . .	2,082	705,122	*(447,709 13 2)	193,767 17 0	219,018 9 7	2 1 4½
TOTAL	15,187	3,653,418	782,424 1 1 *447,709 13 2	1,138,270 4 2	1,313,575 17 1	1 14 11½

* School Board Rate, *not* included in Total.

From these figures some idea will be gathered of the progress that has already been made towards a thorough system of national elementary education, and, in order further to explain how the work is being carried on by the School Boards, we now proceed to give, by way of example, an account of the procedure of that of London.

This Board is elected once every three years by all the ratepayers, male or female, in the Metropolis, which for this purpose is divided into ten districts, each having a number of representatives proportioned to its population. By this arrangement a knowledge of the various wants of the different districts is better obtained than would be the case were the vast Metropolis treated as a whole.

At the passing of the Act, in 1871, the number of children in the Metropolis requiring elementary education was found to be 574,693, and, from recent scheduling, this number is found to have increased to over 614,000. At Midsummer, 1878, about 279,000 of these were provided for in Voluntary Schools, and 186,468 in Board Schools; but Schools to accommodate 53,000 were in course of erection, which would, when completed, make a total provision for 518,000 children; showing an increase of seventy-seven per cent. in efficient School places over the number which existed in 1871.

The London Board, at its commencement, found it necessary, in order properly to execute the large work with which it was entrusted, to appoint, from among its members, six standing Committees, namely: (1) Statistical and Law; (2) Works and General Purposes; (3), Finance; (4) Bye-laws or Attendance; (5) Industrial Schools; (6) School Management; and each Committee appoints Sub-Committees for such purposes as the management of the cookery instruction, the teaching of the blind, deaf and dumb, &c. The full Board meets once every week, when the reports and recommendations of the Committees are brought up for discussion.

In addition to the general control by the divisional members, each School has a Committee of Local Managers, appointed by the Board, and is also looked after by one of five Board Inspectors, who holds a periodical examination and makes visits of surprise, to see that the rules of the Board are properly carried out.

The subjects taught in the schools are as follows:—Instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic is given to all the boys and girls, as well as the rudiments to a majority of the infants. The class subjects required by the code are grammar, history, and elementary geography; in the girls' department, instruction in plain needlework; and in the infants' department, sewing. The elements of drawing are universally taught; and singing is also an essential subject for boys, girls, and infants, the teachers being at liberty to use either the established notation or the tonic sol-fa system. Instruction in drill is given to eighty-one per cent. of the boys and twenty-eight per cent. of the girls, and nearly all the infants go daily through some physical exercises. In addition to the subjects included in the ordinary standard work, the laws of health (or animal physiology) are explained to 6079 children; practical instruction in cookery is given to 800 girls at centres; object and kindergarten lessons are given to over 83,000 children; mensuration and book-keeping are taught as extra subjects to 1724 boys and 76 girls. Instruction in Latin is confined to 192 boys, most of whom are in training to become teachers. Provision is made for the deaf and dumb at four centres, and at Midsummer, 1876, there were 134 children of this afflicted class on the books. Corporal punishment is allowed to be inflicted by the head teachers only, and every case of punishment has to be entered in a book.

With regard to the work of the Industrial Schools' Committee, the reports show that up to June, 1876, its officers had dealt with 5245 cases of children found in the streets. Of these, 2374 were referred to the parish authorities, 41 were sent to refuges, 381 to certified industrial training ships, and 2449 were placed in various Industrial Schools or in the Board's own School at Brentford. Emphatic testimony has been borne by the Commissioner of Police to the marked diminution of juvenile crime and vagrancy effected by the efforts of the School Board.

From the foregoing statement a pretty clear conception will be formed of the amount of work carried on in respect of secular education since the passing of the Act of 1870. The only point that remains to be dealt with, is as to the way in which the religious and moral training of the children thus brought under the care of the School Boards is attended to.

The question of religious instruction was very hotly contested at the formation of most of the Boards, being unfortunately, in many cases, made a battle-field for political parties. A large number of Nonconformists looked upon the introduction of religious teaching into the schools as a violation of those principles on which they were grounding

their opposition to the Established Church. But, notwithstanding the efforts of this party, there was so strong a national feeling that it would be a fatal mistake to exclude the Bible from the schools,—that, having at great expense and trouble gathered the children of the irreligious and profligate into the schools, it would be utterly unjustifiable to send them forth ignorant of the principles of religion and morality,—that, with the exception of Birmingham (a borough which is ruled by a political caucus, controlling the municipal and educational, as well as political elections, and allowing no difference of opinion on any point from the tyrannical will of the majority) and a few small towns (mostly in Wales) where religious bigotry is peculiarly virulent, every School Board has, in some form or other, adopted Biblical instruction as one of the subjects to be taught in its schools.

In London, the issue of the contest was very striking—thorough systematic Biblical education as one of the essential subjects being carried by a majority of five to one in a Board consisting almost equally of Churchmen and Nonconformists. So well has the system worked during the whole term of the Board's existence, that no single complaint has been made of the teaching that has been given, and not more than one in four thousand children attending the schools has been withdrawn by its parents, although, by the rules of the London School Board, any person who objects to his child receiving Biblical instruction may require that, during the time set apart for this purpose, the teacher shall give it secular lessons.

Four years ago, the London Board accepted an offer of 4000 prize Bibles and Testaments, to be given annually to those scholars who excelled in Biblical knowledge, and arranged for a thorough examination, once every year, of those pupils who should voluntarily offer themselves. The result of this scheme has been most satisfactory. 38,356 children presented themselves for examination in 1876, 80,513 in 1877, 102,706 in 1878, and 112,979 in 1879. These numbers practically included all that were available for examination, inasmuch as it is a rule of the Board that only children who have attained the second standard (which, of course, excludes all infants), and only those who have made 250 attendances during the year, may compete.

The London School Board, not long since, with only one dissentient, sent out to its teachers the following letter, which will show the views held by its members as to the objects to be aimed at in the religious instruction :—

SIR (OR MADAM),—

I am directed by the School Management Committee, to call your attention to Article 91 of the Board Code, and to the Syllabus of Religious Instruction.

Article 91, which was adopted by the Board after mature deliberation, is as follows :—

In the Schools provided by the Board, the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given such explanations and such instruction therefrom in the

principles of Morality and Religion, as are suited to the capacities of children, provided always—

1. That in such explanations and instruction, the provisions of the Act in Sections VII. and XIV. be strictly observed, both in letter and spirit, and that no attempt be made in any such Schools to attach children to any particular Denomination.

2. That in regard of any particular School, the Board shall consider and determine upon any applications by Managers, Parents, or Ratepayers of the District, who may show special cause for exception of the School from the operation of this Resolution in whole or in part.

The Committee have reason to know that, in some cases, the Bible lesson is confined too exclusively to mere formal explanations of the history, or the geography, or the grammar of that portion of Scripture which is selected for the day.

They accordingly direct me to say that the Board, whilst assigning due weight to the explanations referred to, attach great importance to the "instruction in the principles of Morality and Religion" which their resolution has in view. The Committee hope that during the Bible lesson, the Teachers will keep this object before them, and that every opportunity will be used, earnestly and sympathetically, to bring home to the minds of the children those moral and religious principles on which the right conduct of their future lives must necessarily depend.

I am further to call your attention to the Article of the Government Code (19A) which says that all reasonable care must be taken "in the ordinary management of the School, to bring up the children in habits of punctuality, of good manners and language, of cleanliness and neatness, and also to impress upon the children the importance of cheerful obedience to duty, of consideration and respect for others, and of honour and truthfulness in word and act."

The Board are glad to believe that they will have the hearty co-operation of the Teachers in carrying out the above instructions.

I am, Sir (or Madam),

Your obedient Servant,

G. H. CROAD, *Clerk of the Board.*

To all Head Masters and Head Mistresses.

The Government Inspectors are precluded from examining in, or taking any notice of religious instruction, other than to see that the Government regulations in reference to it are observed, but it is carefully watched by the Board Inspectors, whose reports are, on the whole, most favourable. They point out, indeed, deficiencies, but at the same time bear testimony that, "with all defects, a sound moral tone pervades the whole of the answers." An Inspector adds:

"That this is mainly the result of the teaching actually imparted in the schools, and but to a very slight degree of the home teaching which the competitors may have received, is proved from the fact, that competitors from the same school, when attempting to answer the same question, almost in every case treat it alike—the answers are made up of the same facts and disfigured with the same defects. The results of home teaching are not, indeed, difficult to trace in a few of the papers, but, taken as a whole, they show how much has been accomplished by the religious instruction given at the Public Elementary Schools."

Those who believe in the influence of the study of the Bible upon character must rejoice in the result of this experiment, and will look forward with hope to the effect to be produced in the future by such a widespread knowledge of Bible truth.

During the earlier controversies, it was sometimes argued that the teaching of the Bible in the elementary day-schools was not only opposed to the principles of religious freedom, but actually unnecessary, on account of the provision for it in Sunday schools, &c. This view, however, will not be endorsed by those who have actual knowledge of the gross ignorance which exists on the subject of religion among the masses of the population, even of those who have attended, or are attending, Sunday schools. Certain religious truths, indeed, they may know, but the Bible, as a whole, is comparatively a sealed book to them. Besides these, we have the vast numbers whom it was the very object of the compulsory clauses of the Education Act to force into the day-schools, but who attend neither Sunday school nor any place of worship, and who, but for the Scriptural knowledge gained in the day-school, would grow up in a heathenish ignorance of the very principles of religion and morality.

It is not, of course, intended to depreciate the great work which Sunday schools have done and are still doing, but a little reflection on the shortness of the time the scholars pass in them, the large proportion of this time that is occupied with religious observances and in other matters inseparable from a Sunday school, and the difficulty of obtaining competent teachers, will clearly show the impossibility of making these schools the medium of imparting thorough Biblical knowledge, for which purpose trained teachers and systematic lessons are absolutely necessary. If these are secured during the week, the instruction of the Sunday school becomes most valuable as a supplement.

A noteworthy instance of the inability of ordinary Sunday school teaching to give this knowledge has recently been shown in the case of a town in Wales, a country where the Sunday schools are considered most efficient. The introduction of the Bible into the Board Schools of this town was opposed on the ground of its being unnecessary, and the Chairman of the School Board, very wisely, took the trouble to examine personally 200 scholars, between nine and thirteen years of age, of whom eighty per cent. attended Sunday schools. He put to each scholar the following questions: "Whose book is the Bible?" "Who was Adam?" "Who was Jesus Christ?" Three-fourths knew whose book the Bible was; only sixty-eight out of the 200 knew who Adam was; and only ninety-eight out of the 200 knew who Jesus Christ was!

Such ignorance is, unhappily, not confined to any one part of the country. On examining two Sunday schools in the neighbourhood of London, one of which was in connection with the Church of England, the writer was unable to find a single child who could explain whom he intended to address as "Our Father" when uttering the first sentence of the Lord's Prayer.

That such a state of ignorance of the very simplest truths of Christianity should exist in a Christian country like Britain, and especially

amongst children attending Sunday schools, is certainly lamentable, and may appear almost incredible to many who have not thoroughly investigated the subject. Those who have learned from experience the immense difficulty of teaching in crowded Sunday schools, the general inattention of the scholars, the irregularity of their attendance, the very short time in which they may learn the Bible as a whole, and lastly, the slight impression which lessons from untrained teachers make upon them, will feel these almost universal and practically unavoidable difficulties are sufficient to account for a great deal of these unsatisfactory results in the acquirement of religious knowledge as distinct from personal Christian influence.*

It is, however, impossible to look forward to the future without some amount of apprehension, lest, from a cessation of public interest, education may become a matter of lifeless routine. There are too many signs that this is not an imaginary danger. Any one who compares the composition of the first and of the present School Boards will find that a great change has already taken place, that many of the best men, both socially and intellectually, have withdrawn, and that their places have not been adequately supplied. A lack of interest in bringing forward and supporting candidates has also been shown by the wealthier classes, while loud complaints of the indifference displayed by school managers are made by many of the teachers, who sorely feel the loss of that personal sympathy and aid which were amongst the happiest effects of the voluntary system. Those conversant with the subject also remark that, since the Government ceased to take any cognizance of religious instruction, and introduced a system of payment based exclusively upon success in secular subjects, a change for the worse has taken place in the teachers, especially the younger ones, who contrast very unfavourably with their seniors by displaying a lukewarmness in the religious instruction and moral training of their pupils—in fact, in everything which does not pay. It is of the utmost importance that all who recognise their duty as Christians, or even citizens, should bestir themselves to remedy these evils before it is too late.

Having thus given somewhat full information in regard to elementary education, we return to the question proposed at the outset: namely, whether it is founded upon such a basis as satisfactorily to meet the threefold need of man's nature; to which, on the whole, an affirmative reply may be given. The provision of play-grounds, and the attention bestowed upon physical exercises and drill, show that the requirements of the body are not altogether ignored; the inclusion of drawing, singing, and the elements of science as parts of the regular school instruction, is also a sign that a higher and better view of mental education now prevails than was formerly the case; and, lastly, the almost universal adoption of some amount of religious teaching proves

* In the report of the Rescue Society of 1877 it is stated that, out of 356 cases with which it had dealt, 320 had attended Sunday schools.

a general concurrence in the opinion that the spiritual—that is, the highest—part of human nature is one that must not be neglected.

In this brief and imperfect review of the progress of education, it has been necessary to confine our attention to the elementary instruction of the poorer classes of the community. With regard to higher education, whether in Schools for the middle classes or at the Universities, no national system exists, and with the exception of the education given in a comparatively few eminent public schools, middle-class education is in a most unsatisfactory state. Unless strenuous efforts are made to remedy this evil, the result must soon be that the labourer will be better educated than his employer.

There is less excuse for this state of things, since immense sums of money are applicable, even according to the conditions of trust, to education, and would, if properly used to develop private enterprise, probably suffice to regenerate and place on a satisfactory footing the whole of the middle-class education of the country, and, at the same time, provide facilities by means of which the poorest children, if of surpassing ability, might, through scholarships, progress from the Elementary School to the highest Academical honours. This matter must come prominently forward, as a political question, if in no other form. It is one worthy of the earnest attention of our legislators and statesmen.

FRANCIS PEEK.

CONSPIRACIES IN RUSSIA.

II.

I.

I HAVE given in a previous article a rapid sketch of the political movements and conspiracies in Russia, which had for their object the establishment of parliamentary government or of a democratic commonwealth. By way of parallel, something may be said now of the Cossack and Serf Conspiracies, in which there is a mixed national, social, and political element.

In 1670 the Empire was for the first time shaken by a vast Cossack and Peasant Insurrection. It occurred in the reign of Czar Alexei, the father of Peter I. Stenka Razin was its leader. The course of the insurrection lay along the Volga, where Tatar and Finnic races mainly dwell. In subsequent risings, too, this south-eastern quarter, which contains a more martial stock than the inhabitants of the Central Russian provinces, has always proved the more troublesome for imperial and aristocratic misrule.

Stenka Razin, who sought to make an impression upon the peasantry by professing to have the Czar's eldest son and a high Church dignitary with him, rapidly took Astrakan, Samatov, Simbirsk, and other chief towns along the Volga, meaning to strike from thence towards Moscow, then still the capital of Russia.

I find in an old little book,* written by an Englishman who had been in Muscovy at the time, but who speaks of the insurrection as "a villainous attempt," some highly interesting details, showing the extent and strength of the rising, and the danger there was for the throne and the aristocratic possessors of the serfs. "If this power of the rebels," says the anonymous writer, "consisting of 200,000 men, had been united and unanimous, it would have been difficult for the forces of

* A Relation Concerning the Particulars of the Rebellion lately raised in Muscovy by Stenko Razin. In the Savoy: 1672.

the Czar to have resisted and mastered the same." But the rebels were "divided amongst themselves, and could not agree about the supreme command." Still, Razin made his way very quickly. "Everywhere," the English author of 1672 says, "he promised liberty, and a redemption from the yoke (so he called it) of the bojars, or nobles, which he said were the oppressors of the country. In Moscow itself men began to speak openly in his praise, as if he were a person that sought the public good and the liberty of the people; for which cause the Great Czar was necessitated to make a public example of some, to deter the rest."

In order to quell the insurrection, Knes Dolgorukoff, as the commander of the Czar's army, had to make use of the help of German officers, who "afterwards were highly applauded by his Majesty for having acquitted themselves so well in leading on their men." When the victory was achieved, the customary torturing, hanging, beheading, and burning of prisoners was ordered by the Autocrat. "Within the space of three months there were, by the hands of the executioners, put to death 11,000 men, in a legal way, upon the hearing of witnesses." A hundred thousand men had been killed in the field. Razin and his brother were put to the rack. Then Razin had his right arm and his left leg cut off, and was afterwards beheaded.

There is a pathetic story of a nun in man's habit, which she had put over her monastic dress, who had sided with the rebels. There appeared not any alteration in her, nor any fear of death, when the sentence of being burnt alive was pronounced against her. Crossing herself, in the Russian manner, over the forehead and breast, she "laid herself quietly down upon the pile, and was burnt to ashes."

This semi-emancipated nun may be said to have been the first type of a Russian woman acting, and even dying, in the people's cause. Others were to follow in our days.

II.

There had at first been a law which ordained that the serf can only be sold together with the land. This law was soon set aside in practice. The same Czar who burnt the public registers of nobility, in order, as he alleged, to put an end to the ceaseless disputes as regards rank—or, as is more probable, in order to do away with some of the last remnants of the prestige and influence of old families—quietly allowed the peasant to be treated like a beast. Peter I., it is true, thundered in a ukase against the evil custom of the sale of children, who were torn away from their parents, or of whole families who were sold from their native cottage into distant and unknown parts of the realm. But the reforming tendencies of this arbitrary ruler did not reach far in the question of serfage. He who handed the cup of poison to his own son in the very presence of his Court, and who felt greatly astonished when to his question

as to "what was the price for a German Professor of natural science," the reply was made that they "were not accustomed in Germany to sell Professors"—this Czar Peter the Great, who stood himself on so low a level of human culture, could not be expected to be over-enthusiastic in the matter of peasant emancipation.

Catherine II., the philosophical Empress, the friend, as she called herself, of Hellenic regeneration, but whose life showed a sadder want of the most ordinary decency than is usually exhibited among the most degraded classes, extended serfdom over the Ukraine, or Little Russia, which at the time of Boris had not formed part of the Muscovite Empire. If Boris had acted with artful suddenness, surprising his intended victims with a tiger-like spring, the deed of enslavement in the Ukraine was, under Catherine, accompanied by even more loathsome falseness. Courtiers who were in the secret, and who had estates in Southern Russia, allured, shortly before the appearance of the ukase, as many working men as they could to their land, in order, on the given day, to throw the lasso over their heads. Potemkin, the well-known favourite of the Empress, succeeded, before her decree was promulgated, in having two regiments of grenadiers quartered on his estates. The result was that they became Potemkin's serfs! It was a State-stroke of the most tricky and hideous kind.

The farcical manner in which the philosopher-Empress dealt with serfdom may be seen from the fact of a decree having been issued by her which struck out the word "slave" from the Russian vocabulary, whilst she herself converted so many men into slaves. By another decree of Catherine (ukase of August 22, 1767) it was enacted that any serf bold enough to present a petition against his master should be knouted and sent for life to a Siberian mine. It is reported that Catherine, "in order to honour philosophy," asked the Academy to express an opinion on the rightful validity of bondage. This servile body of *demi-savants* and thorough lackeys replied—"that no doubt all principles of right were in favour of freedom, but that there was a measure in all things (*in favorem libertatis omnia jura clamant, sed est modus in rebus*)."

III.

The wholesale enslavement of the peasantry in what is now Southern Russia, by Catherine II., had been preceded by the great conspiracy and insurrection at whose head Iemeljan Pugatcheff stood.

For two years—from 1773 to 1775—that dreaded Cossack shook the south-east of the empire. Having served, during the Seven Years' War, first under Frederick II. of Prussia, and then in the Austrian army, he rose under the name of Peter III., whom the popular legend declared to be still alive. The foul crime Catherine II. had committed she now felt sticking on her hands. It came home to her through this terrible rebellion, in which the counterfeit figure of her murdered husband

moved, like an avenger's form, from the misty banks of the Volga towards Moscow's gilded domes.

The history of Russia is full of such false royal apparitions—weird mirages of secret murders. The very attempts of races and classes bent upon escaping from oppression have generally been mixed up in Russia with these impostures of a half-tragic, half-grotesque character. In the story of the pseudo-Demetriuses, and the numerous conspiracies connected with their rise and fall, there is a succession of horrors and deceptions in which the ghastly continually verges upon the ridiculous. After Pugatcheff had been on the scene for a while under the pretence of being Peter III., not only a number of false Peters, but even many false Pugatcheffs, started up, as armed heads, everywhere, until a large part of the empire was filled with a perfect masquerade of returned ghosts and living doubles.

However, the terrific nature of the insurrection was ever present before the eyes of the affrighted Empress Catherine. Malcontents of all kinds took up arms in the lands near the Ural, the Volga, and the Don. These insurrectionary outbreaks were not the mere achievement of an ambitious leader; they were the result of a widespread discontent. Tribes which had lost their national independence made common cause with enslaved men that once were yeomen on their own freehold property. The spirit of Spartacus mingled with that of Vercingetorix and Civilis. Rebellious hinds, workmen from the salt and metal mines, religious dissenters, Raskolniks, and the like, together with Cossacks, Calmucks, Bashkirs, Wotjaks, Permjaks, and other Finnic and Tatar hordes, were taken into the ranks of the insurgents, whom Pugatcheff hurled against the Muscovite Empire. Poles, exiled as captives to those south-eastern provinces, helped to organize his artillery. Kasan, the old Tatar capital, fell into his hands. One Russian general after the other was defeated by him. The troops of Catherine II., in many cases, went over to Pugatcheff, delivering their officers into his hands. He hanged the officers, and took the soldiers into his army, dressing them in Cossack fashion, with their hair and beards trimmed in the manner of those bold raiders. For a time Pugatcheff was the Czar in Eastern Russia.

Moscow, where a hundred thousand serfs lived, showed signs of deep agitation. The masses began to talk boldly of freedom. Threats of a wholesale massacre of their masters were heard. In this grave crisis Generals Suwaroff and Panin at last succeeded in cutting off the leader of the insurrection from the bulk of his forces. Being surprised, he was pinioned, put in an iron cage, and thus delivered over to the tender mercies of the philosopher-Empress.

I have before me a painfully interesting account of the last days of the bold Cossack leader of this servile revolt, published in London in 1775, under the title of "*Le Faux Pierre III.*" There we read:—"The clemency of the Empress having restricted the action of the judges, who

would have considered it a duty to accumulate tortures in order to punish him for his misdeeds, they simply condemned him, in their sentence, to have his feet and hands cut off, and then to be beheaded." This was the merciful view which Catherine, the murderer of her own consort, took. But by a strange aberration of the executioner she was foiled in her humane desire.

Instead of first cutting off Pugatcheff's feet and hands, the executioner began by striking off his head. Taken to task for this reversal of the order, he excused himself by saying that he had laboured under a sudden access of forgetfulness. The book quoted above, which is a translation from a Russian work, says, however, that many believed there had been secret orders from adherents of the condemned leader, forcing the executioner to act as he did. This reminds one almost of the secret orders at present so often issued by the so-called Nihilist League.

It was also said at the time that "powerful secret friends of the impostor had promised the executioner a considerable reward, as well as impunity, for his culpable 'distraction of mind.'" Others alleged that even the executioner was a friend and adherent of Pugatcheff, and had promised him to shorten his sufferings by hastening his death.

In all this the dark and doubtful character of everything connected with an irresponsible Autocracy, which shuns the light and avoids public control, comes out in perfection.

Pugatcheff died bravely; as even his enemies acknowledge. His rising was the last grand attempt at restoring the independence of the Steppe tribes, and taking the yoke of villeinage from the cottier. After the fall of this rebel chieftain, the south could not any longer resist the institution of serfdom. "The peasant of the Ukraine," says Ogareff, "yielded to force; but never did he believe that the soil on which he dwells, and which he tills, did not belong to him; and there are still old men who recollect the time when there was no serfage. The Russine peasant considers himself, therefore, proprietor of the soil, and looks upon serfdom as a temporary yoke, inflicted upon him by a foreigner—that is, by the Imperialism of St. Petersburg, which, traditionally, he designates as 'Muscovite.'"

IV.

In this way it came to pass at last that nearly the whole population of Russia, north and south, with the exception of a small fraction, comprising the upper classes and a few of the nomadic tribes, had lost the simplest rights of personal freedom. The Slavonic, or Slavonized, Russian race of the centre was, in its peasant population, almost to a man under the yoke of serfdom. Whatever "free" peasants still existed were mainly found among the Fins and the Tatars of the outlying provinces. Out of about 60,000,000 inhabitants of European Russia, nearly 50,000,000 were serfs, more than half of whom, at the time

of the Emancipation Decree, under Alexander II., were serfs of the Crown domains.

At the same time, the severity with which oppression was exercised had grown year by year, since the days of Boris, in a frightful degree. The ukase prohibiting the sale of land-slaves without the land was openly broken in the capital itself. Bondsmen were sold by auction under the windows of the Imperial Palace. The labour, the body, the life of the peasant remained at the absolute disposal of the owner. With the whip the latter inculcated upon his serf the Muscovite proverb that "a beaten man is worth two unbeaten ones." If ever a proprietor wished to get rid altogether of a hated or incapable worker, he could, on his own responsibility, send him to Siberia. Scarcely ever was a land-owner taken up for downright murder committed against his human cattle.

Such being the general state of things, it looked like progress that Alexander I. sought to create a class of peasant freeholders by gradual redemption, though on an almost infinitesimal scale. The measure led to very little, from its execution being surrounded by a mass of troublesome and oppressing formalities. As often as Autocracy put its hand to this question, it did so in a halting, half-hearted way. Two opposite currents of thought were ever at war with each other within the Imperial Government. The Czar was continually thrown backward and forward between the desire of breaking the social power of the nobility by an act of "liberalism," and the fear lest the nobles should do an act of vengeance against him, or outrun him even in liberal aspirations.

In the beginning of the present century the comparatively more decided action was taken by the Court of St. Petersburg with regard to serfdom in those provinces which had been recently acquired or conquered—in Kurland, Livonia, Esthonia, Lithuania, and Poland. There the object was to gain over the great mass, as against a nobility of ancient renown and influence. In those parts of the empire the Russian Government, therefore, acted with some degree of resolution. However, apart from such considerations of autocratic State policy, the attitude of the fettered multitude itself—especially in the Baltic provinces—strongly suggested to the authorities the overthrow, or at least the considerable alleviation, of serfage. Towards the end of last century, a deputation of the discontented Baltic peasantry went to Riga and St. Petersburg. After their demands had been refused, the enraged people broke out in open insurrection (1783–84). It was only suppressed after much bloodshed, and by means of a large force of troops. A few years later, when the news of the French Revolution and of the abolition of all soccage service came to those distant shores of the Finnic Gulf, the Baltic peasantry compelled the nobility to make some concessions, which, however, were soon retracted. In 1802 a new servile revolt took place. It had been prepared by a conspiracy similar to that of the German Peasant Leagues

in the sixteenth century. This time, again, the rising was overthrown. Not many years afterwards, however, an Imperial ukase appeared, at least for Livonia and Esthonia, which somewhat bettered the lot of the suffering bondmen.

The whole position of that class in the Baltic provinces was regulated after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars. From the position of men bound to the soil, the agricultural labourers were raised to that of farmers enjoying personal freedom, though by no means holding the same position as the corresponding class in other parts of Continental Europe. For the Lithuanian and Polish peasants also, Alexander I. meditated some slight reform. The French invasion, albeit quickly repelled, yet brought some change for the better there.

In the Old Muscovite parts of the empire matters remained as bad and as cruelly oppressive as before. The atrocities practised on the estate of Count Araktcheyeff, the favourite of Alexander I., were of a nature so revolting, that their fiendishness can only be said to have been surpassed by those of a lady of the name of Soltykoff, who had been brought to justice in 1788 for having killed, by inhuman tortures, in the course of ten or eleven years, about a hundred of her serfs, chiefly of the female sex—among them several young girls of eleven and twelve years of age! The sole alleviation, under Alexander I., of the lot of the peasantry, was the gradual conversion of not a few of the serfs of the nobility into serfs of the Crown. That is to say, the Crown, by way of redemption or of loans made to the nobles, bought a number of land-slaves in order to put them into its own domains.

These "Crown peasants" were, of course, not free. Their treatment was better than that of their brethren on the estates of the landowners. They even possessed the right of removing. But in reality they still were far from having freedom in our sense; for the right of removing was dependent upon so many formalities, not to mention the pecuniary difficulties, that the thought of exercising that right could but seldom take the shape of an act. The small difference between the two kinds of peasants may be seen from the fact that, down to Alexander I., even the Crown peasant could be given away as a present, like any head of cattle. This custom only ceased after the influence of modern ideas had brought about a better treatment of subject classes all through the Continent.

It was the appearance of a foreign army on Russian soil in 1812 which forced the Czar to occupy himself with the question of the abolition of bondage. In order to beat back the invader, the peasantry had to be armed as a mass-levy. The nobility, on their part, readily responded to the call of Alexander I., who, in his great affright at the approach of the tricolour, hastened in person to the ancient Kremlin of Moscow, to beseech and entreat the aristocracy and the merchants to lend their aid to him. Since the days of Peter I., the Sovereign had not condescended to speak in this way to the nation. The peril was extreme. The answer to the imploring request was not lacking in patriotic decision. Whilst the

Pole, the Fin, the Krim Tatar, and other subject races, listened, as it were, with ear held to the ground, to catch the tramping sound of the approaching foreign hosts, the landowners of Russia personally took up arms to repel the foe, giving at the same time a serf out of every ten for the Czar's army. The merchants offered the tenth part of their revenues.

In the memory and the imagination of the masses, Moscow was always looked upon as the real capital. When Moscow was burnt, as an earnest of the national resolve to throw back the invasion at all costs, the gigantic flood of flames spoke with fiery tongues, across the stillness of the Russian snow-desert, to many a sluggish mind. So great a sacrifice seemed worthy of a reward in the shape of liberty at home. Not a few believed in the existence of a patriotic conspiracy, which had brought about the terrible event. This was an error, no doubt. The initiative of the startling act had been taken by the Government authorities themselves. Yet the impression upon the public mind remained a powerful one. The conflagration of Moscow roused many a political sleeper.

v.

I have described before how the contact of the Russian troops with Western nations had led to liberal and parliamentary aspirations. New ideas of human dignity were learnt by them, both from the Germans, with whom Russia then was allied, and from their enemies, the French. Some of the officers warmly caught this progressive infection. In a smaller degree the uniformed serfs became imbued with unaccustomed notions.

No wonder, under these circumstances, that the proposal to do away with compulsory labour and serfdom should have found warm advocates in the more enlightened circles. At first, the Court entered into the question with apparent zeal. Committees of inquiry were appointed. Speeches and articles of a promising character were published. A good result was deemed certain; the Czar himself having apparently been gained over.

But the promoters of the scheme had left out of account the feelings of mistrust which had only been lulled for a while in the heart of the Emperor. When Alexander I. perceived that there were men who, along with their principles of humanity, harboured political views which clashed with the interests of autocracy, their devotion to the cause of peasant emancipation suddenly filled him with suspicion. The thought rose in him whether the movement in favour of the abolition of serfage was not a desire for bringing about a union of all the elements of opposition. An irresponsible ruler is easily frightened by a shadow on the wall. He sees enemies lurking everywhere. He is not sure of the trustworthiness of any of his own partisans. Alexander all at once recollected the attempts made by the nobles at the advent of the

Empress Anna to transform Russia in the Polish or Swedish sense—that is, to convert the Crown into an elective one, or at any rate largely to curtail its privileges, and to introduce a parliamentary representation. He now feared the recurrence of similar aims, the more so because the standard-bearers of peasant emancipation might easily become popular among the masses, and thereby acquire irresistible strength.

The Czar's alarm grew from day to day. He already saw himself, in his terrified mind's eye, in the grasp of a Court conspiracy. He even thought he was in danger of being dethroned. Poor almightiness of an Autocrat!

The deputations which appeared before him for the furtherance of serf emancipation were now received by him with icy coldness. With the zeal of mistrustfulness, he sought to find out why men had taken such great trouble to combine, in order to constitute, so to say, a body of directing reformers, whilst he himself had been in favour of the reform scheme, which he considered was all-sufficient. His mind became deeply troubled. The memory of his father's violent death tormented him. He would not hear any more of projects which might lead to further demands. So the whole affair, the solution of which had seemed to be near at hand, came to be stopped by the fears of a suspicious monarch, and was finally laid aside altogether.

After Alexander I., Nicholas held the country under his iron heel. The events of 1825 filled that tyrant with deadly hatred against everything connected with liberal tenets. The stillness of death which, during his reign, lay over Russia in a political sense, was, however, not seldom broken by an agrarian riot and by the frequent murder of harsh landowners. As a rule, the Russian peasant is a good-natured, easy-going, lazy, but docile fellow; averse to blood-shedding and even to personal encounters among his equals—so much so that foreigners often wonder at the tameness with which he bears the grossest insult. Great must, therefore, have been the provocation which induced the hinds to attack the life of their masters.

In the earlier part of the government of Nicholas, about seventy landowners were, according to official statistics, killed every year. In 1850 the proportion had risen to 200. Hence absenteeism was continually on the increase. Horrible tales now and then came out of the cruelty practised against landowners by the otherwise slavish serfs—such as rolling the victim's living body over splintered glass until death put an end to his sufferings. The utter neglect in which the agricultural masses were left with regard to mental culture thus avenged itself in fiendish barbarities, all the more loathsome because the same men who committed them were otherwise of a cringing character, and, in their cups, showed a lachrymose sentimentality which struck the beholder as rather laughable.

Haxthausen says:—"Amongst the Russians all social power makes itself respected by blows, which do not change either affection or

friendship. Every one deals blows; the father beats his son; the husband his wife; the territorial lord, or his steward, the peasants, without any bitterness or revenge resulting from it. The backs of the Russians are quite accustomed to blows, and yet the stick is more sensibly felt by the nerves of their backs than by their souls."

Warned by the dangers of the conspiracy and insurrection which had threatened his accession to the throne, and in which so many men of the first families were implicated, Nicholas played towards the serfs a double game. He acted the part of the "Little Father" in his dealings with the peasantry. He sometimes impressed them, by confidential agents, with goody-goody talk about his reforming wishes—that is to say, whenever he stood in need of striking terror once more into discontented landowners. But as soon as the signs of dissatisfaction with his harsh and arbitrary government disappeared from among that class, and there were no longer any whisperings in favour of parliamentary rule, the promises of social reform spread about in his name were quickly withdrawn. Occasionally a proprietor who had flogged a serf to death, or murdered him by slow demoniacal torture, was, under Nicholas, punished for his cruelty. A few restrictions were also placed upon the privileges of the "slave-holder;" but beyond this, no change was wrought. To give the measure of the ideas of Nicholas as regards peasant freedom, I need only say that he pushed the spirit of bureaucratic regulation so far as to prescribe the plan for building village houses by a decree from St. Petersburg, and that he held to uniformity in the appearance of the streets as much as to uniformity in military concerns.

Meanwhile, as under Czar Paul, who created the institution of "Appanage Serfs," so also under Nicholas, the process of increasing the number of Crown bondmen steadily went on. Nicholas definitively formed a special administration over the Crown serfs. Under every reign, peasants had been attached as serfs to the mines and Imperial manufacturing establishments. Under Alexander II., down to 1862, there were still serfs of the printing office of the Imperial University of Moscow. The compositors had to do compulsory labour for pay below the minimum of wages paid anywhere. A strange irony of fate that men employed in the diffusion of that science which ought to strike off the fetters of the intellect should have been treated as slaves!

VI.

The abolition of serfdom was the result, as before stated, of the defeat of Czardom on the Crimean battle-fields, and the consequent loss of Imperial prestige. Something had to be done to allay the feeling of discontent which had spread through all classes. Naturally, the upholder of the principle of unlimited monarchy preferred conciliating the large majority of the people by a boon, the grant of which did not

touch the exercise of his unrestricted sovereignty, to satisfying the claims of men who hoped for the introduction of representative government.

In the probable course of events, any convocation of a *duma*, or parliament, would have led to the discussion and the enactment of Bills for the manumission, and even the partial political representation, of the peasantry. This, however, did not suit Alexander II. At the same time entire inaction was no longer possible to him—the less so because the Polish aristocracy, in the provinces bordering upon Germany, had taken the initiative in favour of serf emancipation. This is a fact generally lost sight of, but of great importance in judging of the causes of the measure which was happily accomplished at last, and for which ignorance and courtier-like adulation now give the Czar the sole credit.

By a decree dated December 2, 1857, Alexander II. accorded to the nobility of Wilna, Kovno, and Grodno the necessary authorization for electing committees in which peasant emancipation was to be discussed. Thanking them for the readiness they had shown, he ordered the Home Secretary to communicate this rescript to the Marshals of the Russian nobility, so that they might proceed to similar action, if they chose. Care was, however, taken not to let the Polish landowners proceed to an immediate practical realization of their intention, lest they should gain popularity thereby.

There can be no doubt that the readiness of the Polish aristocracy was in some degree due, between 1856 and 1860, to the desire of bringing about, by an act of humanity and justice, such a fusion of national sentiments as to give hope for the recovery of Polish self-government. The Emperor, on his part, wished to make friends with the Polish peasantry by planting the standard of emancipation, if ever that had to be done, with his own hand. Two opposite currents thus met for the same favourable solution. Nevertheless, even the palpable Court interest was not sufficient to induce the Government to pursue a clear and persistent policy from the very beginning. As a proof of the strength of the conservative and reactionary sentiment at first prevailing in the councils of the Crown, I need only point to the circular of the Superior Committee of April 17 (29), 1858, which prescribed, as a basis of "*emancipation*," the continuance of *compulsory labour*!

Whilst the Polish nobility in the country bordering upon Germany were among the most willing for progress, it was different in the old Russian part of the empire. The opposition there was partly traceable to the avarice of the "slave-holder;" partly it arose from political aspirations of a better nature. The more liberal views had the upper hand in the nobiliary assemblies of the northernmost as well as the southernmost provinces, so far as it was possible to get at the truth under a Government which did not, and does not, permit a free utterance in the press or by means of public meetings. The horror of publicity among the Committees themselves was so great that, with the exception of a few departments—such as Twer, Orel, and Nijni—the sittings were

everywhere held in secret. Mystery characterized all the proceedings. The greatest reluctance was exhibited by the landowners of the Centre—of Muscovy proper. In some provincial assemblies, where parliamentary aspirations were strongest, they refused to discuss the Imperial project unless permission were given to bring in amendments. Even the idea of the convocation of all the nobiliary county assemblies of Russia, as a united Assembly of Notables, was broached by some of the malcontents. This proposition was looked upon by the Czar as the germ of States-General, and therefore sternly rejected.

When the deputies of the nineteen provinces which had first finished their labours arrived at St. Petersburg, they were—in the words of Prince Dolgorukoff—received with a haughty contempt quite peculiar to Russian bureaucracy. The permission of meeting was altogether denied them. Five of the deputies—namely, M. Unkovski, marshal of the nobility of Twer; MM. Dubrovin and Wassilieff, deputies of Iaroslavl; MM. Khrustchoff and Schrötter, deputies of Kharkoff—presented to the Emperor, on October 16 (28), 1859, an address full of respectful loyalty, asking for a grant of land to the emancipated serfs, with a pecuniary indemnification for the landowners; for reforms in communal self-government and in the administration of justice; as well as for freedom of the press. These “unjust and ill-becoming pretensions” were severely reprimanded, and M. Unkovski at once deposed from his functions.

The literal truth is, that, in regard to the convocation of such an assembly—as Mr. Wallace fully shows—the nobility were “cunningly deceived by Government.” The Emperor had publicly promised that, before the emancipation project became law, deputies from the provincial committees should be summoned to St. Petersburg, where they might offer objections and propose amendments. But when the deputies arrived, they were not allowed to form a public assembly, but were told that they had to answer in writing a list of printed questions. Those who wished to discuss details were invited individually to attend meetings of the Commission, where they found one or two members ready to engage with them in a little dialectical fencing in a rather ironical style. On making a complaint, by petition, to the Emperor—whom they believed, or at least professed to believe, to have been imposed upon by the Administration—they got no direct answer from the Emperor's Cabinet, but a formal reprimand *through the police*! Trying to bring on the question at the Provincial Assemblies, they were again foiled by a decree issued before the opening of those assemblies, forbidding them to touch upon the emancipation question at all.

A perfect comedy had been played—a practical joke in politics. This did not contribute to the popularity of Alexander II. among the educated classes.

VII.

The ukase proclaiming the abolition of serfdom was dated March 3—or rather February 19, 1861. As in all other things, Russia is in her calendar several centuries behind the remainder of Europe.

On that occasion, all the uneasy suspiciousness of the despotic *régime* again came out glaringly—one might say, under comic colours. Surely, on a day when a so-called "Liberator" confers freedom upon his people, we could expect that he not only trusts that people, but that he would even hope for expressions of gratitude from it. But what were the facts?

The thing was done in a manner as if some terrible conspiracy were on the point of breaking out, or as if Government itself had committed some hideous deed, for which it feared a revenge. First, instead of making the ukase of February 19 known at once, Alexander II. only did so on March 5; that is, March 17 of our reckoning. He was under great apprehension lest, in the intermediate Carnival time, the people would proceed to excesses if the tenor of his ukase became known at once. On the day when the manifesto was read in the churches of St. Petersburg, the Palace was surrounded with troops. During the whole night the Emperor's adjutants had to be next to his room; some keeping watch, whilst others were allowed to sleep until their turn came.

Ignatieff, the Governor-General, having heard a heap of snow falling from a roof, thought he had heard a cannon-shot from some rebel quarter, and duly gave the alarm. So the "Liberator," the "Friend of the People," trembled in his shoes before that very people.

The mass of the population in the capital listened in silence to the reading of the long-winded emancipation manifesto which the Archbishop of Moscow had drawn up in a heavy, pretentious style. "That population," Ogareff said in 1862, "is mainly composed of soldiers and functionaries. Of real popular classes there is little at St. Petersburg." We can measure by what has happened since—from the days of the trial of Vjera Sassulitch to the establishment of a House Porters' Army of 12,000 men, for the purpose of watching all the streets—what a change has been wrought during the last seventeen years in the attitude of the St. Petersburgers.

In the provinces, the Czar's manifesto also led to strange scenes. Some of the nobles sought to retard its promulgation before the serfs. There were priests who quaked, with ashy-pale face, when they read the document after mass. Some of them were apprehensive of the wrath of their landowners. Others feared a peasant revolt. In many cases the Government officials, who ought to have been present at the ceremony, reported themselves sick, or hid themselves—also from fear of a peasant riot. All this does not fit in with the customary idea of a people singing psalms of joy on the occasion of their deliverance from a galling yoke.

The forty-three folio pages of the statute were too much for the

illiterate millions. The peasants only understood that there were still some hard years of a transitional condition before them, and that the Emancipation Act did not bring with it such an ownership in land as they thought they had a right to expect. A cry went forth among the masses, of deception having been practised at their cost. They said the "true law" had not been promulgated; and the "true law" they would have. Meanwhile they would refuse to pay rents or perform soccage duty.

Vague conspiratory movements were observed among the peasantry—not of the threatening nature of those which had marked the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but still movements not to be treated too lightly. A Government standing on the narrow basis of that irresponsible rule which found its expression in France in the royal saying, "*L'Etat, c'est moi*!" cannot afford to despise the first signs of an incipient rebellion. Its coward conscience is terrified by a snowball gaining in bulk as it falls. Autocracy always fears the coming crash of the avalanche.

In those eastern provinces of the empire where the insurrectionary spirit had repeatedly shown itself before, the emancipated land-slaves were the most unruly. A few weeks after the decree of Alexander II., they rose under Anthony Petroff, who explained to them the "true law" and the true liberty. Forming a mutinous troop about 10,000 strong, they marched forth under the banner of revolt, though not with the courage of their forefathers who died with Razin and Pugatcheff. It has always been the policy of the peasant leaders in Russia to make an impression upon their ignorant and superstitious followers by using the monarch's name, if not by giving themselves out as the real dynastic claimant. Anthony Petroff, too, convinced his adherents that the manifesto read to them was not the one which the Czar had signed. And when the envoy of the latter came in the shape of Count Apraxin, as general at the head of troops, the would-be insurgents, with that mixture of obtuseness and cunning which characterizes the peasants of many countries, professed to believe that Apraxin was a pseudo-envoy.

The end was the usual one. Being asked to disperse and to deliver over Anthony Petroff to the authorities, the rebels refused to do either. Thereupon a massacre followed. Petroff, however, surrendered himself of his own free will, holding the Emancipation Statute above his head, and declaring that the "true liberty," as decreed by the Czar, had not been promulgated. He soon got his own true liberty by being court-martialled and shot, whilst General Apraxin was rewarded by Alexander the Liberator with an expression of thanks and a decoration—even as General Kaufmann has received similar Imperial favours for his infamous atrocities in Turkestan.

"Anthony Petroff"—so Ogareff wrote in 1862*—"was the first martyr of peasant freedom; and the affair of Besdna was the first in which

* *Essai sur la Situation Russe.* Londres: 1862.

the benevolent Emancipator-Czar showed himself an executioner without intellect. Then the water, or the taste for blood, came to his mouth. General Dreniakin telegraphed to him from Pensa his good wishes as a faithful subject on the occasion of Easter, asking at the same time for the right of punishing the peasants without trying them in accordance with legal procedures. The Emperor thanked him by telegram, and gave him the right of sentencing and punishing the peasants as he thought best. Thereupon the General began court-martialling and knouting the peasants, until the executioner himself became weary. He reported at last that order was restored. With one or two exceptions, the Adjutants-General of his Majesty introduced the 'Statute of Liberty' in the same manner. *In many departments there was killing; everywhere there was knouting.* The irritation became all the greater because the peasants had not in reality risen; they only wanted an explanation of that freedom which was but another form of slavery."

Such is the account of a Russian writer, who otherwise speaks in comparatively mild and moderate terms of the character and Government of Alexander II. To cap his harsh measures, the Czar took the opportunity of a journey to the Crimea to assemble, on his way, the elders of some villages, and to declare to them that he would not confer upon them any other liberties than those mentioned in the statute. A copy of this Imperial and imperious speech he ordered the Home Secretary to send into all the departments for publication.

VIII.

In the midst of these sanguinary dealings with the peasants, the massacres at Warsaw took place. There, an unarmed crowd of men and women were ruthlessly shot and sabred down, for no other cause than a peaceful demonstration in the interest of their own nationality, and in spite of their offering no resistance whatever. It was a butchery without a fight. The cruel deed was ordained because the Polish landowners had met of their own free will to discuss the question of grants of land for their own peasants! This proposal had awakened the jealousy, the suspicion, the apprehensions of the Autocrat. Any attempt at a reconciliation between the Polish nobles and the peasantry had to be drowned in blood. So the streets of Warsaw ran with gore at the very moment when the emancipation of the serfs in Russia was carried out amidst scenes of butchery.

Peasant emancipation had scarcely been decreed when Alexander II. supplemented it by a reorganization of the army on the principle of a larger conscription. Before the slave's yoke was taken from the neck of the labourer, the Czar had to depend, for the getting together of his troops, upon the landed proprietors, the possessors of the serfs. Now he was able to issue his conscription ukases without the slightest regard for the nobility. The aggressive policy of conquest had obtained an

additional power. The true character of autocratic philanthropy appeared in its proper colours.

A Polish exile, Count Zamoyiski, was right in describing the Czar's measure, whilst it was being elaborated, as an experiment by which the Russian Government sought to augment its military resources and strength. In the same way an English Consul, Mr. Michell, some years later, ably showed in a report that the objects of the Emancipation Act were fiscal and recruiting—that is to say, designed to increase facilities for raising men and money for purposes of war. Under the serfage system the Autocrats experienced difficulties which not unfrequently crippled their warlike designs. The proprietor of the soil, from his position, naturally resisted the conscription; and, when it reached certain limits, often resisted effectively. Moreover, the serf being altogether exempt from fiscal obligations, the whole burden of taxation fell upon the landowners; and the Government, in want of money, had often to struggle with that class to reach their pockets. The emancipation entirely changed this state of things, as it was designed to do. The landlord had no longer any interest in opposing the conscription, and the Imperial taxation was henceforth borne in part by the emancipated peasant.

A "landed freeman" the Russian peasant, since 1861, is often called in Western Europe. But on looking more closely at the state of things established by the Act of Manumission, a great deal of the alleged land-holding and personal freedom vanishes into thin air. No better description could be given than the one contained in a valuable letter recently addressed to the *Newcastle Chronicle* by Mr. George Rule, than whom there are few men more conversant with the real aims of Russian autocratic policy. Referring to the Consular Report of Mr. Michell, Mr. George Rule says:—

"The original design of the Emperor and his Ministers was to give him (the serf) his homestead only, and to leave him otherwise to take his chance in the labour market. But this was deemed unsatisfactory both by peasant and landlord; and naturally so. On the one hand it despoiled the serf of the land he considered his own; and, on the other, deprived the landlord of the service-rent, which he might not be able to replace with corresponding advantage. It consequently fell through; and another arrangement was adopted. The serf was now to have his homestead and allotment at a low-fixed rental, but freed from his old position of bondage to the owner of the soil. He might, indeed, by mutual agreement with the proprietor, continue to pay his rent in service; and contracts for such purpose might be made to last three years at a time. This system of service-rent is still extensively in operation. . . . Usages of centuries are not to be got rid of in a day, either by ukase or enactment."

Practically—as Mr. Michell shows—the Russian peasantry are as firmly as ever fixed to the soil. Emigration from a rural commune may be said to be virtually prohibited; and immigration is almost impossible. It is the policy of Government, for fiscal and military reasons, to prevent the peasant from quitting the land on which he is at present settled. On this Mr. George Rule remarks:—

"The emancipated serfs were formed into village communities. The members of each community were made collectively and individually responsible to the landlords, on the one hand, for the rent of the whole communal land allotted; and on the other, where the allotments were purchased, they were in a similar manner responsible to the Government for the repayment of the redemption money. It became, therefore, the interest of the community to keep the number of the responsible members up to the mark. Consequently the conditions of separation imposed by the Government, though severe and binding, were such as their individual interests forbade them to resist. A member may free himself from his commune by payment down of $16\frac{2}{3}$ times his yearly rental—that is to say, he can purchase his freedom at a heavy price. Or, subject to the approval of the commune, he may be replaced by a substitute, willing to take upon himself the responsibilities of the allotment; such substitute, I should suppose, it would be difficult to find. It will easily be seen that these conditions are prohibitory of separation, and it will as easily be observed that they must have been so framed to prevent what would have ensued—viz., a general relinquishment of the claims of his emancipated inheritance—the estates they were compelled to purchase at more than their worth. Let it be noted that they can be *compelled to purchase*, for in this the hardship and the root of their continued slavery lie. The compulsory power is not in the hands of the Government, but in those of the landlords. They can compel the commune either to buy or rent the lands they occupy. 'In reality,' says Mr. Michell, 'it is not the peasant who can select between the system of perpetual tenancy and that of freehold. His former master has the arbitrary power of compelling him to remain attached to the soil which he cultivated before his emancipation by becoming its purchaser, and it is evident that the power has been and still is extensively used;' and he shows from statistics that purchasers by compulsion stand to voluntary purchasers as two to one, and that two-thirds of the ex-serfs occupy lands thus mortgaged to the State. To understand this it must be known that the purchase of the communal lands was effected by the Imperial Government from State funds paid to the proprietors. This purchase-money the peasantry are compelled to refund at payments equal to 6 per cent. over forty-nine years. The position may be thus simply illustrated: I occupy a farm for which I pay a rent; the landlord has the power to compel me to purchase it at an arbitrary valuation, and to pay on such valuation 6 per cent. over forty-nine years, before I am freed from payment. A rare bargain for the landlord, but not much to my advantage. It is true that I may get rid of the bargain, and quit my farm, by paying on the nail $16\frac{2}{3}$ years' rent to the landlord; or I may pay the whole valuation at once, or by instalments hasten the time of enfranchisement, in which case I should have an abatement of 6 per cent. of the value. There would be no benefit to me in this; on the contrary, it would be a burden for life. The benefit would be to my grandchildren. But what might not happen in half a century! . . . It must be admitted that, save in these conditions of bondage, which I have attempted to indicate, the peasantry have great freedom in the communities. But it really is no better than the freedom of domestic animals kept within narrow and rigid limits for purposes of production. Wherefore, then, the cant about the benevolence which prompted the act of emancipation?"

To do away with increasing difficulties of conscription and finance; to become better able to carry on designs of aggression; and to traverse, by favours shown to the masses, a constitutional movement among the more enlightened section of the nation—these were the aims and results of the famed Emancipation Ukase.

IX.

Not only peasant outbreaks followed that ukase, but fire-raising too—which had been frequent between 1860 and 1862—began afresh, both in the agricultural districts and in various towns. This systematic incendiarism is known under the name of the Conspiracies of the "Red Cock"—a Russian as well as German expression for arson.

In some instances the serf, dissatisfied with what was being done for him, revenged himself upon a hard taskmaster. The conflagrations in the towns were attributed by Government to a "party of disorder." It was supposed that the originators of these ever-recurring fires intended working upon the popular imagination, and that, if a chance offered itself, they would perhaps make use of the confusion created for a revolutionary outbreak. Whole bands of members of the Red Cock League were believed to exist all over the Empire, with regular branch affiliations. In May, 1862, St. Petersburg was repeatedly the prey of fires of threatening extent. A state of siege had at last to be proclaimed in order to cope with this conspiracy of arson. But for a considerable time the authorities were utterly unable to meet the mysterious danger with any degree of efficiency.

Whatever may be thought of the moral question involved in these Confederacies of Fire-raisers, they certainly quickened the resolution of Government to go beyond the original narrow scope of the Emancipation programme. Meantime the signs of a sullen political unrest compelled the Czar to introduce a few administrative reforms; but no sooner had this been done than it was found to give no real satisfaction. Discontent grew apace. Severe repressive measures followed upon concessions granted with a reluctant hand. The fetters put upon public instruction were somewhat relaxed; but then tumultuous demonstrations in favour of fuller rights arose in the academies and universities. And as Government at once proceeded to the old harsh police measures, riots increased—whereupon imprisonments and proscriptions were resorted to, as under Nicholas.

Even Turkey had long ago published financial statements concerning the income and outlay of her State exchequer, though yet without any parliamentary control. Was Russia to lag behind Turkey? The outcry against official corruption and mismanagement during the Crimean War, and the demand for some insight into the finances of the State, becoming daily louder, Alexander II. had to consent to a publication of the budget. The measure was of little real use, being a mere promise to the ear. As soon as the press spoke out with some degree of firm-

* In the heathen Germanic creed there is a "bright-red cock, hight Fialar," that crows on the Tree of Sorrow when the whole world, at the End of Times, falls down on a bed of flames. The bird, by its song, heralds in the great fiery catastrophe. Another cock crows beneath the earth, a soot-red cock, in the Halls of Hel, whilst a third cock, Gullinkambi (Golden-Comb), wakens the heroes that are with Odin, the Leader of the Hosts, to tell them of the coming conflagration of the Universe.

ness, the censorship was again rendered more stringent. Is it to be wondered at that a secret press was founded under the circumstances?

A paper came out under the same title as the one which of late has been revived by the Revolutionary Committee—namely, *Land and Liberty*. Another journal was called *The Great Russian*. It only reached three numbers, but these were largely propagated by an apparently extensive secret organization. *The Great Russian*, beginning with a moderate opposition, became bolder with that miraculous rapidity which marks the transition from a Russian winter to a flowery spring. It raised the question as to whether the dynasty was to be maintained, or not. These were some of the sheet-light flashings on the horizon, which Government thought might portend a coming storm.

The spies and informers of the Czar inclined to the opinion that *The Great Russian* was edited by a secret society of students. A war against students was therefore initiated—even as in these present days a war against women is being waged by the Russian authorities. In Germany and France, the students have played a large part, from 1815 to 1848, in the struggles for national union and freedom. It is a noteworthy sign that the Russian youth, too, should have come forward in a similar way, in the Liberal or Democratic interest.

The students refusing to bear with new University regulations framed for purposes of what they called "Government espionage," many conflicts took place in various University towns. Some of the students were killed, or severely wounded; a great many others banished to distant provinces. There they soon acted as propagandists among populations hitherto sluggish and servilely obedient. Many of the students belonging to that lesser nobility which in Russia is eager for progress, the Government police, with the malignant craftiness which has been its peculiar mark since the days of Boris Godunoff, stirred up the people by the shamefully false statement that these young men were "mere lordlings who rose in revolt because the Czar had abolished serfdom!" General Bistrom hounded on his soldiers against the students by equally mendacious means. He told them that "these young fellows all wanted to become officials, in order to rob the people." The wildest tricks of a corrupt, despotic, and at the same time demagogic, régime were thus flourishing once more under Alexander the Humane.

The spirit of Liberalism among the students of the Universities gained even those of the Church Academy in the capital. The latter, being the offspring of the so-called White Clergy (that is, of the married priesthood, who are considered the flower of the Orthodox Church), were declared guilty of rebelliousness, by the Holy Synod, for having refused to attend the lectures of an unpopular, inefficient, and reactionary Professor of Greek literature. Many of them were banished from the capital. These measures laid the foundation of an estrangement between not a few members of the White Clergy and the Crown.

Some of the Professors also, owing to the temporary closing of their Universities in consequence of tumults, began to join the ranks of the malcontents, and bethought themselves of giving public lectures which every one could attend, without being inscribed at the University. One of the best friends of the students, a literary man, of the name of Michayloff, was about this time exiled to the Siberian mines. His proscription raised a storm of indignation. Altogether, if we compare the banishments to Siberia under Nicholas and Alexander II., we find that of late years the number of exiles sent thither has been incessantly increasing, so that it is now four times larger than under the rule of a monarch who stands in history as the very type of unmitigated hardness.

X.

The Crimean War, bringing to light, as it did, the inner weakness of Imperialist rule, was calculated to embolden the centrifugal tendencies among the discordant nationalities of the Empire. The Baltic provinces have for some time past been looked upon as the mainstay of the Russian Administration. Yet, even there, Bishop Walter, the Superintendent-General of Livonia, was heard to say, by way of reply to governmental encroachments upon local charters and privileges, "In religion we shall always remain Protestants. In politics we shall continue to be Germans." His deposition followed quickly upon the significant speech.

In Finland, which in nationality, speech, history, and culture, stands out distinctly from the bulk of the Muscovite Empire, there were signs which Government could not ignore. Towards the end of the Crimean War, Sweden-Norway had bound herself by a defensive treaty to England and France. It was considered necessary, at that time, to provide against the possibility of Russia claiming the important Norwegian harbour of Hammerfest, which lies opposite the English coast, and, though situated in the semi-Arctic region, is ice-free during winter. The news of this treaty made an impression all over the North. There was some apprehension in the councils of Alexander II., that Finland, which had been robbed by Russia of her special constitution, should gravitate back towards a connection with the Swedish Crown. The Finnic Diet was, therefore, restored. Though the autonomy thus allowed was more a name than a strong parliamentary reality, the fact itself could not but serve to bring out all the more glaringly the dead level of political slavery in Muscovy proper.

Among the Russian nobility, the desire for parliamentary rule was fed by the concession to Finland. Some of the nobles wished to indemnify themselves by political privileges on the oligarchal principle for any losses that might befall them through serf emancipation. Others, of a more liberal turn of mind, wished to benefit the interests of the community at large by the introduction of full representative govern-

ment. In almost all the corporations of the Russian nobility, the language held was of an unheard-of boldness.

Demands for some kind of a *Duma*, or parliament, were brought forward by the assembled nobiliary orders of Moscow, Smolensk, Novgorod, Pskoff, Saratoff, Tula, and Twer. Instead of giving simply the desired answer to the questions addressed to them on the subject of Serf Emancipation by the Home Secretary, Mr. Valuieff, they combined their replies with a demand for a Charter. They also insisted on strict responsibility before the law of every Government official; on protection for the rights of person and property through the introduction of spoken evidence in judicial proceedings, and of trial by jury, in the place of the accustomed written and clandestine forms of procedure; on the publication of a detailed budget of revenues and expenses, so as to allay the fears of a financial crisis; and on liberty of the press in the discussion of economical and administrative reforms.

At St. Petersburg an Address was proposed, which, under outwardly respectful forms towards the Emperor, spoke out strongly against "the oppression exercised by those who represent the sovereign power." The Address said:—"Every violation of the principles of justice; the irresponsibility of men in the enjoyment of his Majesty's confidence; all the irregularities, persecutions, and abuses which are practised destroy the people's confidence in the Government, shake their loyalty towards the monarch, and even sap his supremacy." Stress was further laid on "the tendency which shows itself in certain parts of the empire *to withdraw from the general unity.*" The Address concluded with these words:—"Representatives ought to be convoked from all the provinces of the empire, so that the Sovereign might learn the wants of the people, and that legislative questions and important State affairs might be discussed before being settled. Without such a general popular representation we must fear for the stability of the empire, and can *foresee its speedy dissolution.*"

Unlike the resolutions in the other nobiliary corporations, the Address just mentioned was not put to the vote at St. Petersburg. The majority of the members there were too much under the fear of persecution. On the other hand, the nobility of Twer, which for some time past had been in the vanguard of the progressive movement, drew up, in its sitting of March 14, 1862, a resolution of Seven Points, containing a free and voluntary surrender of all its aristocratic privileges, and an offer to make to the peasantry large grants of land; insisting at the same time on "the convocation of a National Assembly chosen by the whole people, without distinction of classes." The resolution was adopted by 120 to 23 votes. Immediately afterwards, thirteen justices of the peace of Twer, who had acted in consonance with these views, were arrested and led as prisoners to St. Petersburg.

Alexander II. neither would grant the convocation of a National Parliament, nor did he allow even the petitioning in favour of such a

reform, without giving practical proofs of his sovereign displeasure and Imperial wrath.

XI.

Whilst Muscovy proper was occupied and agitated by these demonstrations for the parliamentary principle, and by the widely ramified conspiracies of the "Red Cock," the Polish provinces were excited by a renewed movement in favour of nationality and self-government.

Many had assumed there was an end of Poland. Ignorance repeated the famous, but false and forged, word ("*Finis Poloniae*!") which is attributed to Kosciuszko.* The Russian General Fadeyeff, one of the most uncompromising Panslavists, who wishes to see the sway of the Czar extended over Austria-Hungary and Constantinople, appreciated the situation more correctly when, even after the overthrow of the rising of 1863-64, he wrote:—"No one can imagine that the Polish Question is in reality settled. All its component parts are quite as alive now as formerly. . . . The western provinces of Russia, in their present condition—and not only the kingdom of Poland, but even the province of Volhynia as well, where the Catholics number only 10 per cent. of the population—will certainly become thoroughly Polish and hostile to Russia on the first appearance of a foreign foe."

The insurrection of 1863 was undoubtedly the work of a conspiracy—led, not by the older stock of Polish patriots or emigrants, but mostly by very young men. The Democratic Committee at Warsaw which prepared, and the Secret National Government which officered, the rising, were well-nigh exclusively composed of men of the younger generation. This is an important fact, in so far as it testifies to the vitality of the national elements in Russian Poland. Nor had English statesmen and politicians

* Owing to the persistence with which this falsehood always crops up afresh, it may be useful to give once more the text of the letter addressed by Kosciuszko to Count Ségur, the author of the *Décade Historique*, under date of Paris, 20th Brumaire, year XII. (30th October, 1803). I have translated it from the French original, which is in the archives of the Ségur family, and which has been communicated to me by Mr. Ch. Ed. Choiecki. Kosciuszko wrote:—

"Ignorance or malignity, with fierce persistence, has put the expression '*Finis Poloniae*' into my mouth,—an expression I am stated to have made use of on a fatal day. Now, first of all, I had been almost mortally wounded before the battle was decided, and only recovered my consciousness two days afterwards, when I found myself in the hands of my enemies. In the second instance, if an expression like the one alluded to is inconsistent and criminal in the mouth of any Pole, it would have been far more so in mine. When the Polish nation called me to the defence of the integrity, independence, dignity, glory, and freedom of our fatherland, it knew well that I was not the *last* Pole in existence, and that with my death on the battle-field, or elsewhere, Poland could not, and would not, be *at an end*. Everything the Poles have done since, or will yet do in future, furnishes the proof that if we, the devoted soldiers of the country, are mortal, Poland herself is immortal; and it is therefore not allowed to anybody either to utter or to repeat that insulting expression (*l'outrageante épithète*), which is contained in the words, '*Finis Poloniae*.' What would the French say, if, after the Battle of Rossbach, in 1757, Marshal Charles de Rohan, Prince de Soubise, had exclaimed, '*Finis Gallie*!' Or what would they say if such cruel words were attributed to him in his biographies? I shall therefore be obliged to you, if in the new edition of your work you will not speak any more of the '*Finis Poloniae*;' and I hope that the authority of your name will have its due effect with all those who in future may be inclined to repeat those words, and thus attribute to me a blasphemy against which I protest with all my heart."

of all parties any doubt, at that time, either as to the righteousness and practical nature of the Polish cause, or as to the atrocious character of the Government of Alexander II. The news of the simultaneous rising all through Poland on January 21, 1863, at once revived English sympathies for a downtrodden nation. Lord Ellenborough and Lord Shaftesbury, Mr. Disraeli, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and Lord John Russell, the then Foreign Secretary, were strong upon Polish grievances. In both Houses of Parliament pictures of Russian atrocities were drawn, which fired the heart of England with indignation. Mr. Forster declared in the House that England was henceforth freed from the compact by which she had sanctioned the Czar's sovereignty over Poland. At an enthusiastic meeting in St. James's Hall, Sir John Shelley in the chair, the question as to whether, in case Russia persisted in her course, England ought to declare war against the Autocrat, was answered by a tremendous cry of "Yes!"*

In the House of Commons it was shown that, according to a statement made by the Town Council of Warsaw, on July 20, 1862, the number of men and women thrown into a single prison in that city since the beginning of the year, under a charge of political offences, had been 14,833; that such had been the ravages of forced conscription that in November, 1862, only 683 persons had been left at Warsaw for the pursuits of commerce in a population of 184,000 inhabitants; that Prince Gortschakoff had threatened to inaugurate a policy of extermination, and to make of Poland a heap of ashes; that the barracks and fortresses had been transformed into dungeons for political prisoners; and that in the terrible night of January 15, 1863, the houses of the citizens were surrounded and invaded at one o'clock in the morning, in order to fill the ranks of the Russian army with unfortunate kidnapped men.

So strongly did English public opinion then pronounce against the Government of Alexander II. that Lord John Russell at last presented "Six Points" to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. They asked for a complete and general amnesty; a National Parliament of Poland, in conformity with the Treaty of Vienna of 1815; an Administration exclusively composed of Polish officials; full liberty of conscience; the use of the Polish language on all public occasions and in the education of the people; and a regular system of military recruitment, instead of the arbitrary seizure of persons. As a preliminary measure, an armistice was insisted on by the English Government, who also proposed a Conference of the eight signatory Powers of the Treaty of Paris.

* Having myself been called to Scotland to speak at Glasgow, and in other towns, on the Situation in Germany and the Rising in Russian Poland, resolutions were passed there to the following effect:—Rupture of all diplomatic relations with the Russian Government; Recognition of Poland as a Belligerent Nation; Declaration of British sympathy with Germany in her efforts at gaining her own freedom and unity; Formation of a Committee destined to receive subscriptions for the Polish Rising; Transmission of a Petition to the House of Commons, and of an Address to the Hon. Arthur Kinnaid, with the object of promoting the Polish movement. (See Louis Blanc's *Lettres sur l'Angleterre*. Paris, 1866. Vol. i.)

Need it be said that Alexander II. utterly declined to discuss these proposals?

A sudden change, it is true, came one day over Lord John Russell's views in this Polish matter, when he declared, in a tone of great excitement, that the insurrection had been organized by the "cosmopolitan party of revolutionists"—more especially by Mazzini and his friends—and that the object was to introduce Communism in Poland! A more erroneous, nay, on the face of it, impossible statement could scarcely have been made. It is difficult to understand how a statesman of the age and experience of Lord John Russell could allow himself to be thus deceived. He may have found it necessary to oppose the demands for armed English intervention in Poland when he saw that Louis Napoleon wished to improve the occasion for an attack on the Rhine. But then Lord John was not entitled to produce arguments which were the reverse of facts.

So little was Mazzini inclined to Communism that he, on the contrary, during the best part of his life, and down to his last days, attacked the Communistic doctrines in frequent writings. Nor did he organize the Polish insurrection. To this I can personally testify. He was in contact with patriots and exiles of many nations; and he, together with Ledru-Rollin, and a few others in London, were informed of what was coming in Russian Poland, some time before the rising. The Warsaw Committee had their trusty agent here, through whom we learnt the day of the intended insurrection. Opinions were exchanged between well-wishers in London and the leaders at Warsaw; but the organization and the direction entirely proceeded from within Poland. Shortly before the Polish patriots rose, Mazzini had even given the distinct counsel to delay the rising. But the tyrannic Decree of Conscription, or rather Proscription, by which the Polish youths were to be all seized in the dead of night and transported as recruits into the interior of Russia, left the Warsaw Committee no choice. Under these circumstances, Mazzini's counsel could not possibly be followed.

So far from Communism having been at the bottom of the insurrectionary movement, the leaders aimed at nothing but national independence, combined with a Land Reform, such as France and Germany have carried long ago, and as England still stands in need of. Equality before the law, freedom for all creeds, and other liberal measures were mentioned in the published decrees of the Secret Government at Warsaw. The rest would have had to be done by a freely-elected Assembly had the revolution been successful. The members of the Secret Government were adherents of the Democratic creed; at least, at the beginning of the rising. Gradually, a change became observable, but certainly not in the Communistic sense. I have mentioned more amply on another occasion that differences, albeit only of a passing character, showed themselves in the leading Committee a few months after the revolution had been begun. It was on the question of intervention and foreign alliances.

Louis Napoleon, ever on the look-out for an opportunity of meddling with affairs abroad, flattered himself with the hope of being able to induce England to effect, in company with him, an intervention in Poland. To my knowledge, some go-betweens of his made an attempt to see whether a Polish demand for French intervention could not be addressed to him, so that his own ambitious policy might find a readier acceptance in the public opinion of Europe. The Jeromist or Plon-Plonist connection was used as a lever for that purpose. This move, coupled with a change of persons then just going on in the composition of the Secret Government at Warsaw, gave rise to a temporary dissension, which for a while paralyzed the insurrectionary activity. Finally, the Napoleonistic tendency was entirely thrown out, and the old programme was maintained, which aimed at deliverance by Polish forces only.

All this had nothing to do with Communism. Lord John Russell was egregiously mistaken.

XII.

Before the rising there were two chief Committees at Warsaw—both clandestine, according to the nature of the situation. The one was a democratic Committee; the other an aristocratic one—the so-called Committee of the *Szlachta*, or Nobility. The latter mainly sought to bring about peaceful but impressive manifestations in the streets, whilst the former aimed at revolutionary action. When the *Szlachta* Committee found that, in order to obtain the aid of the peasantry, it would be necessary to hold out promises of a Land Reform, its members lost heart. Finally they withdrew altogether from the direction of affairs. Then the Democratic Committee obtained the upper hand and the sole management of the movement. Its members and adherents, too, belonged partly to the lesser nobility; and as the landholding class and the comparatively few towns in Russian Poland are almost exclusively the representatives of political thought, of national aspirations, and of general progress, it will easily be understood that even the Democratic Committee could not go too far in its measures of social revolution lest it should alienate its best allies and create division in its own ranks.

This also Lord John Russell might have been expected to know.

I will not enter here into the causes of the failure of the Polish rising, on which I have before expressed myself, beyond indicating a few noteworthy points. The leaders of the conspiracy calculated, first, upon a more energetic participation of their own peasantry than had been the case on former occasions. Secondly, they counted upon the promised passing over to the revolutionary cause of Russian troops, especially of officers, and upon the outbreak of a popular movement at Moscow and at St. Petersburg. I know that assurances to that effect had been freely given to the leaders of the Polish rising, though I always doubted that they would be made good. The spirit of Pestel

and Murawieff had, in 1863, not been revived yet among any noteworthy number of Russian officers. Mr. Ivan Golovin, in 1870, stated in his book* that Alexander Herzen had given an assurance that the Warsaw garrison would pass over to the Poles; "but the officers," Mr. Golovin adds, "were Poles or Catholics, and not the tenth part were real Russians." Lastly, the Secret Government at Warsaw hoped that the constitutional conflict then raging in Prussia between the liberal House of Commons and the reactionary Government of King William and Herr von Bismarck would result in a practical aid to the Polish cause by preventing the King of Prussia from taking action in favour of the Czar.

It is a matter of notoriety how these various hopes were disappointed. As to the manifestoes which it was alleged by Herzen had been issued by Russian officers as a pledge of sympathy with Poland, they proved to be mere words, if not a downright invention. Carrying on a struggle of despair, without any support, the Polish patriots yet kept the whole power of Russia fully occupied for nearly a year and a half. Towards the end of the insurrection, the more advanced party which had organized it found itself compelled, through increasing difficulties, to enter into closer relations with the Moderate, or so-called aristocratic, party of Polish emigrants abroad, whose political connections and financial means, it was supposed, might give some aid to a sinking cause.

It was all of no avail. The agony was a long and tragic one. At last the catastrophe came; and with feelings of deep emotion we greeted General Langiewicz on his arrival in London as a fellow-exile.

I will not unroll here the picture of the fresh horrors that followed upon the overthrow of a rising which had been the result of unbearable atrocities. To do so would require the brush of a Breughel, the painter of hellish demons. "There are no innocent persons," General Sobolewski said in 1863, when presiding over one of the Commissions of Inquiry at Wilna,—“there are no innocent persons; we only inquire to what degree every individual is guilty.”

"The law?" exclaimed General Murawieff, with a Satanic leer,—“I am the law!” He was, according to the well-known phrase, not of the Murawieffs who get hanged, but of the Murawieffs who hang others. He, Berg, Anjenkoff, and other military executioners of the Torquemada school, did their sanguinary business efficiently all through this terrible period. The very name of Poland was struck from the official phraseology in Russia. There was henceforth only a Department of the Vistula. The Polish speech was proscribed in public. The tyrant tried to tear out the very heart from a nation's bosom.

At Nice, Alexander II. afterwards shed tears at the sight of the misery of an exiled Polish family. When asked whether his Majesty would

* *Russland unter Alexander II.* Leipzig: 1870.

not, in the fulness of his power, do something to mitigate the sufferings, he replied, "I have given my word of honour to Murawieff not to interfere in such matters!" The quality of the Imperial tears in question need not be described.

Mr. Golovin writes:—"Ivan the Cruel has not acted differently towards Novgorod from what Alexander II. has done to the Poles. A proof is thus furnished that Russian Autocrats have changed their names but not their principles. In Germany it has been truly said that Germans still see in the Poles fellow-men, whilst the Russians act inhumanly against the Poles." I quote by preference the opinion of a prominent Russian writer, who, though exiled himself, speaks severely against the Nihilists, and who is so far from systematically opposing Russian Government policy as to say, in the work in question, that "the present Emperor has only followed the footsteps of Alexander the Great as far as Samarkand, and that it remains reserved to Alexander IV. *to conquer India.*"

This was written by Mr. Golovin before Alexander II. had made an attempt to get, by a back door, into Afghanistan.

XIII.

In spite of its failure, the Polish rising had a remarkable effect. It actually brought a reform, not to the crushed Poles, but to the Russians. Various symptoms in some of the Great Russian and Little Russian provinces, as well as in Lithuania, had shown, during the insurrection, that a dangerous spirit of discontent was rife there also. It required all the crafty arts of Government and all the violent declarations of Katkoff and his sort to keep even the Muscovites up to the desired mark of hatred against the Poles. Among a section of the Russian nobility, the treatment awarded to the latter was strongly blamed.

It was as a sop to these feelings of unrest that the Czar issued, on January 21, 1864, a ukase for the introduction of Provincial (Departmental and District) Assemblies for the discussion of local economical questions. Politics, of course, were strictly forbidden.

Russian Liberalism, misled for a time during the Polish Revolution, revived after this peril was over. A portion of the Russian landowning class began asserting again that "it was but right the Crown should give up some of its despotic privileges, after the aristocracy had been shorn of their former power over the serfs." The Corporation of the Moscow Nobility being on the point of asking the Emperor once more to grant representative government, its session was hurriedly closed by a peremptory order. An Imperial ukase declared that "the right of taking the initiative in any reform was vested in the Monarch, and inseparably bound up with his God-conferred autocratic power; that no class was lawfully entitled to speak in the name of another, or to plead before the throne for public concerns and wants of the State; and that

irregularities of this kind could only delay the execution of the planned reforms."

It would have been impossible to lay down the despotic principles of the Czar-Pope with a more uncompromising severity. In the midst of the public indignation thereby created, Karakasoff—formerly a student at the Moscow University, and whose father belonged to the class of the titled nobility—on April 16, 1866, made an attempt against the life of the relentless and scheming Autocrat.

This was the first personal warning to him who had always feared that he would die a violent death.

Many were the men whom a suspicious depotism arrested, after Karakasoff's deed, as probable or possible accomplices;—the best evidence that Autocracy, at the slightest show of danger, feels the soil insecure under its feet. Thus the poets Nekrassoff and Lawroff were imprisoned for a time. Karakasoff was executed. Thirty-five alleged accomplices of his conspiracy were sentenced to imprisonment or transportation.

In the following year, during Czar Alexander's visit to Paris, the Pole Berezowski pointed the pistol at his breast. A French jury taking a lenient view of the matter, the life of that would-be avenger of his country's wrongs was spared. Perhaps the jury thought of the countless hosts that had had to make the pilgrimage into the Valley of Death, in order that a single man, might uphold his irresponsible rule over many enslaved nations.

I shall have to speak, in a concluding article, of the time between the attempt of Berezowski and that of Solovieff. With the obstinacy of the Autocrat the fierce resolution of his foes has grown. A very natural law of action and reaction—which it would be useless to deny, sad as the outlook is for the cause of humanity. The atmosphere of blood, which has for ages hovered over the Imperial palace of Russia, has spread now over the country at large. A strange aurora borealis of mysterious fires once more illumines the horizon with its dark-red arrows. Nihilists are at work. Fire-raisers are at work. Peasants also have broken out into revolt. We can only hope that these are the inevitable thunder-clouds of a necessary storm, destined to purify the air, to drive away the foul mists of tyranny, and to confer upon long-suffering Russia the blessings of Light and Right.

KARL BLIND.

INTEMPERANCE AND THE LICENSING SYSTEM.

Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance.

I.

DURING the past ten years an extraordinary awakening of interest has occurred throughout the nation on the subject of Intemperance. Although the extent of the evil was always more or less generally admitted, yet for a long period it did not receive the attention it demanded. It is true that more than a quarter of a century ago a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to examine into our public-house system, and sat for two Sessions—making its Report in 1854; but it attracted little attention. Fortunately things are improving, for the Report of the Lords' Committee now presented has been eagerly looked for by the whole country.

The history of the Lords' Committee will be in the minds of most readers. The public conscience having been awakened to the ruin and disgrace of our national intemperance, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the House of Lords, in February, 1877, moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the subject. The Committee was granted, and we have now their Report. No State Paper of such importance to the moral and material interests of the English people has been issued for years; and it is to be hoped that this Report, and the accompanying evidence, will be carefully studied, so that the laborious and patient investigations may be made to tell fully on future legislation.

The subjects referred to the Select Committee for examination and report were defined as follows:—

“That a Select Committee be appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the prevalence of habits of intemperance, and into the manner in which those habits have been affected by recent legislation and other causes.”

The Committee confined themselves during the session of 1877 to taking evidence affecting England and Wales; the session of 1878 was chiefly occupied with receiving testimony from Scotland and Ire-

land and the Report was presented to the House of Lords on March 17, 1879. An inquiry thus carefully conducted, and of so extensive a character, well deserves the thoughtful attention of all interested in improving the character of the people.

I do not think it necessary to stop to discuss the evils of intemperance, nor to insist on the individual and national ruin which must result from the excessive consumption of alcoholic liquors. All this is theoretically admitted; nor need I refer to the superabundant testimony furnished by the evidence now before us that intemperance prevails in every part of the country. There is no necessity either to dwell on the mistake of the Legislature and our magistrates, in creating such excessive temptations to the use of intoxicating drink amongst us. I take it for granted that my readers are impressed with the insidious, potent, and dangerous character of alcohol, whether in the form of strong beer or spirits. I grant that its use may, under exceptional circumstances, be attended with benefit, but the medical testimony obtained by the Lords' Committee shows that even strong men cannot, without injury, habitually consume alcohol, except in small quantities. The evidence also goes to show that young persons in health, almost without exception, are better without it. Few persons can doubt that an article so dangerous alike to the welfare of the individual and of society should only be allowed to be sold after taking all reasonable guarantees against its abuse. It will be the object of this paper to discuss what these guarantees should be. While it may be impossible by legislation to create that habit of self-control which is so great a safeguard against excess, yet it is clear that undue temptations to drinking habits have been practically multiplied by Parliament; and it is equally obvious that these temptations may be diminished by amended legislation.

It is my intention, taking the Report of the Lords' Committee as my text, to point out the necessity for a reform of our license laws on the principle of LOCAL AND IMPERIAL CONTROL; that is, to provide for placing in the hands of the people themselves the control of the sale of an article the unrestrained use of which so seriously affects their welfare, but at the same time supplementing that local control by imperial oversight.

II.

In order fully to understand the Report of the Lords' Committee, some reference is needed to the special Acts of Parliament which regulate the selling of spirits and beer by retail in England and Wales.

We may pass over the Spirits and Liqueur License Act, The Table Beer Dealers License Act, The Refreshment Houses Act (although it has been attended with much mischief), &c. &c., and only ask attention to the four principal Licenses for the retail sale of intoxicating drink, and to the main conditions on which they have been issued.

1. PUBLIC-HOUSES IN ENGLAND. These are licensed under Act 9 George IV., cap. 61, and it may be convenient to give the exact words of the principal points in Clauses I. and XIII.

Clause I. begins as follows:—"Whereas it is expedient to reduce into one Act the laws relative to the licensing by Justices of the Peace of persons keeping, or being about to keep, *Inns, Ale-houses, and Victualling-houses*, to sell exciseable liquors by retail to be drunk or consumed on the premises:

"Be it therefore enacted . . . that it shall be lawful for the Justices . . . to grant licenses, for the purposes aforesaid, *to such persons as they, the said Justices, shall, in the execution of the powers herein contained, and in the exercise of their discretion, deem fit and proper.*"

Clause XIII.—"And be it further enacted that every license which shall be granted under the authority of this Act shall be . . . *for one whole year, thence respectively next ensuing, and no longer.*"

Licenses are thus granted for only one year, and are required to be renewed annually. And the principle on which they are issued is solely that of "magisterial discretion." The Acts dealing with this subject for Scotland and Ireland are substantially the same as for England in these two main points. In 1878 there were 97,625 of these licenses in existence.

2. BEER-HOUSES for the retail sale of beer for consumption "on the premises." Down to 1869 these licenses were granted under a system of free-trade, and were not subject to the control of the magistrates. In that year beer-house licenses were divided into two classes, namely, licenses for the retail sale of beer for consumption "on," and for the retail sale of beer "off" the premises. Licenses for the sale of beer "on" the premises are, like those for public-houses, now issued by the magistrates on the principle of "magisterial discretion." In 1878 there were 38,805 of these licenses in existence.

3. BEER-HOUSES for the retail sale of beer for consumption "off the premises." The licenses for these are obtained from the magistrates without the option of refusing; this class of houses being thus under a system of free-trade. Of such licenses 8385 had been issued up to 1878.

4. GROCERS' LICENSES. These were first created in 1861, and are also beyond magisterial control. Grocers or any other shopkeepers may obtain them; these, too, may therefore be called free-trade licenses. They authorize the sale of spirits in bottles, for consumption "off" the premises, and the returns for 1878 show that there were 9657 of such licenses issued.

It thus appears that of these four principal licenses, two are issued under "magisterial discretion," and two are "free-trade,"—a curious anomaly in the principle of License Law; the Acts, in one case, providing a certain control over the issue, in the other, leaving the issue to the ordinary law of supply and demand.

The Act of 1872 (Bruce's Bill) introduced a new feature into the granting of licenses by the magistrates. It required that in boroughs new licenses granted by committees of magistrates should be confirmed by the bench of magistrates; in counties, that new licenses granted by the justices at annual sessions should be confirmed by a committee of their own number. This has proved a powerful means of restraining their issue. That Act also reduced the number of hours during which public-houses could remain open, and introduced new and heavier penalties for breaches of the law, besides imposing other wise restrictions and regulations.

It is now admitted that the General Licensing Acts have worked very unsatisfactorily, and even with the amendments which have been subsequently enacted, they still continue to operate injuriously. The action of the magistrates, now becoming so general, in refusing new licenses is, in a certain degree, beneficial, but these magistrates have no power to diminish the existing number. Nor can we shut our eyes to the fact that the restrictive system has created a powerful monopoly in the country, each license having an immediate saleable value, in many cases of thousands of pounds. Thus even the refusal of licenses tends in some degree to favour this injurious monopoly. The question we have therefore to consider is, not only how the increase of places of temptation may be stopped, but how the existing number may be diminished, and how that diminution may operate to the benefit of the people, and not simply to the advantage of the favoured few—the monopolists.

III.

After this general statement, we may now be able more satisfactorily to enter on a discussion of some of the proposals recommended in the Report of the Lords' Committee on Intemperance.

I have already said that the general character of the Report is extremely gratifying. The inquiry was conducted patiently and thoughtfully, all available means appearing to have been used to make it both comprehensive and searching. The conclusions arrived at show a boldness, a candour, and a carefulness which demand thankful acknowledgment from the whole nation. The Legislature can scarcely fail to be impressed by the fairness with which the inquiry has been carried out, and by the caution, as well as firmness, shown in the conclusions reached; and we may expect Parliament to give the greatest weight to the recommendations finally announced. In a word, the hope may reasonably be cherished that this Report is to furnish a new point of departure for the construction of a better licensing system.

Of all the recommendations now made it may be stated that they are, without exception, in the direction of restriction, both of the number of houses for the sale of drink and of the hours during which they

shall be open. But it will be better to take the points *seriatim*, adding what historical review is necessary.

Free Licensing.

In 1854 the House of Commons' Committee on Public-houses reported in favour of free trade in licenses, and although no legislative action followed upon the Report, yet the procedure of magistrates throughout the country since that time has been greatly influenced by the character and aim of its recommendations. This conclusion is easily arrived at, after a perusal of the evidence given to the Lords' Committee by witnesses from all parts. I may refer to a striking paper which was handed in to the Committee by Mr. S. G. Rathbone, one of the Justices of Liverpool, and which Appears in the Appendix to the Report. This document gives a list of nineteen boroughs north of Birmingham, containing each 50,000 inhabitants and upwards, and furnishes the proportion of licensed houses to the population in each. In this list Norwich stands at the head, having one licensed house for every 121 of its population. Manchester comes next, with one licensed house for every 140 of its inhabitants. Liverpool is the fourteenth on the list, having one public-house for every 209 of its population. The paper reveals in the strongest light the frightful extent to which licenses have been issued.

Here we have the development of the "free trade" Beer Bill of 1830, of the "magisterial discretion" Act of 1828, and of the "free trade" Grocers' License Act of 1861, and can see how disastrously these have worked in different localities. In Manchester the magistrates, notwithstanding the "free trade" recommendations of the House of Commons, issued no spirit licenses for many years. At present there are 483, which is about twenty fewer than were in existence twenty years ago. But Manchester is swamped by having 1989 other licenses, most of which have been granted in defiance of the magistrates. In Liverpool, on the other hand, the case stands thus:—

	1857.		1876.
Population	416,119	...	513,383
Public-houses	1,493	...	1,911
Beer-houses	897	...	334

These figures show, that during the past twenty years (in part of which period free trade views prevailed) the magistrates there largely increased the licenses for public-houses while the licenses for beer-houses were diminished. It should also be stated that by structural additions many of the former houses in Liverpool have more than trebled their drinking facilities.

Five-and-twenty years ago the Liverpool bench had become wholly dissatisfied with statute 9 George IV., cap. 61, under which licenses are granted. A large section of the magistrates felt that, while their proper function was to administer law, the duty thrown upon them by the above Act of (at their own discretion) issuing or refusing to issue

licenses was incongruous, if not entirely incompatible with the discharge of the true duties of the magisterial office. They found that the Act gave them no definite or precise indications and limitations such as alone could have enabled them satisfactorily to execute its provisions. They accordingly appealed to the Legislature for alterations of the licensing system, and their chairman, the late Sir Wm. Brown, then Member for South Lancashire, moved in the House of Commons for the appointment of the Select Committee, of whose labours I spoke earlier. The recommendations of that Committee, as has been previously stated, were in favour of "free trade" in licenses, but they, at the same time, omitted to propose such a license tax as would have restricted their number. But, as I said, no legislation followed the issue of the Report.

The Liverpool bench, having failed to induce the Government to bring in a general Act, found the existing practice of exercising an unavoidably capricious discretion so irksome, that they adopted the determination to grant licenses to all applicants of good character whose premises were considered suitable. Accordingly in the five years 1862-1866 the Liverpool magistrates, to the consternation of the people, issued upwards of 400 new licenses. In August, 1865, two memorials were presented to the bench, one from 33,341 inhabitants, the other signed by 123 medical men, pleading that no more licenses should be granted at the ensuing Licensing Session. To the prayer of these petitions the magistrates ultimately gave heed, and substantially no new licenses have been granted in Liverpool for some years.

It is pleasing to find that the Lords' Committee, after a review of the experiments tried in Liverpool and certain other parts of Lancashire, condemn the "free" licensing of public-houses. Their objections to the proposal (see Report, paragraphs 29, 30), are—That

"It allows no opportunity to the inhabitants for expressing their opinion against the opening of public-houses in their neighbourhood. Any number of these might consequently be opened against the sense of the community, and in localities already sufficiently supplied with facilities for public refreshment."

That,

"The free trade experiment, tried under the Beer Acts, is universally admitted to have failed; and there appears to be no reason for believing that any safeguards can be devised which would secure a better result."

And that as

"The system is also altogether opposed to the spirit of the recent policy of restriction, which appears to meet with the general approval of the country, the Committee are unable to recommend its adoption."

Such are the conclusions arrived at by the Committee regarding the licensing of public-houses and beer-houses on the principle of "free trade."

It will be noticed, that the Lords' Committee do not discuss the reasons for the distinction which now exists between the principle upon which licenses for the sale of beer "off" the premises are granted, and

that adopted for the issue of licenses for the sale of beer "on" the premises. Licenses for the sale of beer "off" the premises are "free trade" licenses; those for consumption "on" the premises are under the control of the magistrates. The Lords' Committee in their Report alike condemn "free trade" licenses for the sale of beer "on" and "off" the premises, but they fail to recommend that the issue of licenses for the sale of beer "off" the premises should be placed under the control of the magistrates. It cannot be from inadvertence that this omission has occurred; but I am unable to explain the cause of it.

From Mr. Rathbone's paper it may be clearly inferred that the "free trade" recommendations of the Select Committee of 1853-54 powerfully affected the opinions of magistrates and were largely acted on, although the safeguards by which "free trade" in licenses was to be accompanied were never legalized. May we not hope that just as the "free-trade" suggestions of the Committee of the House of Commons of 1853-54 silently worked their way, and now at the end of a quarter of a century, in conjunction with the free trade Beer-house Act, have filled the country to repletion with drink-shops, so shall the influence of these recommendations of the Lords' Committee of 1879 bring about enactments in favour of the restriction of facilities for drinking, and gradually produce a change, leading to a complete revolution of our national opinions and customs in regard to this subject?

Grocers' Licenses.

It may be convenient under this heading to refer to the grounds on which the Lords' Committee recommend that Grocers' Licenses shall continue to be "free trade" ones. General complaints have been made that increased drunkenness has arisen from the existence of these licenses. But I should imagine that the mischief done to a community by the opening of a shop for the sale of bottles of spirits, to be consumed at home with all the home-restraints, would be little in comparison with that caused by the existence of a public-house where men are encouraged to meet and drink spurred on by the excitements of companionship. So I do not lay much stress on these complaints.

But there are other reasons for deploring the existence and rapid extension of grocers' licenses. The Committee refer to these licenses (see paragraph 39), as having been instituted "to enable respectable persons to obtain small quantities of spirits without going to the public-house." But the Committee take no account of the evils of familiarizing the general community with the sight and sale of spirits in shops, as if they were articles like other provisions of daily and indispensable use, thus adding a new temptation to those already superabounding.

If fresh shops are to be opened for the sale of spirits in bottles for consumption "off" the premises, the licenses ought not, according to the admission of the Committee in their Report, to be granted contrary

to the wishes of the neighbours, and no provision is made under free trade for giving effect to these. I urge the conviction that articles so exceptionally dangerous in their character as spirits, beer, and wine, should only be sold for consumption "off" the premises in shops specially licensed for the purpose, and in which these and no other articles were allowed to be sold. One reason stated by the Lords' Committee against placing these licenses under the control of the magistrates is the following:—

"It has been strongly urged by many magistrates, chief constables, and other witnesses, that the same powers should be given to Justices of refusing shopkeepers' retail spirit licenses, as they have of refusing public-house and beer-house licenses. It is evident that from the moment these powers are given, *all such licenses will carry with them the same kind of claim to a vested interest as is now put forward on behalf of public-houses and beer-houses.*"

The question here arises, what is the real worth of the claim made by publicans to a vested interest? The letter of statute 9 George IV. gives no right to such a claim, nor could such a privilege properly be conferred. A license is issued for one year, and the statute has enacted that at the end of the year it expires, and needs renewal, thus providing for alterations or for its cancelment as changing circumstances may demand. But to this point I shall have to return.

The Permissive Bill.

In turning to what the Report says of this measure, I fear the Alliance must think that the Lords' Committee has done the Permissive Bill scant justice. But a careful perusal will show that the Report was a compromise, and not the work of one hand. It will afford some relief to the supporters of the Alliance to discover that the vigorous sentences by which the Committee dispose of the Permissive Bill, are from the pen of the Bishop of Peterborough. The remarks referred to stand as part of the Report, and as such they will probably carry great weight in the Legislature and elsewhere; but it is to be noted that previously to his appointment as a member of the Lords' Committee, Bishop Magee had made himself conspicuous by the sentiments he had expressed in connection with that measure.

The Permissive Bill may be rough and ready, and its details are no doubt open to discussion, but its underlying principle is not affected by the statements of the Lords' Committee. The claim made by the friends of the Alliance is, that, in some shape or other, a veto ought to be placed in the hands of the people against the existence of drink-shops in their districts; or, to put it differently, that the ratepayers should be the confirming authority. In reference to this claim the Lords' Committee report as follows (Clause 32):—

"It is clear that the degree of prohibition aimed at in this Bill, extending as it does to all sale or disposal of liquor, would include all wholesale as well as

retail dealings, all sales by wine merchants as well as by grocers, and all sales also in refreshment rooms and hotels, as well as in public-houses and beer-houses.

"It appears to the Committee that this absolute prohibition of sale, but of sale only, of alcoholic liquors is unsound in principle and likely to prove in practice either mischievous or inoperative."

I venture to think that the Lords' Committee affirm rather too much in the latter sentence; for, should a community—men, women and children, masters and mistresses as well as servants—be water-drinkers, and use neither wine, beer, nor spirits, and prefer to be without the temptation of having shops for the sale of these articles amongst them, surely it would be hard to deny to such a community the right to prohibit the shops if any speculator wanted to open such?

Take a case existing on a large scale in the town of Liverpool at this moment. The firm of Mr. John Roberts, M.P. for the Flintshire Boroughs, has had large dealings in land in Liverpool. Mr. Roberts's firm has acted on the principle of prohibiting the erection of public-houses on the estates, large and small, which they purchase; and Mr. Roberts believes that, indirectly at least, they have been gainers in each instance. The lands which have passed through the hands of Mr. Roberts's firm are in extent something over 200 acres. The number of houses built or in course of erection thereon is about 6000, and the population directly affected may be set down as from 35,000 to 40,000. Mr. Roberts states that he never yet heard of a complaint being made of the want of a public-house either from the house-owners or the tenants, although some of the people living within the area to which the prohibition applies would have to walk three-quarters of a mile to obtain a glass of beer. This testimony is the more striking, arising as it does among the people of a town so over-supplied with public-houses as Liverpool.

Here, then, is a crucial case, one upon a sufficient scale, showing that drink-shops can be, and actually are, absolutely prohibited, without any of the evil results ensuing which the Lords' Committee anticipate. The prohibition of public-houses on Messrs. Roberts's estates is absolute, and yet this prohibition is neither "inoperative nor mischievous," as the Committee deliberately state that it would be.

The affirmation which the Report makes may also be challenged on other grounds. In their recommendations the Committee advocate the Gothenburg system, although this system places in the hands of the local authorities power to diminish the number of public-houses *down to their absolute extinction*. I shall refer, under a separate heading, to the Committee's estimate of this system, but I may so far anticipate as to say here that in a passage of great power they plead for the introduction of the Gothenburg scheme, or a modification of it, into England. I will quote the precise terms:—

"We do not wish to undervalue the force of these objections; but if the risks be considerable, so are the expected advantages. And when great communities,

deeply sensible of the miseries caused by intemperance, witnesses of the crime and pauperism which directly spring from it; conscious of the contamination to which their younger citizens are exposed; watching with grave anxiety the growth of female intemperance on a scale so vast and at a rate of progression so rapid as to constitute a new reproach and danger; believing that not only the morality of their citizens, but their commercial prosperity, is dependent on the diminution of these evils: seeing also that all that general legislation has been able to effect has been some improvement in public order, while it has been powerless to produce any perceptible decrease of intemperance: it would seem somewhat hard when such communities are willing at their own cost and hazard to grapple with the difficulty and undertake their own purification, that the Legislature should refuse to create for them the necessary machinery, or to entrust them with the requisite powers" (see paragraph 36).

This eloquent and forcible appeal prefaces a recommendation in favour of legislative facilities for the entire control of the liquor trade by the representatives of the people. I venture to say that no more persuasive words were ever written by the most earnest supporter of the Alliance in favour of permissive prohibition; and Alliance men may thank the Lords' Committee for the impartial spirit which has allowed them to introduce into the same Report not only the strong denunciation by Bishop Magee of permissive prohibition, but also the thoughtful, wise, and suggestive words of Lord Aberdare in favour of absolute local control of a trade so ruinous as that in liquor has now become.

Local Option.

Every one, I think, must regard with respect the efforts of the United Kingdom Alliance for the reform of our License Laws. Many persons who support the Association do not entirely agree with its object—namely, the total prohibition of the sale of drink; but its executive have laid the country under a deep debt of gratitude by the earnest support they have given to all legislation that has aimed at the restriction and regulation of the liquor traffic. To the energetic assistance of the Alliance, and to the devoted help of their agents, we are largely indebted for the Irish Sunday Closing Act passed last year, and the same whole-hearted aid no doubt will be given to the passing through Parliament of an English Sunday Closing Act, a strenuous effort for which is surely not to be much longer delayed. Let us hope this is the first great Temperance reform to be accomplished.

The Alliance have backed up Sir Wilfrid Lawson in his agitation in favour of his Permissive Bill. Year after year it has been introduced and advocated in the House of Commons by the dauntless baronet; year after year the debate has ended in the defeat of the Bill by large majorities, but accompanied with an ever-deepening knowledge of the principle of the measure. It is difficult to express the gratitude due to Sir Wilfrid Lawson and the Alliance for their efforts. During the present session Sir Wilfrid, instead of again bringing forward the Permissive Bill, introduced a Resolution, declaring the principle of "Local Option," and the wisdom of this proceeding was proved by the large accession of support

he received: 164 members voted in favour of the resolution, 252 against it, so that it was lost by a majority of only 88.

The words of the resolution are:—

“That, inasmuch as the ancient and avowed object of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare, *this House is of opinion that a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licenses should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected—namely, the inhabitants themselves, who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system by some efficient measure of ‘local option.’*”

The words in italics are Sir Wilfrid Lawson’s; the rest of the resolution is a copy of recommendation No. 11, made by the Committee of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury on Intemperance. Sir Wilfrid, in introducing the proposal, stated that what he meant by it was, “to make the desires and interests of the public superior to the desires and interests of the trader engaged.” Such is his definition of the resolution. He admitted freely and fully that the words are wide enough to include the Permissive Bill, and, he added, that if they did not, he would not have proposed his resolution.

Mr. Hugh Birley seconded the resolution, and is reported to have said “that the main point at issue lay in the assertion of the legal powers to be given to the inhabitants, and it was upon this point that he supported the motion. Although he did not desire to take away the powers of licensing from the magistrates, he thought it was exceedingly inconvenient, and even unjust, if the inhabitants of a locality were not allowed to influence them in granting the licenses by memorial or remonstrance.”

In the subsequent debate, Mr. W. E. Forster made the following statement:—“I am one of those who have always been opposed to the Permissive Bill. I have never voted for it. I have voted twice in this Parliament against it, and yet I support this resolution.” I may be excused if I quote a few more of Mr. Forster’s weighty sentences:—“It has always seemed to me that the Bill of the honourable baronet, the Member for Carlisle, contained two principles: one the principle of absolute prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor, in which I do not agree with him, and the other the principle of giving power to the inhabitants over the sale, in which I do agree. I will not detain the House at any length with my reasons for not agreeing to the principle of absolute prohibition. They are simply three, and I can state them in three sentences. First, I do not think it would be just to make a general law to prevent the innocent use of an article because some had abused it. Next, I think it would be still less just to entrust such a power to a local majority. I think, also, that the power given to a local majority merely to choose between enforcing or withdrawing this prohibition, would not be a practical remedy for the evil.” This third objection of Mr. Forster’s shows that something more than the Permissive Bill is indispensably necessary in any adequate licensing

scheme. It would never do, supposing the Permissive Bill were to become law, that communities which voted for the existence of public-houses should be left helpless under the blight of the present excessive number of drink-shops; and accordingly, while Sir Wilfrid Lawson affirms the principle of permissive prohibition in his resolution, Mr. Forster supports it, as securing not only popular control over the issue of the license, but popular control over its use.

This, then, is the superiority of the "local option" resolution over the clauses of the Permissive Bill—namely, that it can command the assent of the President of the Alliance, and also of those who, like Mr. Forster, consider that the sale of drink should be under the control of local representative authorities. It is matter of the highest gratification that Mr. Birley, Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. Forster, and Mr. Bright all voted for the "local-option" resolution, and it must be felt by all friends of Temperance that the great principle of "popular control" now enjoys an amount of consideration it never had before. Under the demand for "local option," the country may be trained to have regard to its responsibility, and out of this may come a practical Licensing Law framed on a righteous basis. Granting that it is necessary in the interests of morality and temperance to restrict the sale of drink within very narrow limits, security should be taken that the monopoly occasioned by this restriction should be worked for the benefit of the State, and not of the individual; whilst the State, through its servants, should carry out the law, not for the profits of trade, but in the interests of Temperance.

Mr. Chamberlain's Scheme and the Gothenburg Plan.

But by far the most significant and important of the recommendations of the Lords' Committee is the first, viz:—

"That legislative facilities should be afforded for the local adoption of the Gothenburg and of Mr. Chamberlain's Schemes, or of some modification of them."

The Gothenburg Scheme is defined (see Clause 33 of the Report) as follows:—

"The transference to a limited liability company of the whole public-house traffic of a community—the company undertaking not to derive any profit from the business, or to allow any one acting under them to do so, but conducting the business solely in the interests of temperance and morality, and paying to the town treasury the whole profits beyond the ordinary rate of interest on paid-up capital."

Mr. Chamberlain's Scheme, as he placed it before the Town Council of Birmingham on the 15th November, 1876, is thus described:—

"That local representative authorities should be empowered to acquire, on payment of fair compensation, on a principle to be fixed by Parliament, all existing interests in the retail sale of intoxicating drinks within their respective districts; and thereafter, if they think fit, to carry on the trade for the convenience and on behalf of the inhabitants,

but so that no individual shall have any pecuniary interest in, or derive any profit from, the sale."

The Lords' Committee quote the views of Mr. Chamberlain, which lead him to give a preference, in the case of England, to his own scheme over that of the Gothenburg citizens. On one or two points I shall have to offer comments; but before doing so let me say that too much praise cannot be given to Mr. Chamberlain for the pains he has taken to ascertain all the facts connected with the formation of the Gothenburg Bolag, and the results of its working; and also for the industry and ability with which he has placed these before the English public. He has already gained for his own scheme considerable support. A resolution in favour of it was adopted by the Town Council of Birmingham, after a prolonged discussion, by 46 votes to 10. And the Birmingham Board of Guardians passed a resolution unanimously in favour of the plan. In the face of this hearty support from such a large community as Birmingham, it seems hardy to question Mr. Chamberlain's proposal as I am bound to do.

The point I take first seems to me a very important one. Mr. Chamberlain, when proposing his resolution to the Birmingham Town Council, indicated that by the phrase "local representative authorities" he meant the Town Councils of boroughs. Shall we in this way secure for the discharge of this responsible duty the selection of the most capable men in the whole community? No such security can thus be obtained. For it is plain, from the evidence taken by the Lords' Committee, that our Town Councils are too often under the influence of the drink trade; and what guarantee can there therefore be that any committee appointed by them would not be dominated by the same power? On the other hand, the ratepayers, upon the matter being specially put before them, may be trusted to elect right men, just as they generally have elected suitable representatives for School Boards. The Town Council of Birmingham may be free from the domination of the drink trade, and if so the community there is to be congratulated; but there is abundance of proof that it is otherwise in many large towns of England, in which it is undeniable that municipal affairs are largely controlled by persons who favour the drink interest. In these places it would be ruinous to the interests of morality and sobriety if the trade of selling intoxicating drink were to be administered by a committee of the Town Council. I feel certain that unless Mr. Chamberlain so modifies his scheme as to put the whole local control of the drink traffic under the charge of Licensing Boards, elected for the purpose, his valuable proposals, however popular they may be in Birmingham, will fail to gain general acceptance throughout the country. There is a special reason why the above modification may be urged on his notice with great earnestness. In Sweden the success of the Gothenburg system is no doubt largely owing to the fact that the citizens who conduct the drink trade consist of men who give guarantees for their good faith

and patriotic purpose, by undertaking pecuniary responsibilities on behalf of the community, without receiving any personal advantages whatever in the shape of profit. There would be no such guarantee as this in England. Accordingly, the fullest opportunity ought to be afforded for the selection of approved men.

Another of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals appears to me equally open to objection—namely, that license holders should, in case of an alteration of the law, be compensated, and that at the expense of the ratepayers of the district. I contend that the publicans have no more right to compensation for a change and improvement in the law, than the landlord had when the Corn Laws were abolished, or the shipowners when the Navigation Laws were repealed. But, if this claim is to be admitted, then I say that the compensation should be at the expense of the National Exchequer, which has benefited, and not at the cost of those who have already been heavy sufferers by the excess of Government licenses.

IV.

The United Kingdom Alliance has undoubtedly gained strength from urging the fact that while the selling of intoxicating drink is attended with great danger, and requires to be most carefully conducted, the trust which publicans undertook, when obtaining their licenses, has not been respected, but has come to be totally disregarded if not indeed repudiated.

I have before me the Report of the Town Clerk of Liverpool on "The Compulsory Taking of Public-houses" dated October, 1878. I quote a paragraph from page 5 of this Report:—

"In endeavouring to arrive at a correct interpretation of the Act of 1828 (9 Geo. IV., cap. 61), it is necessary to bear in mind the period at which it was enacted, to have regard to the circumstances of the whole country, and not of any particular town, and to remember that it was passed to regulate the licensing of 'Inns' (*i.e.*, as Johnson's Dictionary defines the word, houses of entertainment for travellers), 'Alehouses, and Victualling houses' (Sec. 1), which at that time were of a different class from most of the public-houses now built in large towns."

That is to say, every public-house is licensed on the plea of its being a house for the entertainment of travellers or of neighbours; in other words, for the purpose of supplying food as well as drink, or of being an Ale-house. But I contend that these licensed houses have become places of an entirely different character from what was originally meant by the Legislature—that respectable inns have been transformed into gin-palaces, and that licenses are used to maintain the existence of drinking-houses pure and simple, which are places wholly unlike the houses known to the Parliament which passed the License Act, and which have never gained the approval of the magistrates who under that Act granted the licenses. Accordingly, the supporters of the United Kingdom Alliance ask the Legislature that, by a Permissive Prohibitory Bill or in any better form, the inhabitants in each district shall have a veto on the

existence of such houses, seeing that they no longer fulfil the purposes for which their licenses were granted.

In other words, the friends of the Alliance allege that the publicans have broken their contract with the State. Publicans, as a rule, supply no food to the frequenters of their houses but only drink, and supply drink in such quantities that the health and welfare of the citizens are injured. The promotion of the moral and material welfare of the community, and the good order and happiness of all classes, being the ends towards which all legislation is directed, it is urged by the supporters of the Alliance that no place ought to be allowed to exist under a Government license which notoriously contravenes these purposes. This is how they regard the case, and it is easy to see that even if the Bishop of Peterborough were to succeed in showing that the country is not ripe for permissive prohibition, the complaint against the existence of the present class of public-houses is not met. The Lords' Committee, let me add, do not even propose an efficient inspection of public-houses, nor the adoption of any means for vindicating the sanctions of the law, which is broken by publicans every day in hundreds of instances without any attempt being made to bring home guilt to the offenders.

Since the period when 9 George IV. was passed, a complete change has taken place in the system under which alcoholic drinks are retailed to the people, while no attempt has been made to follow this change by adequate control. The public-houses have now, as a rule, passed into the hands of the large brewers, who use them as channels of distribution for their beer; hence an enormous and unhealthy competition both in the strength of the beer and in the "long-pull" measure, whereby drunkenness is so greatly fostered. This great immorality, therefore, must more and more be laid to the charge of men who, possessed of ample means, are received with distinction in society and obtain seats in Parliament. "Mine host" of the inn, so far as large towns are concerned, is a character of the past. His house has probably been transformed into a flaming gin-palace, owned by or mortgaged to some wealthy brewer. The change has been silently made, and has been accepted by magistrates and by people, as involving no breach of the letter of the law; but no such infraction of it could have been possible had our license law been properly framed.

v.

It can scarcely escape observation that very little is made in the Report of the Lords' Committee of the testimony given in favour of transferring the licensing authority to Boards elected for the purpose. The License Boards' Bill of Mr. Cowen, M.P., is reviewed, and the want of a confirming authority in any of its clauses is referred to. The Committee state their opinion that, so far as the issue of fresh licenses is concerned, there is no reason to suppose that such

a Board would discharge its duties more efficiently than do the Justices, controlled as these have been since the Act of 1872 by the confirming authority. The strife that would be caused at the elections of the Boards is also alluded to, as is the objection that it would add another to the numerous Boards already in existence. For these reasons, principally, the Committee do not recommend the substitution of such elected local boards for the present licensing authorities. But the argument against the principle of the existing license law, viz., "Magisterial discretion," is not met by the Committee. It is well known that public-houses as they are at present conducted are to a large extent nurseries of immorality and crime. Surely it is not the province of magistrates, whose true function is the punishment of evil-doers and the protection of well-doers, to be the fosterers of these nurseries. Magistrates are thus led to occupy the invidious position of judging and condemning criminals who fall into the traps and temptations which they themselves have placed in their way.

The evidence of Canon Ellison, of the Church of England Temperance Society, in favour of Licensing Boards, is not expressly referred to in the Report; I, however, think it well to reproduce the substance of it here. The Canon's theses are (see question 8773):—

1. The liquor traffic cannot properly be prohibited.
2. It is the duty of the State to regulate and control it.
3. That as the liquor traffic must necessarily be a monopoly, the State should see that the license to sell should be disposed of for its fair trade value.
4. Inasmuch as the sale is said to be for the accommodation of the people of any locality, and as upon the people the hurtful consequences of any excessive or improper sale must eventually fall, the people of that locality should have a potential voice in defining the limits of the traffic, and in regulating it within these limits.

A Bill, embodying these heads, was prepared by the Church of England Temperance Society in 1871-72, and was introduced into the House of Commons; it, however, never came to a second reading. One of its proposals, directly bearing on this part of our inquiry, was that the issue of licenses should be limited to "Licensing Boards" to be elected by the people; an essential point being that if these Local Boards are elected, they should be elected *ad hoc* especially.

As an indispensable preliminary to all license reform, I believe a change in the licensing authority must be made, transferring it from the Magistrates to Boards expressly chosen for that purpose by the ratepayers. A striking testimony to the existence of a popular feeling to this effect was given at a private conference held in Liverpool in January last, attended by all the Liverpool witnesses who gave evidence before the Lords' Committee, and by a number of the magistrates and citizens. The meeting included representatives of very different views, ranging from "Free Licensing," on the one hand, to "The Permissive Bill," on the

other. At the termination of the discussion it was found that, of the twenty persons who formed the Conference, seventeen expressed themselves in favour of a transfer of the licensing authority to Licensing Boards.

But Licensing Boards would only be one part of the foundation for a right license law. Another indispensable provision would be the control by Government of the action of local Licensing Boards in the interests of morality and public order. It might happen that in some districts the state of public opinion was so degraded that the Boards, if unfettered, would vote even for increased facilities for drinking. To meet this risk a confirming authority ought to be established, which might consist of, say, three or more License Commissioners, to be appointed by the Home Secretary. These License Commissioners, like the Commissioners of Customs or of Excise, would require to be persons of experience and responsibility, capable of organizing, and able to take a part in reducing our drinking system within such limits as to be safe for the State and beneficial to the individual. I contend that Imperial control is just as necessary in any system of license law as Local control, and that no permanent method of licensing should exist which does not contemplate that the monopoly for the sale of drink shall remain with the State and be controlled by its officers, while the inhabitants shall also have efficient powers for reducing temptation, and every other abuse, to a minimum.

It must be distinctly provided that the local licensing authority shall be able to diminish the number of public-houses up to the point of extermination, and that the Imperial authority shall be empowered to confirm, but not to increase, the number of houses proposed by the Licensing Boards. To secure this may involve a severe struggle, but no other solution could be accepted as satisfactory. Just as the magistrates have a confirming authority but no power to grant licenses, so must it be rendered clear that the Imperial Commissioners shall have no power to grant licenses beyond those recommended by the License Boards. These Commissioners, and not any Magisterial Committee, should be the confirming authority.

The Lords' Committee (see paragraph 37) propose that in the event of the formation of County Boards, or a Local Board with an extensive area, the licensing of public-houses should be entrusted to them. This I consider to be wholly inadmissible. I have already pointed out how completely the drink interest has "captured" many existing Town Councils, and a widening of this catastrophe in the counties must be guarded against, by securing that the election of persons to regulate the sale of drink shall be kept clear of all other issues.

License Boards, like School Boards, should be elected by the rate-payers for three years.

It may be asked, what are the powers intended to be given to the License Boards? And as a suggestion on this important subject I venture

to place on record the following as fairly coming within the scope of such Boards :—

I. The Act 9 George IV. grants the license to Inns, Ale-houses, and Victualling-houses. It shall be the duty of Licensing Boards to see that all persons licensed under their authority shall provide Victuals as well as Drink in their houses.

II. Parliament having fixed the maximum hours during which Public-houses are to remain open, Boards shall be empowered to give effect to the wishes of the ratepayers, duly expressed, in favour of further shortening the hours.

III. The Licensing Boards shall control the structural arrangements of all licensed houses.

IV. The inspection of all Licensed Houses shall be maintained by the Licensing Boards, through an adequate staff of public-house inspectors. The payment of these to be a first charge upon the fund derived from the letting of licenses.

V. In order to prevent the retail selling of alcoholic liquors to excess, the Boards shall be empowered to contract with Companies, who shall engage to conduct the houses according to law, and to devote the profits from retail selling, not to their individual advantage, but as contributions to the National Exchequer.

VI. The licenses to be issued by the Licensing Boards shall be for, say, three years, and be confirmed by an Imperial authority (say, three or more Commissioners of Licenses, to be appointed by the Home Secretary), and shall be disposed of by public tender, sureties being taken for the fulfilment of the law.

VII. Existing licenses shall after ——— years (the term to be fixed by Parliament) lapse and determine.

Under a new license law, the reciprocal duties of License Boards and licensees ought to be left simply as matter for contract, the magistrate being appealed to for securing the due performance, in case of need, of the conditions agreed to.

Amongst the provisions to be secured under License Boards, I would specially allude to that of the inspection of public-houses by an efficient force of inspectors, and for which I have stipulated under the above Clause IV. It is extraordinary that the Lords' Committee pass by this subject in their Report almost unnoticed, although so much evidence exists that scandalous infractions of the law now occur in public-houses and go unpunished. According to the evidence of Superintendent Turner, of the East of London (see question 6431), four out of every five persons in his district taken up as drunk and disorderly get drunk in public-houses. In other large towns I should imagine the proportion was even greater, and yet convictions against publicans for "permitting drunkenness" are extremely infrequent. The reason for this it is not difficult to explain. In Liverpool (and in all large towns I conclude

it is the same) the ordinary police constable is specially instructed not to enter public-houses unless called in to quell a disturbance, and thus the publican may supply a customer with drink far beyond what is needed for refreshment, and even to the extent of allowing the person to become drunk, without there being any means of detection or of bringing the law to bear against him. If the constable can only see the drunken person AFTER he has left the public-house, the chance of obtaining evidence against the publican for "permitting drunkenness" is gone, and thus, as matters now are, the provisions of the law for insuring sobriety and good order are rendered unavailing.

Under Clause V. provision would be made for conducting public-houses according to the Gothenburg plan—viz., by Companies, which should not realize from the sale of spirits individual profit either to the shareholders, the managers, or the employés.

Under Clause VI. the number of licenses would be fixed triennially by the License Boards, subject to confirmation by the Imperial Commissioners, and these licenses would be offered for competition by public tender. The sums accruing from the lettings, after deduction of expenses for police inspection and other charges, would be remitted by the License Boards to the national exchequer.

VI.

I might go on to discuss the subject of the taxation recommended by the Lords' Committee to be imposed on public-houses, and also the question of the taxation levied on beer. This taxation, as indeed all taxes, ought to be arranged in the interests of temperance and morality, and not be fixed merely with a view to increasing the revenue. The paltriness of the tax on the alcohol in beer as compared with the tax on the alcohol in spirits is a great anomaly, and, I will even say, a great wrong, so far as the general public interest is concerned. But the discussion of that part of the subject must be reserved.

I will here summarise the views put forward in the remarks above offered :—

I believe that the reform of our license law has become a subject of pressing national necessity, and I hold that the basis of license law ought not to be "free trade" in licenses, nor "magisterial discretion," which have, on the clearest evidence, proved great failures, but it should be the principle of "local and imperial control," exercised both over the issue and the subsequent use of the license. Whether I consider the question in the light of first principles, or whether I examine the defects of the present license system, or look at the underlying principle of the Gothenburg plan recommended so strongly by the Lords' Committee, I am led to condemn the present state of things.

I further consider it fully established, that the number of public-houses now in existence is great beyond endurance; that they are not what they were licensed to be—viz., places where people can obtain reasonable

and necessary refreshment in the shape of food as well as drink ; and that the mistakes formerly made by magistrates under a bad licensing law are being perpetuated, through the denial to the community of any power to control their own affairs.

Great benefits and blessings may be secured under a new License Law based on right principles. To the consideration of what I believe to be such, this paper has been devoted ; and I shall be thankful indeed if I have been able to throw any light on a subject of acknowledged difficulty, the just settlement of which is of vital concern to the material, moral, and spiritual interests of the people of this country.

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Postscript.—Since this article was written, the debate on the second reading of Mr. Stevenson's Bill for the Sunday closing of public-houses in England has taken place, and with results of an unexpectedly favourable character. Last year mutterings "loud and deep" were heard in the House, as to the consequences likely to ensue were such a Bill as the Irish Sunday Closing Act proposed for England. The debate referred to brought to light the gratifying fact that the ripening of public opinion in the provincial towns in England is being reflected in the House of Commons, and that a large number of members now think that the increasing public desire for Sunday closing should be met.

The Government was induced to offer the compromise of granting the recommendations of the Lords' Committee. These are as follows :—

"That on Sundays licensed houses in the Metropolis should be open from 1 to 3 P.M. for consumption 'off' the premises only, and for consumption 'on' the premises from 7 to 11 P.M. That in other places in England they should be open from 12.30 to 2.30 P.M., for consumption 'off' the premises only, and for consumption 'on' the premises from 7 to 10 P.M. in populous places, and from 7 to 9 P.M. in other places."

Mr. Stevenson indicated a readiness to meet the Government to the extent of allowing the "off" trade, but on no account to allow sale for drinking "on" the premises. At the same time it was felt that, for the present, it might be well to exclude the London district from the operation of the Bill.

The division was taken on the question of the adjournment of the debate, which was carried by the small majority of three—namely, 165 against 162. No opportunity was afforded of testing the opinion of the House for or against the Bill itself. Meanwhile the friends of temperance may well take courage and renew their efforts, with the determination that these shall not be relaxed until entire Sunday closing in England is attained.

A. B.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN FRANCE.

PARIS, July 16th, 1879.

SUMMARY.—*Politics*: The Blanqui Election—The Ferry Laws—Projects of Reform—Revision of the Custom-house Tariffs—Return of the Chambers to Paris—Death of the Prince Imperial—M. Ollivier and M. Thiers. *Science*: M. Pasteur and M. Berthelot—M. de Lesseps and the Inter-oceanic Canal. *Travels*: MM. de Semellé, Debaize, Vivien de St. Martin, de Rochechouart, Dubard, de Turenne. *Literature*: "Théophile Gautier," by E. Bergerat—"Sainte-Beuve et ses Inconnues," by M. Pons—The manifestoes of M. Zola—"Poésies," by Sully Prudhomme—"La Vie meilleure," by Ch. de Pomairols—Jean Aicard—"Les Sophistes grecs et les Sophistes contemporains," by M. Funck-Brentano—"Etudes sur l'Histoire religieuse de la France," by M. Rosières—"La Saint-Barthélemy et la Critique moderne," by H. Bordier—"Les Convulsions de Paris," by Maxime du Camp—"Jacques Vingtras," by Jules Vallès. *Fine Arts*: The Impressionists—the Water-colour Painters—The "Vie Moderne"—The Salon. *Painting*: MM. Bonnat, Duran, Gaillard, Breton, Bastien Lepage, Billel, Butin, Courant, Duez, Merson, Henner, Lefèvre, Laurens, Flameng, Herkommer. *Sculpture*: MM. Saint-Marceaux, Mercié, Falguière, Schenewerk. *Music and the Drama*: M. Vaucorbell, Director of the Opera—"Lohengrin" in Paris—"L'Étincelle," by M. Pailleron—The Ball of "L'Assommoir"—The Fête at the Opera.

IT is not easy to organize a new Government with partisans who blame you for slowness and hesitation, and opponents who misconstrue your intentions, and slander your actions. When, moreover, the Ministry, as in the present case, instead of a homogeneous majority with a settled programme, represents a majority born of exceptional circumstances, and composed of elements so different from each other as to be antagonistic, the difficulties become all but insurmountable. Questions arise, all at the same moment, to solve which is as dangerous as to leave them unsolved. Hurry and delay are equally inexpedient.

The misfortune of the present Ministry was its not having, nor being able to have, a programme drawn up in advance. Its members are honourable, intelligent, and moderate men, perfectly capable under other circumstances of forming a good Government, but it has led a hand-to-mouth existence hitherto, a prey to the incidents of the moment, and if it has extricated itself from its difficulties with moderate pains it is owing to a kind of general goodwill shown it by the Republican majority, which always just stops short of committing any very great blunder. The two triumphs of the Cabinet, on the Amnesty question and the Impeachment of the Ministers of May 16, were far from establishing it on a firmer footing. Some considered it bold, others lukewarm. The Left Centre accused it of favouring the Radicals, who in their turn

declared it unworthy of their confidence ; and its dissolution and the names of its successors were talked of on all sides. The Bordeaux election rendered its position critical to the last degree. Whilst M. André Lavertujon represented the Moderate party, and took his stand as a partisan of the Ministry, the two candidates of the more advanced party were its avowed antagonists, and withdrew at the second ballot in favour of the Revolutionary candidate, M. Blanqui. Although still in prison on account of the part he played in the insurrection of October 31, 1870, and therefore ineligible, he succeeded, owing to the acknowledged alliance of the Bonapartist and Legitimist electors, in obtaining a majority. By a large section of the Republican press quite as much animosity was shown on this occasion towards the Ministry chosen by a majority in the Chambers as could have been shown towards a reactionary Ministry. It was called upon in almost denunciatory terms to amnesty M. Blanqui, and informed that, though ineligible, his election would be rendered valid ; whilst M. Clémenceau, in a violent speech at the Cirque Fernando, drew up a deed of accusation against the Ministry, and announced its fall. This was too much. The majority in the Chamber was obliged to look the facts in the face, to ask themselves whether they intended to be led by M. Clémenceau, and whether it was possible to form a Cabinet with members of the Extreme Left. M. Blanqui was invalidated ; the Ministry, for once energetic, pardoned without amnestying him, and on his release from prison, the old conspirator found few disposed to hail him once again as a candidate for the deputyship.

Had the Ministry known that they would come out victorious and strengthened from this delicate crisis, they would perhaps not have allowed M. Jules Ferry, a few weeks before, to bring forward his scheme for laws destined to become a brand of discord to the country, and even to the Republican majority, and whose only *raison d'être* at first sight seemed to be to assert the Ministry's anti-clerical zeal, and to win the sympathy of the Extreme Left. There is, however, but one point in these Bills which is the cause of all the disturbance ; the famous Clause 7 of the law relating to higher education. With that exception, the measures proposed are excellent, and calculated to meet with the approval of every reasonable being. One of these Bills requires that all elementary teachers, male and female, should hold a diploma, and abolishes "the letters of obedience," whereby the bishops could confer the right of teaching on members of religious bodies not holding diplomas ; another remodels the Supreme Council of Public Education, by eliminating from it magistrates, prelates, and generals, who had no business there whatever, and requiring it to consist exclusively of professors and representatives of educational bodies. The third restores the power of conferring University degrees to the State, and abolishes the mixed juries established by the law of 1875, which

authorized members of the Catholic Universities to pass their examinations before juries, consisting in part of State Professors, in part of Professors of the Catholic Universities. Into this law, which relates entirely to questions of higher education, M. J. Ferry has introduced a clause (Clause 7) which has no reference to higher education, prohibiting all members of unauthorized religious bodies from directing or teaching in public educational establishments. This clause is aimed directly at the secondary schools kept by the Jesuits, Dominicans, Marists, &c. &c., whose scholars number at present 60,000. The advocates of this interdiction maintain, not without cause, that the teaching in these establishments is inimical to our existing institutions and to the modern spirit in general; that the associations by which they are directed are dependent on a foreign head, and place the interests of the Church above those of the country; lastly, that positive laws exist which prohibit their residence in France, and that therefore to deprive them of the right of teaching only without driving them from the Republican territory is to treat them with indulgence. But the opponents of this interdiction reply with great force that the law of 1850 granting liberty of secondary instruction was passed in favour precisely of these religious bodies; that they have been tolerated in France for the last half century, and have thus acquired prescriptive rights; that it is barbarous to turn thousands of children, whom the State has no room for in its schools and colleges, into the streets; that the Government should act with frankness and consistency, suppress the unauthorized religious bodies if they be really a danger to the State, and if not, leave them the freedom enjoyed by all its other subjects; that, moreover, Clause 7 is quite out of place in a law relating to higher education; and that, finally, when there are so many points on which all sensible men are agreed that the influence of the clergy might be combated, it is absurd to raise a question on which the Liberals are so divided. And this is the most serious objection that can be raised to M. Ferry's law. It has uselessly excited numbers against the Republic who were nowise hostile to it, but who, for one reason or another, had their children educated by the Jesuits or the Dominicans; it has furnished the enemies of the Republic with an excellent battle-field where they take their ground as champions of the rights of conscience, and are joined by a herd of Liberals and Republicans. The petitions set on foot by the clericals show 1,500,000 signatures, and the Ferry laws have no doubt been the cause of the election of two Bonapartists in Paris and Muret. I consider that M. Ferry has uselessly provoked this raising of bucklers, for nothing is easier than for the members of unauthorized religious bodies to get the Pope's permission to lay aside their order and become simple priests against whom there is no course open; moreover, if persecuted, public opinion is excited in their favour, and their most ardent wishes are anticipated. There were a thou-

sand ways of fighting the clergy efficaciously and legally, of correcting inveterate injustices. Let priests who have laid aside their vows be allowed to marry; let religious instruction no longer be obligatory in the lycées, colleges, and schools; let the law of 1875 which threatens to become a scourge to France be reconsidered; let a really national system of higher education be established to which all who intend to follow the liberal professions must be subject; let the exemption from military service now granted to the clergy and all members of religious orders be done away with—and so many death-blows will have been dealt at the Church's influence without any risk of the Government being led into persecutions, or arousing the protests of conscience. Let us go further, if it is thought necessary, and make a law relative to all associations, prohibitive, as in Germany and Italy, of religious orders generally; they will have many Liberals against them, but will at least not incur the odium of a law of exception, whereby a particular class is denied the rights granted to all. Clause 7 of the Ferry law is as impolitic as it is unjust. The thorough discussion the subject met with in the Chamber of Deputies was very conclusive. The remarkable speeches of MM. Ferry, Spuller, Deschanel, and Paul Bert incontestably proved what was already well known, that the Jesuits are animated by a detestable spirit, but not that any one class can for that reason be put beyond the pale of the law; and MM. Lamy, Ribot, and Bardoux have had a grand opportunity of upholding the citizen's right to liberty and equality before the law. They were able, in support of their thesis, to invoke the opinion of two very different men, M. Thiers and M. Ledru-Rollin, both of them advocates of liberty of instruction, one from a conservative, the other from a radical spirit. It is to be hoped that Clause 7, dangerous as it is to public peace, will be amended in the Senate, and that the question of unauthorized religious bodies will be postponed until such time as the right of free association comes into full consideration. It is to be hoped, also, that M. Ferry should accept this solution and not make it a Cabinet question, for it is as undesirable that the law should be passed from personal considerations as that the department of Public Instruction should lose so able, active, and energetic a Minister.

The unfortunate disturbances and lengthy discussions occasioned by Clause 7, have delayed the solution of questions of far more immediate interest: the organization of the secondary education of girls, the reduction of the term of military service from five to three years, and the abolition of the voluntary service of one year, in favour of examinations enabling young men who are sufficiently well-informed and trained to leave the army after one year's service; the important reform of the law courts proposed by M. Le Royer, whereby the judicial staff, hitherto so large as to be one of the curses of French society, will be reduced by one-half; the reorganization of the Council of State and the Préfecture de Police, both so urgently necessary;

and finally the fixing of the custom-house tariffs and the conclusion of the commercial treaties. The last question is one of the most delicate of all, for upon it the fortune of the nation depends. Although less affected than other nations by the industrial and commercial crisis Europe has been labouring under since 1875, consequent upon the war in the East, the famines in China, and the establishment of the protective system in the United States, France has still suffered greatly from it. The cotton, silk, iron, and coal industries have been seriously injured just when the ravages of the phylloxera were dealing a mortal blow to the wine trade—that of all others in France which benefited most by commercial freedom. In face of incontrovertible facts like these, the revision of our system of international commerce became an imperative necessity, and the theory of free-trade lost many partisans.

The new economical laws passed by the German Parliament have further thinned their ranks, for by a *leonine* clause of the Treaty of Frankfort, France gives to Germany the benefit of the most favoured-nation clause without reciprocal advantage; so that should France at any time enter into a treaty of commerce with any other nation whatsoever on free-trade principles, she will by so doing give free admission to German manufactures, whilst her own are vigorously excluded from Germany. In spite of these unfavourable conditions, in spite of the number and influence of the adversaries of free-trade, the advantages France has reaped from the commercial treaties concluded by Napoleon III. have been too great for her entirely to give up a system which encourages her producers to new efforts after improvement, which prevents the artificial development of industries not likely to prove remunerative, which promotes the trade in articles of luxury, more especially the lesser manufactures of Paris, whose prosperity is of such immense political importance, and is finally a system of peace, of international progress and general harmony, in keeping with the genius and present attitude of France, more than ever desirous as she is of making friends and allies now that victorious Germany is shutting herself up in her suspicious and jealous egoism. Nor is it surprising that a powerful association should have been formed for the defence of commercial freedom, headed by MM. Ad. d'Eichthal, Michel Chevalier, Jules Simon, Leroy-Beaulieu, Raoul Duval, which, by conferences, meetings, and banquets, held throughout the country, is creating an agitation in favour of the treaties of commerce. M. de Broglie himself has taken part in these debates by publishing a posthumous pamphlet of his father's, "*Vues sur le libre Échange*" (Lévy), in which we recognise the breadth and elevation of ideas habitual to Duke Victor. The Ministry, and M. Tirard, the Minister of Commerce, especially, is in favour of these treaties, but until now they have prorogued them from year to year without finding leisure to revise them, as it is very desirable they should. Meanwhile the sufferings are very great, and should the matter not soon be set right it might affect the popularity of the Republican Government.

In spite of these dark sides to the picture, the Government feels itself

strong and confident of public peace, seeing it has summoned the Chambers to return to Paris, and that the Senate, first hostile to the step, has consented. Versailles will continue to be the occasional residence of the Chambers, especially when the Congresses meet, but the Senate has not even reserved the right of returning thither in case of disturbance. The readiness with which the Senators, though men of weight, voted for the change, refusing even to contemplate the possibility of an insurrection or a *coup d'état*, shows a certain degree of recklessness and a naïf optimism. Their memory seems somewhat short and their confidence rather too ready. They forget how inflammable Paris is; how quickly curiosity grows into a mob, and a mob into an insurrection; how quickly sound carries and spreads there; whereas at Versailles everything was subdued by distance and calm. In Paris decisions run the risk of being taken from sudden impulse, or in consequence of a reaction; in Versailles reflection had the upper hand, not to mention that the journey thither threw the members of the different parties together, and engendered, owing to its very tedium, a kind of fellowship between them, the effects of which made themselves apparent in their politics. The return of the Chambers to Paris is evidently attended with great advantages as far as the prompt execution of business is concerned, but whatever may happen the Republicans ought to cherish a feeling of lasting gratitude to Versailles. Certain it is that had the Chambers been resident in Paris during these years of continual crisis the Republic would have perished ten times over, a prey either to an insurrection or a *coup d'état*. It owes its life to the city and palace of Louis XIV. Strange irony of history, co-equal to that which decreed that the new Empire of Germany should be proclaimed in the *salons* of the Sun-King, the conqueror of Alsace!

The Government has, however, been wise enough not to make the residence of the Chambers in Paris a constitutional necessity. Their place of meeting is to be decided in future by law, and should Paris become uninhabitable for them, nothing will prevent their going back to their rural retreat.

A big cloud has just vanished from the horizon of the young Republic through the sudden catastrophe which has put an end to the life of Prince Eugène Napoleon. His death took place at the moment when both in the Chamber of Deputies and in the daily press the Bonapartist party had been giving way to the most scandalous excesses, worthy in every respect of drunken Zulus. It had made itself jointly and severally answerable for M. Paul de Cassagnac, who, by his abusive language from the tribune as well as in his organ, the *Pays*, seems to have made it his aim to render Bonapartism odious to every man of good feeling and taste. The death of the Prince Imperial has roughly recalled them to calmness and modesty. Under any circumstance the stroke is a heavy one, for it is difficult for a party dependent not upon the principle of legitimacy

and divine right, but on a personal object and on popular enthusiasm, to change its pretender, especially when the heir of the Bonapartists' hopes has broken, as Prince Jérôme Napoleon has done, with all the views of his party, and allied himself with those who have proclaimed the downfall of his race. For the Bonapartists to choose another pretender would be to call a private *plébiscite*, and cover themselves with ridicule. The mention of Prince Victor in the Prince Imperial's will does not lessen the absurdity of such a proceeding. For the moment, therefore, the Bonapartist party is rendered impotent, and destined to break itself up amongst the other parties. For the moment I say, for beneath the militant and official Bonapartist party which desired the advent of Napoleon III.'s son there lurks a latent, virtual Imperialist party, that constitutes the abiding danger of every centralized democracy, and which will be ready, should the occasion serve, to proclaim an Emperor, whether a Bonaparte or not. Every democratic country which does not succeed in establishing a free and peaceful Government is condemned to a military dictatorship, the only *régime* that reconciles the aspirations after equality with the desire for order and peace.

The Republican party received the news of the Prince Imperial's death with the mixture of indifference and sympathetic respect natural to a party conscious of its strength, in presence of a tragic destiny, the last act of the Nemesis attached to the fortunes of Napoleon III., and due to the profound grief of a mother for whom every heart of man is filled with compassion. I must, however, add, that could anything moderate this noble sentiment of compassion, it would have been the exaggerated manifestations of sympathy testified to the Prince's memory in England—a sympathy apparently addressed to the pretender quite as much as to the soldier. People here, particularly, could not understand that the highest person in the land, next to the Queen, should publicly allude to the hypothesis of the Prince's becoming Emperor, and appear to regret that that hypothesis now is unrealizable. French public feeling was wounded by these words, and, putting them and the English Ministry's unfriendly behaviour with regard to Greek and Egyptian affairs together, the nation was hurt to find how little it could count on a Government whom it had come to regard as its friend and ally.

The death of the Prince Imperial was all but simultaneous with the reception of M. Henri Martin at the French Academy, the right of replying to whom devolved on the man who has become the living personification of the disasters of 1870—namely, M. Emile Ollivier. Owing, however, to the conceited obstinacy with which he refused to modify his speech, the Academy was obliged to deprive him of his right, and entrust the office to M. Marmier. The publication of M. Ollivier's speech fully justified the course the Academy had taken. To allow the Minister "*au cœur léger*" to read the statesman, whose services are still fresh in the memory of every Frenchman, a lesson in patriotism, and extol the policy that has cost

us two provinces, would have been gratuitously to provoke a storm; but M. Emile Ollivier, who, in his book, "*L'Eglise et l'Etat au Concile du Vatican*" (Garnier), has just proclaimed himself the champion of Papal infallibility, and of his own at the same time, was incapable of feeling these improprieties. In spite of the charming things contained in his speech on M. Thiers as the historian and orator, he has failed to give us a vivid portrait of that wonderful compound of contradictions, who was at once a liberal and reactionary, a revolutionist and an upholder of authority; who, whilst imbued with narrow and antiquated views at times, owing to his suppleness, vivacity, and variableness, seemed to be large-minded; who was eloquent by reason of wit and clearness, passionately fond of all intellectual pursuits, art, literature, philosophy, science—but wanting in elevation and originality; devoted to strategy, though denied by Nature the requisite figure for a uniform; a great man in spite of all his littlenesses and faults, by reason of his industry and patriotism. His *Collected Speeches*—of which the first three volumes (C. Lévy) have just appeared—enable us to follow all the fluctuations of this lively mind, which, with three or four ideas, and those mere common-places, expended a prodigious amount of power, and exercised an enormous influence over his fellow-citizens, of whose defects and qualities he was the faithful reflection.

It is curious to compare with M. Thiers' the oratory of Ledru-Rollin (Germer Baillière, 2 vols.), whose popularity, as we read his for the most part empty declamation, it is hard in these days to understand, but who, nevertheless, had momentary bursts of irresistible eloquence such as were unknown to M. Thiers, and endowed France with an institution more enduring than all the laws at which M. Thiers laboured—universal suffrage.

Whilst politics excite such hot and often fruitless debates, there are men who seem to live in a higher and more peaceful sphere, innocent of the party strifes going on around them, and given up to scientific research, or to vast enterprises for the good of mankind. Of such is the distinguished chemist and physiologist, Pasteur, who lately said: "There are those who think me not republican enough; nevertheless it is being truly republican to devote one's life to the public interest without requiring any salary." He is pursuing his investigations into the nature of infectious disorders with untiring energy, and will no doubt end in finding out the cause and remedy, as he did in the case of the vine and silkworm diseases. By publishing his answer to the somewhat rash observations M. Berthelot had made on the incomplete experiments of M. Claude Bernard in spontaneous generation, M. Pasteur has paid a splendid tribute to his deceased friend, and shown the close bond that can exist between two learned men who feel themselves brothers in genius. Conjointly with M. Pasteur, may be cited M. de Lesseps, who, spite of his age, far from considering himself entitled to repose by the success of his

great undertaking, the Suez Canal, is now throwing himself with all the zeal and enthusiasm of a young man into the project for an interoceanic canal, imparts his enthusiasm to others, has already collected millions for this new and yet more gigantic enterprise, and is himself going to America to study the ground and superintend the beginning of the works. In addition to which he finds time to help M. Roudaire in his preparatory studies for the canal destined to convert a part of the desert of Sahara into a lake.

The interest in great and distant undertakings such as these is daily increasing in France, voyages of discovery have become more frequent, and books of geography and descriptions of foreign lands attract the attention of an ever-growing circle of readers. M. de Semelli has just returned from his expedition to the Upper Niger; the Bishop of Algiers is sending band after band of missionaries across the Sahara into the heart of Africa; the Protestants are founding a missionary station on the upper course of the Zambesi; Abbé Debaize is successfully continuing his travels in the footsteps of Stanley and Cameron. M. Vivien de St. Martin's admirable "*Atlas of Ancient and Modern Geography*" (Hachette), and the simultaneous publication of a geographical dictionary, numbering already ten parts, records on exquisitely engraved maps the present extent of our geographical knowledge. Some travellers, like M. Rochechouart, in his volume on "*L'Inde, la Birmanie, la Malaisie, le Japon, les Etats Unis*" (Plon), content themselves with a rapid sketch of the outlines of the countries they visit; others go deeper into their manners and customs, like M. Dubard in his charming "*Séjour au Japon*" (Plon), in which the common every-day life of this attractive people is depicted with lively detail; whilst others again devote themselves to the profounder study of the laws, institutions, economical and social condition of the peoples. M. de Turenne's "*Quatorze Mois dans l'Amérique du Nord*" (Quantin) is one of the most remarkable books of the kind. No such serious work has appeared on the United States since the time of Tocqueville and Duvergier de Hauranne. Nor are our ladies behindhand in recording their travelling impressions; for instance the amiable anonymous writer of "*De Paris à Shanghai*" (Hachette), Madame Judith Gautier, without leaving Paris introduces us to the inhabitants of China, Siam, and Cochin China, under the name of "*Les Peuples Étranges*" (Charpentier), describing them not only with the touch of an artist enamoured of beautiful colour and grand and picturesque scenery, but with the pen of a scholar deeply imbued with the spirit and literature of the far East. Her sympathy and understanding for them seems inborn. In taste, in imagination, in her fatalism, in her calm and majestic beauty she is an Oriental. She is a true daughter of her father, that Theophile Gautier, who should have been born an Indian rajah, but whom fate made a Parisian artist, who was by vocation a poet and a novelist, but from necessity a journalist, and by reason of the want of harmony between

his tastes and his life, a Bohemian. M. E. Bergerat has just given us a portrait of him: "Théophile Gautier, entretiens, souvenirs et correspondance" (Charpentier), representing more especially the Gautier of later years, worn out but not changed by age, very much as M. de Goncourt, who knew him in his full maturity, has represented him in his preface. M. Bergerat cherishes the illusions of a son and a disciple for his master. He would like to make a kind of French Goethe of him, forgetting that Gautier lacked two small things: power of thought and wide human understanding. Goethe is one of the great representatives of humanity, Gautier is not even one of the great representatives of France; he is one of the most brilliant of a small group of literary men and artists. A writer of the highest order, if to be that all that is wanted is to be an admirable workman as to style, and if to deserve the distinction, it be not necessary to exercise an influence on men's minds; he has enriched and added colour to the French language, and has introduced, even to excess, the processes of painting into the art of description. A man of prodigious fertility of mind and vivid imagination he was not a thinker, as may be seen from his "Entretiens," recorded by M. Bergerat, which are little more than brilliant paradoxes and amusing freaks of fancy, such as artists and writers give vent to in the unrestrained atmosphere of the studio or the club. No one will accuse M. de Sainte-Beuve's new biographer, M. Pons, of undue respect and veneration. In "Sainte-Beuve et ses Inconnues" (Ollendorf) he shows us the great critic under more than one aspect which might with advantage have been left unnoticed. At the same time he gives us a quantity of valuable particulars concerning Sainte-Beuve's residence in Switzerland, his relations with Vinet, the great religious writer, and rather long poetical extracts, some really beautiful, from a lost volume of his, "Le Livre d'Amour."

It is impossible to read these works, consecrated to bygone literary epochs, without looking back with envy to a time when literature and criticism occupied such an important place in the interests of the cultivated classes: when every new book was an event; when men were ardent adherents of this or that school.

In these days we have, to be sure, our literary quarrels; we fight for or against the naturalistic school; but the works of that school have that serious drawback that they cannot for the most part be referred to in a woman's presence: nor are they discussed anywhere but in the papers, or amongst writers and artists, being of such a nature as to furnish only an instant's amusement rather than subjects for serious and suggestive thought.

Moreover, until now the naturalistic school, properly so-called, consists of a head only—M. Zola; for disciples like MM. Hennique and Huysmans, who discredit his theories by caricaturing his manner, and rivals like MM. Vast and Ricouard, who look upon realism merely as a means of attracting the attention of the idler, are not to be reckoned. M. Zola

is a man; he is not only a powerful and original novelist, but he labours with indefatigable zeal to propagate his ideas. He multiplies himself, so to speak; at once a dramatic, a literary, and an artistic critic, he legislates in all these domains with the same formulas, which he ends in getting others to adopt by the persistency and assurance with which he repeats them. He has even attempted to introduce naturalism into politics, and finally, in a great manifesto to "the young," which appeared in his "*Voltaire*," he celebrates with a certain kind of eloquence the scientific character of the present age, whilst criticizing, though in a narrow spirit yet with vigour, the false conceptions of V. Hugo's romanticism and M. Renan's philosophy. It is deplorable that a man of M. Zola's merit should likewise shut himself up in a narrow formula, should adopt the ungraceful attitude of a combatant, and consider himself obliged to have recourse to charlatanism to attract the multitude. He has talent enough to dispense with such petty means. Why, for instance, entitle a volume of literary criticism "*Mes Haines*" (Charpentier), when most of the articles are distinguished for their moderation and kindly feeling, and include a very acute and sympathetic study on MM. Erckmann and Chatrian, two novelists whom no one would have expected M. Zola to praise? M. Zola has even shown, in a series of excellent articles, his estimation of the poets, and speaks with great discrimination of M. Sully Prudhomme, the most remarkable poet of our generation, drawing attention to the fact of his representing quite a new tendency in French contemporary poetry, in that he draws his inspiration direct from the scientific and philosophical movement of the day. The third volume of his "*Poésies complètes*" (Lemerre), just published, contains the finest piece due to that inspiration, "*Le Zénith*." Every line reveals a spirit fed by the highest scientific speculations of the day, whence, like Lucretius from the system of Epicurus, it draws admirable flights of imagination and new poetical effects. By the side of M. Sully Prudhomme appears a new aspirant to poetical fame, M. Charles de Pomairols, whose verse in "*La Vie meilleure*" is likewise nourished by science and philosophy. Some of his pieces, such as "*Dieu dans la Nature*" and "*Le Combat de l'Esprit*," are worthy of being compared with the works of his master, and it is a pleasure to meet with a volume of verse which furnishes not only passing excitement for the imagination and the senses, but likewise food for the mind. Can any subject be more worthy of the poet than the vast dreams of metaphysic or the grand conceptions of modern science which go back to the mysterious origin of things, and investigate the inmost recesses of man's being? We question whether politics or history could prove a readier source of inspiration. In spite of his fertility and suppleness of mind, M. Emmanuel des Essarts has failed in imparting a sustained interest to his "*Poèmes de la Révolution*" (Charpentier). A man cannot have lyrical flights at will, nor can enthusiasm be divided into chapters like history. Power of a remarkable order is

needed to handle a subject like the Revolution; wanting that, it crushes instead of upholding you. Moreover, nothing is more difficult than to devote a whole volume of verse to one subject without letting your spirit flag and exhaust itself. M. Aicard, the young poet who was lately applauded in England for his fine prologue on Molière and Shakspeare and his clever piece "Williams," has lately done so with success in his "Poèmes de Provence" (Charpentier) and his "Chanson de l'Enfant" (Fischbacher), but then the subjects he chose were, in their infinite variety, such as to inspire and stir the heart of a poet in a thousand different ways; besides, Aicard is such a genuine Provençal, that with him to sing of Provence is to sing of himself; he has but to unlock his heart, and hymns to the southern skies, to the Mediterranean, to the beautiful mountains of the Esterel, pour forth. His style, moreover, unlike M. des Essarts', is pure and sober, though vivid and rich in colour; and he combines the most refined taste with genuine animation. His wonderful plastic power is seen in his poem "Miette et Noré," in which all his qualities have found their full development.

In the meantime, until our poets, guided by M. Zola's advice, shall have all become the interpreters of science, the public, it must be owned, lend a more willing ear to the scholar than to the poet. Even our philosophers hardly attract attention unless they be the fellow-workers or the disciples of the mathematician, the physiologist, or the physician. Psychology itself, after long laying claim to a proud independence, has put itself under the tutelage of the physiologists, and the science of the soul has come to be nothing more than a branch of the science of the brain. Nothing is more instructive in this respect than M. Ribot's book on "*La Psychologie allemande contemporaine*" (Germer Baillière), which is much more about physicians like Helmholtz, or physiologists like Wundt, than about philosophers properly so-called. Still, everybody is not agreed in applauding the line taken by contemporary philosophy, either by the English psychologist-logicians or by the German psychologist-physiologists. Not only do the adepts of traditional spiritualism energetically protest, but more liberal spirits even than they have expressed their distrust and unbelief. M. Frenck-Brentano, a paradoxical and ingenious spirit, to whom we owe a philosophical and historical essay entitled "*La Civilisation et ses Lois*," has just published the first volume of a work on "*Les Sophistes grecs et les Sophistes contemporains*" (Plon), in which he compares Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer with the sophists who preceded Plato and Aristotle. In his opinion the sophists' part is to try philosophical ideas by applying them at random to every form of knowledge and every theory, to turn them over on every side, and push them to every extreme. It must be added that the real object of philosophy in his eyes is neither metaphysic nor the inquiry into the end and origin of things, but the discovery of the laws of thought. It teaches how to think truly. Its only progress consists in the discovery of intellectual laws. After the coming of great

creative geniuses in philosophy, such as Bacon and Descartes, there come disciples who apply their principles, like Spinoza, Locke, and Leibnitz, and after them sophists who abuse, exaggerate, and misrepresent them. It is then only that the laws which have been discovered are clearly defined and circumscribed, then only that ground has really been gained, and new discoveries can be made. Whatever one may think of the theories and the opinions of M. Frenck, it is impossible to read this original work, which suggests thought and provokes contradiction, without profit.

There is nothing surprising in the everlasting ebb and flow of philosophy seeing that even in the domain of facts, in history, the same discussions renew themselves incessantly, and men cannot manage to agree in their mode of judging of an epoch or a fact. What, for instance, are we to think of the Middle Ages? Was it not the golden age of the Church? Are not even her enemies now obliged to recognise her beneficial influence, the great virtues she inspired, the services she has rendered to civilization? Auguste Comte, M. Littré, the men least to be suspected of indulgence towards Catholicism, have they not recognized her services? M. Raoul Rosières, in some very racy studies on "*L'Histoire Religieuse de la France*" (Laisny), pretends that this is all pure fancy, that the Church exercised no influence on the great achievements of the Middle Ages, that she did nothing either for art or study, or for the moral improvement of nations, being herself hostile to the arts, ignorant, and demoralized. Evidently M. Rosières is partial; he says himself that he wishes to "declericalize" history, the work he has therefore undertaken is a polemical one. And his book which, as a complete picture of facts, ought to be judged rather severely, is of considerable value, viewed merely as a refutation of the exaggerated apologies the Middle Ages have been the subject of. After reading Ozanam or Montalembert, a few pages of M. Rosières will prove a useful corrective.

Coming to a period in history nearer to our own, it seems as if it ought to be easier once for all to form decided judgments. This is not the case, however. M. Bordier has just published a most interesting pamphlet, "*La Saint-Barthélemy et la Critique moderne*" (Genève, Georg), in which he reopens the discussion of questions supposed to have been finally settled. Historians were agreed in denying that Charles IX. had shot at the Huguenots, August 24, 1572; M. Bordier shows that, in all probability, the King really did take part in the massacre. The view that the massacre was a long premeditated plot prepared for by unheard-of refinements of dissimulation and hypocrisy, had for some time been abandoned. M. Bordier, without being able absolutely to prove the premeditation, shows that it was exceedingly probable, that that alone can explain all the documents and facts. A picture of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, by Du Bois, of Amiens, who fled to Geneva in 1572, now for the first time brought to light by M. Bordier, bears all the more striking testimony to his thesis in that it appeals to the eye.

Turning to events more recent still, to those of our own time, we are met by the same want of certainty. Has not M. Maxime du Camp's handsome book on the Commune, "*Les Convulsions de Paris*" (Hachette), numbering already three volumes, based upon an enormous mass of research, investigation, and unpublished documents, illumined by the most sagacious understanding, awakened the fiercest contradiction?

Does not M. Fiaux's work on "*La Guerre civile de 1871*" (Charpentier) aim in a great measure at refuting it? We believe that in most cases M. du Camp is in the right, and cannot in any sense look upon his work as a charge against the Commune. He has judged it from a psychologist's point of view, as a physician studying a mental disease rather than as an adversary condemning his enemies. Ought not this difficulty of finding out and proving the truth regarding facts even of such recent date inspire us with a salutary distrust of our historical judgments?

In a strange, painful, and eloquent book, M. Vallès has undertaken himself to show us one of the causes of the Commune, of which he was himself one of the less violent members. The madness caused by the siege, by despair, defeat, and hunger, by intoxicating spirits, by the fear of a monarchical restoration and ill-digested dreams of federalism and socialism, the rage of the outcast, the Bohemians, the *ratés* against the orderly classes, against those who have been successful and have their settled place in society, finally a confused mass of brutal instincts, desires, pleasures, thefts, orgies, were, he says, the chief causes of that great convulsion. M. Vallès undertakes to explain the feelings that fermented in the breasts of the numerous outcasts of society who held office under the Commune; for some intelligence and learning they at least had. His "*Jacques Vingtras*" (Charpentier) is the son of a school superintendent and a peasant woman. His whole childhood and youth were made up of humiliations, mortifications, and blows. Not one ray of tenderness from his parents' hearts comes to soften the feelings of bitterness and hate that grow up unchecked within him. He ends in taking I know not what bitter delight in seeing, doing, and suffering wrong, in certifying that life and the world are evil. At the end of the book Jacques Vingtras is a rebel; evidently incapable of quiet and regular activity, he is ripe for the Commune. This painful book is written with real talent: with different parents, Jacques Vingtras (for the book seems to be an autobiography) might have filled a distinguished place amongst contemporary novelists. His power of observation is more spontaneous, more vivid than M. Zola's, but he is too nervous, everything in him is by fits and starts; his shafts are thrown haphazard. Without cohesion, he is entirely wanting in that power of construction M. Zola is so remarkable for.

The naturalistic school in literature has often been compared to the impressionist school in painting. A visit to the exhibition of the

impressionists in the Avenue de l'Opéra is enough to convince any one of the falseness of the comparison. The defect of the naturalistic writers is too great an attention to detail; the general *ensemble* escapes them, they give equal weight to insignificant particulars and predominant features of character or scenery. Nothing is left to the reader's imagination; he must see everything, and see everything as they do, and the general result is a sense of confusion and weariness. The impressionists, on the contrary, or, as they now call themselves, the "independents," see nothing but the general *ensemble*; they disregard the detail and the outline altogether, and paint in masses and spots. When, like M. Degas or Mlle. Cassatt, they have great talent, they furnish useful indications of effect, colour, and light to those painters who endeavour to represent Nature, not as she appears at a hasty glance to any mere simpleton, but as she reveals herself to the soul of an artist who gazes at her long and lovingly. The majority of pictures exhibited by the independents are, however, mere worthless, monotonous daubs, even devoid of a sincere impression.

The Exhibition of Water-colours was the perfect antithesis of that of the independents. Here vulgar brutality, there the excessive refinement of the most select society; here the pursuit of the real at the expense of the beautiful, there the pursuit of the graceful and pretty at the cost even of truth; here summary processes, there the love of detail and finish. There are exceptions; M. Jaquemart's large landscapes, for instance, deserve a place to themselves. In his hands the water-colour drawing preserves its true character; the rapid, slight, and accurate representation of an effect of nature. But in those of M. Vibert, M. L. Leboir, M. Detaille, it vies with the oil-painting, sometimes even exceeds it in solidity and vigour. When the bounds are not exceeded there are things of exquisite delicacy in these highly-finished water-colours. Some of M. Leloir's figures, and M. Heilbuth's and M. Francais' landscapes, are equal to their best pictures.

We have been overrun with exhibitions of works of art in Paris this spring to console us for the absence of spring in the gardens and fields. There was an exhibition at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, of the drawings of the great masters, which formed a history of art from Cimabue and J. van Eyck down to Proudhon. The journal *L'Art* lent its rooms for the exhibition of the works of numbers of French and foreign painters; *La Vie moderne*, a new weekly illustrated publication, which, thanks to the co-operation of the first artists and the most refined writers, ranks higher than all other journals of the kind, had the ingenious idea of giving up the exhibition rooms it has opened on the Boulevard des Italiens to a series of painters in succession for the space of a fortnight each, thus enabling them to exhibit such a collection of their pictures and drawings all at once, as enables the public to form an adequate idea of their talent. There M. Butin exhibited his powerful sea-pieces, in which the life of the rough and honest inhabitants of our coasts is

depicted with so much feeling and truth ; and M. de Nittis, his rapid and faithful sketches of Paris and London life ; Mlle. Abbema, her portraits distinguished for their petulant and lively character ; M. Vollon, his studies of still-life and landscapes, in which, even in the least, his knowledge of colour is manifest.

Besides all these *hors d'œuvres* there was the *pièce de résistance*, the Salon of the Champs Elysées, more difficult to digest this year than ever. To look at two thousand pictures is fatiguing enough, but to look at three thousand is a superhuman labour. From sheer weariness, you cease to distinguish the good and the bad ; the commonplaceness, the intentional eccentricity, the poverty of invention, the absence of artistic emotion and feeling, characteristic of most of the works, sicken you. The remarkable pictures are drowned in the ocean of mediocrity. It is no longer an exhibition, but a bazaar, and if this year, for a wonder, the artists have not complained of the severity of the jury, the public has been unanimous in complaining of its indulgence. This superabundance of pictures was unquestionably the cause of the severe judgment generally passed upon an exhibition in which good pictures were no less rare than in former years. The portrait-painters especially distinguished themselves. M. Bonnat produced a worthy *pendant* to his portraits of M. Thiers and M. de Lesseps, in his picture of V. Hugo, his elbow supported on a Homer, and his large brow resting on the rough hand which, like the lower part of his face, betrays the plebeian and sometimes vulgar side of his nature, whilst the upper portion, especially the brow and eyes, are full of nobility and inspiration. M. Carolus Duran, in his picture of Mme. Vandal, shows that it is possible to represent a magnificent dress without any sacrifice to the paramount importance of the human figure, and analyse the delicate forms of a face, still beautiful, though bearing the marks of age. M. Duran had long yielded to the erroneous theory of a narrow realism which demands that in a portrait, the dress, as it does in reality, should receive more attention than the face. Materially it may be so, but of what consequence is that if in looking at a person the face is what you see most ? The painter must reproduce the impression made on the spectator,—not a material reality, which, moreover, cannot be laid hold of. M. Carolus Duran has now come to understand this, and the public generally has ratified the judgment of the jury who gave him the medal of honour. We have an excellent portrait of M. Carolus Duran by a pupil of his, M. Sargent. M. Gaillard, by his masterly painting of M. de Ségur, seems to have written a pamphlet in favour of the Ferry laws. There is not a trace of high thinking or religious emotion in the crafty, witty, red face of the celebrated Catholic polemist. This portrait seems the personification of the device : *Omnia serviliter pro dominatione*. The great sculptor Dubois, who is likewise a great painter, exhibited a charming girl's head, full of life in spite of the grey tone peculiar to all his pictures ; M. Jules Breton, a portrait of his wife, which is a masterpiece of simplicity, of

touching grace, and broad sound workmanship. Goodness and intelligence beam out of those limpid eyes, and the figure, which bears the signs of maturity, is invested with the youthfulness that springs from the heart. We prefer a work like this to the much-admired portrait of Sarah Bernhardt, by M. Bastien Lepage. Not that we undervalue its rare merits,—a purity of drawing worthy of the Florentine masters, exceptional delicacy of form, a bewitching combination of colour,—but everything in the picture is affected, the position designedly stiff, the hands exaggeratedly long and slender, the mouth slightly open, with an ecstatic expression, half-sensual, half-mystical.

This studied refinement and affectation is all the more singular in M. Bastien Lepage, because by the side of his Sarah Bernhardt he exhibits a rustic picture, "*La Récolte des Pommes de terre*," distinguished on the contrary for its studied brutality. The quality of the execution is just as remarkable, the pose of the two women is admirable, the attitude life-like, the transparency of the atmosphere perfect, and the smallest details of their dress are painted with solidity and breadth. But the general impression is not satisfactory; the landscape wants animation, and the picture suggests no definite emotions. The painter's power of vision and his extraordinary technical skill are unquestionable; but the intelligence and the artistic soul that interpret inward emotions are wanting. M. Bastien Lepage is a remarkable personality, but not a defined one; he oscillates between affectation and brutality. It is impossible yet to say whether, like Millet and Jules Breton, he will be one of the great interpreters of rustic life. M. Billet, much less powerful than he, has a far clearer conception of his ideal. He represents with exquisite charm the poetry of the Channel coasts and of their simple inhabitants. His little girls, stretched on the beach watching the departure of the fishing-boats, is one of his best pictures. M. Butin studies the same subjects and the same race, but whilst M. Billet depicts the sailors, their wives and daughters, in their hours of rest amidst the peaceful charm of their life on shore, M. Butin prefers to represent them at work on the sea, and with his severe brush reveals the wild poetry of their life.

MM. Billet and Butin paint the seamen, MM. Vernier, Courant, Clays, Mesdag, Hagborg, the sea. MM. Clays and Mesdag are known to us. They have lost none of their merit, but their talent is not sufficiently varied and their colouring becomes harder every year. M. Hagborg, a new-comer, has more charm, but his sea-pieces, like theirs, are too many-coloured. M. Vernier is a conscientious artist, but in contradistinction to the foregoing painters his tints are too uniformly grey and green. M. Courant is, in our opinion, the one who is endowed with the most inquiring spirit, who dives deepest into the sea's inmost recesses, and most faithfully represents it under all its aspects. His calm emerald-green sea under a stormy sky has the dreadful and enticing colour of the motionlessness that precedes a storm. The

entrance of the *British Queen* into the harbour of Havre is a real portrait of a ship, in which the greatest difficulties are attacked and overcome with the power of a master, and the hazy distance lends a charm to the whole picture. No one can better than M. Courant represent the varied play of atmosphere and water and the joint life of these two fluid elements which together fade into infinity. M. Courant has just gone to work in England, where he will find the delicate and changing aspects he is so partial to, and the English public is sure to appreciate the poetical qualities and the accuracy that so pre-eminently characterize him.

Other painters choose not so much the sea itself as the coast scenery for their subject, amongst whom M. Guillemet is the master, and next to him, for distinctive originality, Mme. E. la Villette and M. Lansyer. Amongst the landscape-painters we have seen nothing betokening new tendencies; but we hail with sympathy the fresh start M. Français' noble talent has taken, as also the distinguished works of MM. Pelouse, Desbrosses, Rapin, Pointelin, &c.

What is really new this year, and no doubt due to the influence of the realistic or impressionist school, is the effort some painters have made to combine an historical or religious subject with real scenery. M. Lerolle has tried it in his "Jacob chez Laban;" M. Duez, with even greater success, in his large triptych, representing scenes from the life of St. Cuthbert. The centre panel, in which St. Cuthbert, in company with a child, is receiving the fish brought him by an eagle, is an admirable piece of painting. The religious sentiment is wanting, but the two figures standing in a well-known spot on the Calvados coast, bathed in air and light, stand out in wonderful relief, and the harmony of the colouring is a feast for the eyes. M. O. Merson has soared higher in his St. Isidore, who kneels in the ecstasy of prayer, whilst an angel guides the oxen at the plough. The rustic and inspired face of St. Isidore is one of powerful beauty, and the angel, who hardly touches the furrows with his divine feet, goads on the animals with an airy grace. The soft bright light of a spring morning overspreads the picture, which reminds us of the naïf and affecting frescoes of Piero della Francesca.

The realistic element is wanting in M. Henner, who sets his brilliant nymphs in an absolutely black landscape, with a clear blue sky overhead. But why quarrel with him when he enchants and transports us with admiration by a poetical charm which belies all description? His "Eclogue" has an antique grace and a *morbidezza* worthy of Correggio. It reveals the hand of a master, whose mind has conceived an ideal of beauty, the secret of which he holds and realizes for us. M. J. Lefèvre's conception of beauty also consists in purity of line and grace of attitude. His "Diane au Bain" is the most important work he has produced; it contains exquisite things, but viewed as a whole it is cold and insignificant. M. Roll's bacchantes cannot be accused of coldness, but of vulgarity. They are masculine females in a very merry mood, these followers of

Silenus. We are glad, however, to see M. Roll quit his black tints for bright and sparkling colours.

With M. J. P. Laurens we leave mythological antiquity for the Middle Ages. His "*Bernard Délicieux délivrant les prisonniers de l'Inquisition*" is a cold, dreary picture, but the principal figure, with its enthusiastic, ascetic face, is a fine creation. More to be admired still are his drawings intended as illustrations to Augustin Thierry's "*Récits du Temps mérovingien*," in which all the wildness of that barbarous age is depicted. M. Maignan, who it was believed would rank next to J. P. Laurens in historical painting, has taken a wrong direction this year in his "*Christ des Affligés*," by becoming an imitator of Henri Lévy. M. Mélingue, whose "*Robespierre*" made some sensation last year, continues to be a cold disciple of Paul Delaroche in his "*Etienne Marcel*." M. Flameng shows greater originality and vigour in the picture of the "*Girondins*." He obtained the *prix du Salon*, intended for the encouragement of beginners. Let us hope that this prize, which has not until now brought luck to those who obtained it, will enable him to improve his talent by travel and study. M. Le Blant continues to study the history and war of Vendée; his work is full of animation, and his sombre colouring is not without charm. Side by side with these French works, an admirable picture of Mr. Herkommer's—"Un Asile pour la Vieillesse"—may be noted, which, with greater harmony of colour, shows more striking proof even than his "*Chelsea Pensioners*" of the artist's talent as a physiognomist.

Sculpture has retained the superiority which has distinguished it of late years. In M. Saint-Marceaux's "*Génie*" there is something of Michael Angelo; Michelet's tomb, by M. Mercié, M. Falguière's "*Saint Vincent de Paul*," M. Schœnewerk's "*Matin*," are masterly works, that witness to the serious study and elevated thought of our contemporary sculptors.

The most important event of the last few months in the musical world was the appointment of M. Vaucorbeil as director of the Opera in place of M. Halanzier. M. Halanzier was an excellent manufacturer, who enriched himself whilst allowing the opera to fall into complete decay. M. Vaucorbeil is an artist, intent on raising our great musical stage, and producing new works. "*Etienne Marcel*," by M. Saint-Saens, which met with great success at Lyons, where the composer was reduced to having it represented, will no doubt now be given in Paris. Wagner's "*Lohengrin*," the first act of which was played at the Concerts du Cirque, under M. Padeloup's direction, will, it is said, also be given. The enthusiasm which, in spite of the inefficiency of the soloists, it excited, proves that the musical and patriotic prejudices which rendered the execution of Wagner's works impossible in Paris, have vanished. The young musical school are all disciples of Wagner, and the works of Berlioz, now so popular in Paris, have educated the public taste.

Nothing remarkable has been produced at the theatre this spring, save a charming *bluette* by M. Pailleron, entitled, "L'Étincelle," which drew crowds to the French theatre. The piece drawn from M. Zola's "Assommoir" is nothing but a vulgar melodrama, which has, however, seen more than a hundred nights, the hundredth being celebrated by a ball, where all the guests appeared dressed as workmen and washerwomen. People were surprised to see that, thus disguised, the men and women of fashion looked more vulgar than the common people. In the way of spectacles the *fête* given at the Opera for the sufferers at Szegedin was the one which excited most curiosity. It consisted of a fine concert and a bazaar, at which all the celebrated Parisian actresses figured, and sold the merest trifles at fabulous prices. The proceeds amounted to 150,000 francs. It is sad that the love of amusement should inspire a generosity which charity alone is incapable of awakening.

G. MONOD.

CONTEMPORARY BOOKS.

I.—CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

(Under the Direction of the Rev. Prebendary J. DAVIES, M.A.)

THE past few months cannot be said to have been barren or unfruitful in either solid or ornamental fruits of classical learning, fruits of a nature to extend themselves, and to be enjoyed, as time passes, by an ever-increasing range. Already there are some signs of a reaction against enlarging the school curriculum to such wideness that nothing can be acquired thoroughly; and, unless we are mistaken, the good old belief in classics, as the basis and drill, with, of course, a certain amount of mathematics, is being re-adopted in preference to the lately popular "everything-by-turns-and-nothing-long" curriculum. To make the latter even tolerably feasible there needed much co-operation from scholars; and, perhaps, good has come from the loyal desire of some of these to make easier that classical pathway to the overtaxed minds of the modern British school-boys. At any rate, amongst our best recent books in classical literature may be counted not a few valuable helps to pioneering for English readers, or those, whose acquaintance with Latin and Greek is slender and superficial, the way to a knowledge of Homer, Æschylus, Virgil, and the better known of our Greek and Latin authors. And here we cannot speak too highly of the great boon conferred alike on scholars and non-scholars, by the publication of Messrs. Butcher and Lang's English Prose Odyssey (*The Odyssey of Homer done into English Prose*, by S. H. Butcher, M.A., Fellow and Prelector of University College, Oxford, and A. Lang, M.A., late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co., 1879), a work replete with matter for scholars, and yet calculated to simplify for English readers the perennial charm and fascination of the most delightful of maritime epics. The very preface consists of a thoughtful and shrewd *résumé* of the relative characters of our English translations of Homer, and the reasons why none can achieve much more than the favour of their own age and style. For which reason the translators attempt to tell once more, in simple prose, the story of Odysseus, and to transfer not all the truth about the poem, but its historical truth, into English. They have caught and utilized the singular resemblance between the Homeric epics and the Icelandic, Norwegian, and Danish sagas, and turned this likeness to good account in notes and illustrations, besides aiming at reviving, by a compensatory loan from these sagas, a meet equivalent for Homer's double epithets and recurring epithets. Nothing can be happier than the manifesto which they have issued, and acted upon, that "Homer has no ideas which cannot be expressed in words that are 'old and plain;' and to words that are old and plain, and, as a rule, to such terms as, being used by the translators of the Bible, are still not unfamiliar, we have tried to restrict ourselves" (p. xi.). A glance at the brief appendix of notes (pp. 407—416) will show how serviceably Scandinavian and Homeric phraseology and folklore have been compared—e.g., on the phrase occurring in Od. I. 64, ἔρκος ὀδόντων, the

Icelandic "tam-garor," or "teeth-garth, teeth-enclosure," as Mr. E. Magnusson has pointed out in a contributed note, one of a long list of parallel metaphorical expressions which, though independent in origin, point to similar customs and conditions of life. The translators do well to translate, "My child, what word hath escaped the door of thy lips?" the teeth being taken for the hedge or fence which guards the castle or mouth. So, again, there is a comparison of Northern with Greek heroic manners, anent "Revenge and Atonement," and the *ποιή* paid for any offence up to manslaughter, illustrative of the frequent Homeric word *νήπιονος*. As is pertinently explained, "Neptune does not *slay* Ulysses for blinding his son, the Cyclops, but drives him wandering," and this, "because heroic customs did not justify slaying a man to avenge an injury less than manslaughter, inflicted on a kinsman." Another kindred parallel is that of the *ξέδνα*, so often mentioned in the *Odyssey*, in the technical sense of the Bride-price, or gifts by the wooers to the father of the bride, the "kalym" of the dwellers on the Volga, where *ξέδνα* has a sense distinct from the *δῶρα* of the wooer to the bride, or the *μεῖλια* given to her by her sire. This distinction is here put very clearly. In reference to double epithets and the like, it is only by reading some fifty or hundred lines at a stretch that we can gain an impression of the two translators' practice. But taking a few which we have marked in Book II., it may be noted that with them *εὐρύστα Ζεύς* is "Zeus of the far-borne voice;" "Ἰθακῆν εὐδεῖον" is "well-seen Ithaca;" *μεγάρων εἴη ναυταόωντων*, "fair-lying halls;" *μεγακίητα πόντον*, is "the sea with the depths thereof," whereas Merry translates it "gulphy," and Hayman regards it as "the whole sea gathered into one vast gulph." Other epithets will arise for examination in the passages to be submitted for a sample of the general effect of this translation, nor need more here be said than that in cases of a dubious interpretation—e.g., I. 155, *ἦτοι ὁ φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν αἰδεῖν*; or, II. 244, 245, *ἀργαλέον δὲ ἀνδράσι καὶ πλεόνεσσι μαχήσασθαι περὶ δαυτὶ*, the translators' rule is to give their readers the option, but, at the same time, candid and loyal guidance to their choice. The first instance concerns the song of Phemius before the suitors in Penelope's Hall; and it is rendered in the text, "Yea, and as he touched the lyre, he lifted up his voice in sweet song." But they give in a footnote what they designate the more ordinary interpretation of *ἀνεβάλλετο*, "He touched the chords in prelude to his sweet singing;" and this is, probably, the safer and surer interpretation, as it is approved by the not always consentient judgments of Dr. Hayman and Mr. Merry. In the other passage, Leocritus, one of the suitors, retorts on Mentor, the ally of Telemachus at the Ithacan council, who had called on the men of Ithaca to remember their absent liege, and put down the suitors, and says, "Nay, it is a hard thing to fight about a feast, and that with men who are even more in number than you;" but there is another way to which the translators seem to incline, as adding point and simplicity to the passage—viz., to take *πλεόνεσσι* with *ἀργάλεον*, "it would be hard for you, even if you were more in number than you are, to fight with us about a feast." Against this, however, comes the objection that if, in 251, *εἰ πλεόνεσσι μάχοιτο* be right, in this passage, too, *πλεόνεσσι* must go with *μαχήσασθαι*; and the scholiast's suggestion that *πλεόνεσσι* in each case stands for *σύν πλεόνεσσι* is surely inadmissible. As an average passage from the Third Book of the *Odyssey*, we quote Nestor's account of Agamemnon's murder, differing much as it does from the legend adopted by Æschylus. It is addressed to certain queries of Telemachus, and may be found in *Od.* III., 256, &c. (*εἰ ζῶον*?' *Ἀγισθον* κ.τ.λ.).

"If Menelaus of the golden hair, the son of Atreus, when he came back from Troy, had found Ægisthus still alive in the halls, then even in his death would they not have heaped the piled earth over him, but dogs and fowls of the air would have devoured him as he lay on the plain far from the town.* Nor would any of the Achæan women have bewailed him: so dread was the deed he contrived. Now we sat in leaguer there, achieving many adventures, but he, while living in peace in the heart of Argos, the pasture land of horses (*ἵπποβάτοις*), spake oftentimes to the wife of Agamemnon and tempted her. Verily at the first she would have none of the foul deed, the fair Clytemnestra, for she had a good understanding. Moreover, there was with her a minstrel, whom the son of Atreus straitly charged when he went to Troy to have a care of his wife. But when at last the doom of the gods bound her to her ruin, then did Ægisthus carry the minstrel to a lonely isle, and left him to be a prey and spoil of birds; while as for her he led her to his house, a willing lover with a willing lady. And he burnt many thigh slices upon the holy altars of the gods, and hung up many offerings, woven work and gold, seeing that he had accomplished a great deed, beyond all hope."

* Messrs. Butcher and Lang agree with most editors in ignoring in v. 260 the reading *Ἀργεος*, than which *ἀστεος* is obviously more probable.

In the *νεκρομαντεία* of the Eleventh Book, Agamemnon's shade tells Ulysses that he and his male comrades were brutally murdered at a feast given by Ægisthus, and credits Clytemnestra with the murder of Cassandra, but Agisthus with his own; and so far Homer's accounts agree, though not with the tragic poet. The introduction of the loyal bard, and his eventual spiriting-away, are a touch of epic lore, for which Æschylus had obviously no scope. In the context of this passage the translators represent *Αἰγισθὸν δολόμητιν* as "guileful Ægisthus," and *βοήν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος* as "Menelaus of the loud war-cry."

Passing to the Fifth Book, where Mercury is sent on the mission to Calypso, which ends in the versatile hero (we hardly like his being called, in translation of *πολύτροπον*, "the man of many a shift") being accommodated by her with the facilities for reaching his home, and the Penelope for whose loss he had so signally consoled himself in at least a couple of instances, we find a good test-passage of our translators in the account of the raft-building, which is worthy of citation. The Goddess, we are told (in Book V., 234-260),

"Gave him a great axe, fitted to his grasp, an axe of bronze, double-edged, and with a good handle of olive-wood fastened firm. Next she gave him a polished adze, and she led the way to the border of the isle where tall trees grew, alder and poplar and pine that reacheth unto heaven, all which were long since dry, and very sere, that might lightly float for him. Now after she had shown him where the tall trees grew, Calypso, the fair goddess, departed homeward. And he set to cutting planks and his work went busily. And he felled twenty trees in all, and then trimmed them with the axe of bronze and deftly planed them, and over them made straight the line. Meanwhile the fair goddess brought him augers (*τέρετρα*), so he bored each piece and jointed them together, and then drove all home with bolts and mortises. Wide as is the hull of a broad ship of burden, which some man well skilled in carpentry may trace him out, of such beam did Odysseus fashion his broad raft. And thereat he wrought and set up the deckings, fixing them on the close rows of set ribs, and finished them off with the long plankings of the sides, and therein he set a mast, and a yard-arm fitted thereto, and moreover he made him a rudder to guide the boat. And he fenced it with osier bands from stem to stern, to be a defence against the waves, and piled up wood for ballast. Meanwhile Calypso, the fair goddess, brought him web of cloth to make him sails, and these too he fashioned very skilfully. And he made fast therein braces and halyards and sheets, and at last he drew the vessel down with rollers, to the fair salt sea" (p. 84).

Comparing the details of the translation with Mr. Merry's generally exact annotations, which are in this instance further elucidated by a sketch of an Homeric ship with description in the frontispiece to his first volume, we should say that they were wonderfully true. The object of the osier wattlework-fence against the waves described in 256, 257, was to prevent the broken water from splashing into the hold. As Mr. Merry aptly notes, this *σχεδὴν* of Ulysses is here treated as an ordinary ship of the period, nor has it aught in its description to betoken a temporary makeshift. Such, however, as it was, it snecumbed without much conflict to the pitiless storm raised by Neptune; and in the similes describing that storm in the later parts of the Fifth Book will be found more than one proof of the neat graphic force of the present translators. We must, however, vary our region of quotation, and take the last which we can afford to make from the episode of the Cyclops in the Ninth Book, which it will be remembered is amidst the description by Ulysses to King Alcinous of the adventures he met with on his route from Troy to Scheria or Phæacia. The whole of this episode reads excellently, and reminds us strikingly of the mixed narrative and comic vein of some old chronicle. Thus when Ulysses beguiles the Cyclops with liquor, and the sly monster pleads for more of this "rill of very nectar and ambrosia," but in the veracity of his drunkenness will promise the feigned "Noman" the sole miserable boon that "he will eat him last," the comic spirit is very marked, and the whole scene teems with touches of the grotesque. But our quotation shall be from where when the lubber fiend fell backwards overcome with wine and sleep, and the bar of olive-wood was hot for its purpose, some god nerved them, and the hero and his comrades rid themselves of their adversary, so far as his sight was concerned. "For their part they seized the bar of olive-wood that was sharpened at the point, and thrust it into his eye, while I from my place aloft turned it round, as when a man bores a ship's plank with an auger, while his fellows below spin it with a strap, which they hold at either end, and the auger runs round continually. Even so did we seize the fiery-pointed brand and whirled it round in his eye, and the blood flowed from the heated bar. And as when a smith dips an axe or adze in chill water with a great hissing, when he would temper it—for hereby anon comes the strength of iron—even

so did his eye hiss, round the stake of olive" (IX. 382—394). The characteristic of this translation is its conscientious faithfulness, which even apart from the help of explanatory notes sets the whole action before the reader. It is almost possible to realize to the mind's eye the use of the *τρίπαιον*, a long-shafted drill, and the relative position of the master shipwright and his men. How hardly could this be done, when the translator is embarrassed by rhyme or metre? But this reminds us of other fields which invite, and for which must be quitted the pleasant pages of a work worthy to find a place in every scholar's library, and worthy to be consulted in any Homeric question as an oracle of more weight than half a dozen scholiasts for the accuracy of its scholarship, the common sense of its judgment, and the width and research of its collateral information.

More recently than this prose translation has been published by the same publisher to whom the world was indebted for Lord Derby's *Iliad*, a translation in blank verse of the first half of the *Odyssey*. (*The Odyssey of Homer rendered into Blank Verse*. Books I.—XII. By General G. A. Schomberg, C.B. London: John Murray, 1879.) We glean little from the author's brief preface as to the motives which have induced him to publish; though it cannot be doubted that, where early cultivation of the dead languages survives the period of "status pupillaris" or "subalternism," the fascination of Homer becomes more potent and witching; and to a travelled soldier the *Odyssey* may well rank, as he styles it, as a "poem perhaps more wonderful for its variety and exquisite beauty than any other which the mind of a man has compassed." Not unaware that blank iambs can hardly give in the ablest hands the picturesque variety and broken light and shadow of the Homeric hexameter of the *Odyssey*, he has manfully girt himself to the task, relying on a steadfast aim at faithfulness, and only in one or two episodic songs varying his metre with rhyming lays, and here and there introducing a rhyming couplet or a rhyme in the hemistichs of single verses. As these twelve books are utterly devoid of note or comment, it is obvious that they aim rather at the merit of a translation for the general reader than the cultured student; and it remains to be seen whether they will win for their author a place in Homeric metrical translation which has been contested by such diverse pretensions. Even in their own form of verse, Cowper's Miltonic version and Musgrave's blank verse translation have a precedence in point of time, though General Schomberg at least may be said to hold his own, in general merit, as against the latter. A few lines from the close of the Second Book, where Telemachus is setting sail, with the guidance of Pallas under the disguise of Mentor, to visit Pylos and Sparta, Nestor and Menelaus, may claim to be adequately spirited.

"The hawsers off they cast, and on the thwarts
The oarsmen eager sat: a favoring breeze
The blue-eyed goddess sent from out the West
Which freshly rustled o'er the dark blue sea.
Telemachus then urged the ready crew
To fit the tackle to the favoring gale:
The pinewood mast they raised and firmly placed
Within its step, and steadied it with shrouds:
And with the halyards made of twisted hide
They hoisted the white sails, which the wind swelled;
Around the stern of the swift-rushing ship
The purple wave resounded lustily
As thro' the seething deep she clove her way.
When all was made secure on board the ship,
So gallant and so trim, they filled with wine
Their overflowing goblets which they quaffed
Making libations to the immortal gods,
And chiefly to the blue-eyed child of Jove:
Through all the night till dawn they held their course."

The nautical phraseology here is, so far as we can observe, all ship-shape, and Mr. Merry's plan of the Homeric galley in his first volume will elucidate it. In the last line of the extract, as *ἥω* is an accusative of duration, the verse should have stood "Through all the night and morn they held their course."*

The Sixth Book of the *Odyssey*, which introduces the reader to Nausicaa, has been ever a deserved favourite. Out of the translation in hand may be cited the poet's

* The prose translators render, "So all night long and all through the dawn the ship cleft her way" (434), *παννυχίη μὲν ῥήγε καὶ ἥω πείρε κέλευθον*.

brief description of Olympus, whither Athena repairs *in propria personâ* after having visited the princess in a dream, and in the form of a bosom friend, the daughter of Dymas. The goddess, we learn from VI. 42 seq.,—

“Disappeared
Straight to Olympus, where they say for aye
The gods possess their everlasting seat,
Which never storm disturbs nor shower chills :
No snow falls there : but ever shining light
Pervades the calm serene, without a cloud :
There do the happy gods in happiness
Pass all their days : thither the blue-eyed went,
Ascending, when she left the mortal maid.”—p. 158.

Every one will recollect that the passage has been essayed in Latin by Lucretius as well as Lucan, and is worthy in the original of the emulation of such poets. General Schomberg has evidently seen that as a passage of more than average beauty it demanded carefullest rendering. And it is the same with the latter part of Ulysses' address to Nausicaa in pp. 165, 16 (Od. VI. 175 seq. ἀλλὰ νῆυσσ' ἐλέαιρε κ.τ.λ), where he asks her compassion in peculiarly soft and wily language :—

“Pity me, Lady : after trials sore
I come to thee the first : none else I see,
No dwellers in the city, or the land :
Oh! guide me to thy city : deign to give
A rag to clothe me, if thou hast to spare
A wrapper from the garments thou hast brought.
So may the gods fulfil thy dearest wish,
A husband and a home and household peace.
There is no greater, truer bliss on earth.
Than where the husband and the wife enjoy
A home, with constant thoughts of mutual love :
Sad for their foes, but joyous to their friends :
And they themselves the wondrous blessing know.”

As Dr. Hayman interprets the last line of this, as he terms it, noble maxim, *μάλιστα δε τ' ἔκλινον αὐτοῖς*, the sense has nothing to do with the un-Homeric *εὖ* or *κακῶς ἀκούειν* of later Greek, and it rather refers to the unanimity which, strong as is the testimony of enemies and friends, the wedded pair feel most profoundly. This explanation General Schomberg seems to have followed, and it is so satisfactory that we see no need to resort, as Dr. Hayman does by an afterthought, to a supposed various reading *αὐτῶν* or *αὐτοῦν*, i.e., “men listen most to them.”

How persuasively the shipwrecked outcast spoke here as elsewhere, the details of the Sixth Book, and six more books in succession, abundantly show, whilst they represent his reception at the Court of Alcinous and Arete, the gardens and orchards of Phæacia, the sports and games of the palace precinct, the banquet and the songs of the minstrel Demodocus, and Ulysses' narrative of his adventures from the fall of Troy till the shipwreck off Scheria, which he tells in Books IX.—XII. after his tears over the minstrel's account of the sack of Ilium had necessitated his divulging his famous name. One of these adventures, the last from which our space will let us give a quotation, is a part of Ulysses' visit to the cave of the Cyclops. The whole tale is told with spirit, and not without a dash of humour ; indeed, the comic element in the whole device of the hero to make the monster the worse for liquor, and frustrate his schemes for calling assistance by telling him that his name was “No one” or “No man” —

οὐτις με κτείνει δόλῳ οὐδὲ βίηφι—

should make the tale of the Cyclops as amusing in the narrative of Homer, as it is in the thence-derived play of Euripides. Our quotation, however, shall be limited to the Cyclops' eye, which is found in Od. IX. 375–394, and in pp. 252, 253 of this translation :—

“When in the flames the stake of olive wood,
Though green, was ready to burst forth ablaze
And reddened with the fire glowed wondrously,
I took it from the fire : around me stood
My comrades, and a godhead nerved their hearts.
They seized the stake, and thrust the sharpen'd point
Full in his eyeball : I above them stood,
And leaning hard against it screw'd it round.

Thus would the shipwright with an auger bore
 A plank of wood ; his helpmates from below
 Work round with either hand the leathern strap,
 Which fasten'd to the handle turns it round
 And keeps it ever spinning in its place :
 Thus turned we round the stake with fiery point
 Full in his eye : spouted the bubbling blood
 Around the stake all burning as it was.
 And as his eyeball burnt, the fiery breath
 Shrivelled his eyelids and his brow : with heat
 His deep-set eyeroots crackled as they burst."

How the inventive and resourceful hero effected his escape from the blinded monster's cavern, and escaped the privilege destined for him in requital for his wine-cask—

"No one, I promise I will eat thee last,
 This is my promised hospitality"—

is beyond our limits to tell ; but enough has been unfolded of this version, or the first half of it, to quicken the interest and expectancy of readers for the crowning fruit, in due season, of General Schomberg's cultured leisure.

Another solid, yet withal elegant, accession to our translational poetry is Lord Carnarvon's "*Agamemnon of Æschylus*" (*Agamemnon*, translated from Æschylus, by the Earl of Carnarvon. London: John Murray, 1879), recently published by Mr. Murray. The noble author, it is well known, has identified himself from his youth up with the ranks of scholarship, and been ever ready to show himself not merely an active patron of literature but one of its able workers and promoters. The class lists of the University of which he is still High Steward attest his successful prosecution in earlier days of classical literature, but it has been reserved for his present period of temporary emancipation from the cares of State politics to prove how tenaciously he has maintained his suit to the Classic Muse into riper and more engrossed years, and to give the general public a version of perhaps the grandest of ancient tragedies in a form and style admirably suited to its object. Eschewing, or relegating to the background, the conflicts of annotation, conjecture, and emendation with which the scholastic commentaries teem, he has laid himself out rather to clothe his English version with such an approximation to the sense of the original as may render it intelligible to the unlearned and ignorant of Greek, than to court the ear of the scholar by an exact rendering. Dealing, however, with his subject, as a scholar could not help doing, he has in the main preserved the gist of the original sense ; and the result is that the verdict of scholars upon his achievement is likely, we suspect, to bear testimony to his having gained the ear of two distinct constituencies. In an instructive preface he justifies his (some will call it) old-world fashion of rhymed form for his choruses, and blank verse for his iambic speeches and dialogues ; and in another particular too, the use of the Latin rather than the Greek names of the divinities, he has followed Lord Derby in his *Iliad* rather than Mr. Grote in his *History*. On the whole, whilst indulging in classical sympathies and predilections enough to make it well seen that he is a scholar, and "a ripe and good one," it is an easy task to him to recommend his work to the wide audience which has learnt to enjoy ancient poetry at second-hand ; and inasmuch as the *Agamemnon* is one of those extremely difficult plays, both textually and in point of ambiguity of interpretation, which the general reader would be sure to give up as hopeless if he found critical disquisitions interfering with a clear and current perception of the main action of the drama, it seems to us extremely fortunate that the task of accommodating it to the English reader should have been in this instance one of Lord Carnarvon's election. His own account of his work—that it has been written during the fugitive moments of a scanty leisure, and undergone less revision than was its due—is only what almost every translator must have felt in his time ; while the real charm of the self-chosen task, as "associating itself with solitary walks and railway journeys," and as in some sense repaying his nurture-fee to his old University, is one which all will recognise as one of the clearest and most noble spurs to honourable exertion.

One or two choral staves and a sample of the blank verse from this translation will, we have no doubt, have the effect of sending our readers to the volume itself. Passing by, then, the well-known beauties of the first chorus, our first pause shall

be at Clytemnestra's description of the succession of beacon fires as in a torch race—(pp. 16-18. See Paley, 272-305).

"It is the beacon fire on Ida's crest
By flaming convoys that hath brought the news.
From Ida's woods to the Hermæan crag
Of Lemnos—then from Lemnos to the heights
Of Athos—Athos consecrate to Jove—
Passed the broad brand of flame. Then towering high
And gathering strength, e'en as it sped its course,
It spanned the sea, and like a golden sun
Flashed its red glow athwart Macistus' cliffs.
And there the watchman, watching not in vain,
Wrought at his labour till Euripus' flood
Redden'd again, and by Messapian towers
Heaping the beacon high with withered heath,
His comrades saw and sped the message on.
Then without stop or stay, nor yet bedimmed,
Like a bright moon, the flaming herald flew
Over Asopus' plain, and wakened up
Fresh fiery signals on Cithæron's rock.
Nor did the watchman on that distant height
Refuse the flaming message sent from far;
But sped it on till, blazing yet more high,
It swooped on the Gorgopian lake and climbed
The cliffs of Egiphanctus, *warning wide*
To heap the bale-fire with unstinting hand,
And then rekindled in unbroken might
Swept the huge band of flame, and soared above
The headland which looks down upon the waves
Of the Saronic gulf, and thence once more
It flashed upon the Arachnæan cliffs
And the watch-towers that near the city stand,
Till on the Atreidae's roof it lighted last
Claiming descent from Ida's far-off fires."

Such as desire to test the faithfulness of Lord Carnarvon to his author's drift may be referred to Dr. Kennedy's Agamemnon, which we noticed in March; but the comparison of Paley's edition in the Bibliotheca Classica, or of his translation of Æschylus (in prose, in 1864), with our extract, and specially its italicized passages, will afford abundant evidence of competent and skilful workmanship.

Another test-passages may well be that which in the third chorus introduces the personified Ate, in guise of a lion's cub, to kingly halls, to work its subtle ruin. (See Ag. 696-725. *ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντα. νομφόκλυτος Ερινύς.* Eng. Tr., pp. 38, 39.)

"So once a lion's cub was reared
With kindly nurture: tame and mild,
Gentle to aged man and child,
Like foster-son he came at call
Fondled and loved. But soon appeared
The instincts of his nature wild,
A curse within the friendly hall.
Then, his nurture ill-requiting,
On men and flocks in turn alighting
Fell the ravening beast of prey.
And the house was stained with blood
As when some infernal brood
Of curses grow and cling and stay
In some friendly man's abode.
E'en so there seemed to come on Troy
The spirit of a breathless calm,
A dream of beauty and of joy,
Revealing in her eyes the charm,
Of tender grace and piercing fire
And conquering bloom of soft desire.
Fatal neighbour, cruel guest,
Hapless bride, domestic pest
To the sons of Priam, she,
Claiming hospitality,
Came commissioned to fulfil
Her marriage curse of grief and ill."

The noble translator has here caught with nicety the spirit and force of the original, which is designed to point the influence of a deadly but fascinating spell, "a spirit of windless calm," over the spirits of the Trojans, and wrought out of the Greek lyrics a modern counterpart which will be admitted to be full of beauty. Our last extract shall be from another chorus, following Agamemnon's bidding to Clytemnestra to receive kindly the "army's gift" to him, Cassandra; and Clytemnestra's ambiguously worded reply. In the second strophe and its antistrophe will be found the lines beginning, *μαλὰ γὰρ τὸ μεγάλας ὑγίαιας*, κ.τ.λ. (972-983), and two stanzas from Lord Carnarvon will be found to represent them, as far as their presumed scope can be guessed from the doubtfulness of the Greek text:—

"The insatiate lust of power and pride
No limit knows, yet hard beside
Dwell woe and mortal grief;
And human fate all recklessly
Goes speeding o'er th' unwarning sea,
To strike upon the hidden reef.
"And prudence warns with fearful voice
To make some timely sacrifice,
Uttering her sage behest;—
So might the house escape her doom,
So might the sinking bark come home
Safe to the haven's rest,"—E. T. p. 52.

Not to go into the sequel which applies the legend of Æsculapius, it may be said that of the materials offered him here, as elsewhere, the translator has constructed a telling and transpicuous strain of poetry. In truth we are not sorry that he has turned his mind to the Greek drama, though it can hardly promise even as much satisfaction if he essays the rest of the Oresteian Trilogy. Easier and more manageable plays, such as the Persians and the Seven against Thebes, have much of scenic effect, and not a little poetry, to recommend them for setting before English readers; but we should like to see some such dramas as the Ion or the Iphigenias of Euripides chosen by a scholarly and withal poetically gifted translator, such as, if our survey has not erred, Lord Carnarvon has approved himself.

Whilst engaged in chronicling recent works in one way or another bearing on classical literature, we cannot overlook a volume the result of long and careful, not to say loving research, and likely to be subsidiary to the scholar as well as the theologian—viz., *Bible Echoes in the Ancient Classics*, by the late Crawford Tait Ramage, LL.D. It is probably known to most readers that this veteran *littérateur* employed many years in digging into the depths of Greek and Latin classics for the beautiful thoughts to be derived from each; and his last and crowning labour was to "illustrate the sacred writers by placing alongside of them the parallel thoughts to be found in profane authors." As he has noticed in his preface, Dupont's work (1660) was confined to the Iliad and Odyssey, and most other essays of the kind have been of necessity limited; and his own aim, in endeavouring to make his "Bible Echoes" more comprehensive, is not, as we understand it, so much to endorse the belief that such "echoes" prove the familiarity of the educated Greeks and Romans with the Hebrew Scriptures, unless in a few special instances, as to lead to a wider recognition of the fact that God never left Himself without witness, and to collect and multiply the proofs that heathen philosophy paved the way to what was completed in Christ. To make his inquiry the more valuable, Dr. Ramage has made his index of pagan authors chronological, and thereby shown where and how far the parallelisms are accidental or aforethought. The whole subject, however, is one which is as yet unexplored. When one notes that "A land flowing with milk and honey" (Numbers xvi. 13) is paralleled from Euripides' Bacchæ, 142, *ρεῖ δὲ γάλακτι πέδον*, and Theocr. Idyl, v. 124, we recognise that the influence of the Septuagint may have inspired the second at any rate of these Bible Echoes. But when, apropos of David's lament over the child of his sin (2 Sam. xii. 23), "Can I bring him back again? I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me," we get parallels from Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, all in a sliding scale of lax resemblance; or, apropos of Barzillai's prayer (2 Sam. xix. 37), are invited to hear an echo of Homer, or of Euripides, what is it, after all, except that in all ages and phases of thought, the poetic expression has tended to one and the same manner of speech and vent; and that sacred and profane writers may have leapt independently to one and the same form of expression? What, again,

is more reasonable than that the flower of heathen philosophers should have been led by independent thought to sparkles and glimmerings of the divine wisdom which inspired Job's grandest philosophy, "What, shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" and what is there in Dr. Ramage's parallels that heathen philosophy might not have attained to, without any prompting, even if we include the quotation from Apollonius Rhodius, iv, 1165?

ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐποτε φύλα δυνπαθέντων ἀνθρώπων
τερπώλης ἐπέβημεν ὀλω ποδί, σὺν δὲ τις αἰεί
πικρὴ παρμέβλωκεν εὐφροσύνησιν ἀνίη.

"But we, the race of wretched mortals, have never trodden upon joy with our whole foot: but together with our joy some bitterness is always mingled." In comparing the language of the prophetic writers with parallels from the heathen writers, there are some cases in which the connection is not at first sight patent—e.g., in Isaiah lii. 7, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth tidings, that publisheth peace!" is illustrated by Tac. Annals, xii. 19, "Bellorum egregii fines, quoties ignoscendo transigitur;" i.e., "The noblest end to wars is when matters are settled by pardoning the conquered;" but there are doubtless other parallels, such as Isaiah ii. 4, Isaiah vi. 4, and Isaiah x. 6, where through the Septuagint there may have been a clear access on the part of the Alexandrian writers to the Hebrew prophets. Our view, therefore, of the value of these Bible Echoes is rather as subsidiary to, and in the nature of an index for, subtler and deeper inquiries, than as a philosophical help or aid to an often mooted problem. It does not prove much beyond the already clear connecting link betwixt the Hebrew Scriptures and the Alexandrian school of poets, to find David's words in Psalm cx. 1, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool," to find Callimachus asserting of Apollo (Ad. Ap. 28), *δύναται γὰρ ἐπὶ Δαί δεξιὸς ἵσταται*. One word, however, is expressly due to the life-labours of the author of this volume, for his tenacity of purpose, his width of research, and the industry which enabled him to accomplish his task, in spite of growing infirmities; a task which is henceforth, at any rate, inseparable from the study and literature of the subject.

Of the next work on our table (*The Classic Poets, their Lives and Times; with their Epics epitomized*, by W. T. Dobson. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1879), a very brief notice will suffice, inasmuch as in no natural sense does any part of the volume, beyond the first fifty-five pages, concern classical literature, and even if an author might group the lays of Nibelungen, the Cid, and the works of Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Spenser, and Milton, under the comprehensive head of epic, what can excuse his oversight in overlooking the Odyssey and the Æneid, nay, even such poems as the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius, as the works of classic poets, and as epics in every sense? Verily in one respect Mr. Dobson has realized his hope, "that a book of the kind would prove a novelty;" yet where can have been his head when he dreamed of a favourable reception for his *rechauffés* of his so-called classic poets, where the object intended of bringing "the salient points before the mass of unscholarly readers" has been so well and variously achieved beforehand by Messrs. Blackwood's "Ancient and Foreign Classics for English Readers," and by Mr. A. J. Church's "Stories from Homer and from Virgil?" A perusal of three or four of the sketches and accompanying epitomes would satisfy any acute reader that the author makes scant pretence to throw any new light on the epic field which he skims; does not even essay to define or discuss the nature of epic poetry: nor indeed is it conceivable, after the shallow and slender data on which he bases his biographical sketch of Homer, that he has so much as heard of the questions touching his unity and his personality, which have divided and continue to divide the world of scholars, and of which most cultivated outsiders have some general knowledge. What heed, it may be asked, can be given to a writer who, in his second page, endorses the statement that Homer's proper name was Melesigenes, which, seeing that that name represents his locative epithet or patronymic, i.e., "son of Meles," is much as if one should say that the author of "Tom Brown's Schooldays" proper name was "Rugbæensis," and that of the author of Shakespeare's Plays "The Swan of Avon." Equal trash is embalmed in the legend of his relations with Thestorides, the schoolmaster at Phocæa, and perhaps prototype of plagiarists, whose name lies hid under another obvious patronymic. Proceeding from the poet's life to his works, or one of them, Mr. Dobson very perfunctorily skims the chief scenes of the Iliad, without tarrying to encumber his pages with reference to book, verse, or translator, though some credit must perhaps

be allowed to his occasional variation of the notoriously untrustworthy version of Pope with the truer and more comprehensive metres of the Dean of Ely's translation. For the hundredth time the "Parting of Hector and Andromache" is transcribed to fill up two or more pages, and once more, in p. 47, seq., comes also from Pope's presentment, a reminder how

"Ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros
Exanimemque auro corpus vendebat Achilles."

Leaving the rest of the volume to those who consider the poems to which it relates in the light of "classical," our own brief verdict on Mr. Dobson's Iliad is to this effect, that any reader who has scholarship enough to read a couple of books of the Iliad had much better give the time at his disposal to such a well-edited little book as Mr. Arthur Sidgwick's *Homer's Iliad, Books I., II.* (London, Rivington, 1877), containing lucid notes and an excellent, comprehensive introduction, or to another and in some respects superior brochure, by Mr. Monro, of Oriel College, Oxford (*Homer's Iliad, Book I.* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1878), either of which would be found a mine *in petto* of sound knowledge. Others, whose Greek is *nil*, may better be remitted to Mr. Collins's volume in the "Ancient Classics," or to Professor Jebb's "Primer of Greek Literature."

The prime merit of Mr. W. W. Capes's valuable edition of that interesting portion of Livy's pictured page which deals with the Second Punic War (*Livy: Books XXI., XXII.: Hannibal's First Campaign in Italy: with Introductory Notes and Appendices* by Rev. W. W. Capes, Reader in Ancient History. London: Macmillan & Co., 1878, lies beyond doubt as well in the remarkable historic instinct and insight which characterize his prefatory Introduction and lucid Appendices, as in the invariable acumen of his notes on the history of chapter by chapter. Rarely, ere now, has so serviceable a handbook to a special period been offered to the hands of young students, presenting in moderate space all that is needed for intelligent conception of the progress of the history related, along with the collateral light on geography so important to be obtained, and a general valuation of the credibility of the historian as compared with the parallel sources from which the events related can be collected or weighed. We commend a study of Mr. Capes's introduction "On the Early History of Carthage, and the Antecedents of the Second Punic War," and "On the Authorities for the History of that War," with the Appendices on Hannibal's Route across the Alps (in which Mr. Capes clearly leans to Polybius's view of that route as across the Graian Alps rather than to Livy's across the Cottian; by the Little St. Bernard, not across the Mont Genève; by the longer, not the shorter route). On the whole, he doubts the attempts to square the two accounts, as also the admissibility of the third route, that over the Mont Cenis, of comparatively modern supporters and advocates. If we turn to Mr. Capes's qualifications as a commentator, they will be found excellent, both as respects philological criticism and explanatory notes. In re-perusing the chapters of the twenty-second book, up to the disaster of the Lake Trasymene, capital notes of the former kind are to be found in c. i. § 8, on "*scipionem*," a staff, which is connected with *σκήπτρον* and *σκήπτω*, and which suggests a nice distinction between the high-vaulting associations of Greek proper names and the humbler Roman—e.g., Scipio, Fabius, Lentulus, Piso, Cicero—almost all derived from vegetable products. On this word an excellent note of Munro, iii. 1034, is appositely quoted; and good etymological notes are given in c. ii., on the derivation of "Mavors," and the spelling and source of "Trasumennus." Before reading Livy's account of the battle, the student should post himself up in Mr. Capes's Appendix on the character of Flaminius, from which it will be seen that there is no justice in the blame which aristocratic annalists attach to Flaminius for aught before the eve of the battle, when he allowed himself to be ensnared. In c. iv. § 4, a passage which has caused some puzzling is that which Lepsius proposed to read, "*ab tergo ac super caput decipere insidiæ*," the MSS. having "*deceptæ insidiæ*." Whichever reading is adopted, the general sense must be, "the ambushade behind and above him was unperceived," but the precise force of the verb or participle is dubious. In a note of Professor Jebb on the passage, in the Classical Translations of a Triumvirate in which he figures first (Deighton, Bell, & Co., 1878), at p. 231, it is suggested that "*decipere*" may mean "became a snare to him." Mr. Capes may well bestow further editorial labours upon Livy.

A chronicle of "contemporary" scholarship must not close without referring (it

can scarce do more, either on the score of space or because the subject pertains much more largely to the department of theology) to the learned and most interesting Miscellanies of the Bishop of Lincoln (*Miscellanies, Literary and Religious*, by Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. London: Rivingtons, 1879), a work in three stout octavo volumes, into which he has happily collected the thoughts, researches, and studies of a long period of years, suggested by his various travels on the Continent, and devoted first and foremost to the sacred interests of religion and orthodoxy, but in no small measure also to questions of scholarship, literature, art, and archæology, in which it need scarcely be said that he is not less thoroughly versed than the most learned bishop of the Anglican bench in all time. His second and enlarged edition of *Theocritus* in 1877 met with a most favourable reception from scholars at home and abroad, and it is an edifying thought that so earnest and self-disciplining a divine can find no scruple, but quite the contrary, in including in his Miscellanies such classical papers as the Pompeian Inscriptions of vol. i. 1—39, the Notes in Greece of the same volume, where he has translated his illustrative quotations from the Greek poets into English trochaics or other ancient metres, and his instructive and kindly estimate of Horace as a poet, in the third volume; or, as he terms it, "The Poetical and Political Mission of Horace." (See pp. 19—28.) The first paper mentioned contains an excellent *résumé* in a letter to a Fellow of Trinity in 1837, on the *graffiti*, or wall-writings, discovered, or first noticed, at Pompeii about the date of his visit there in 1832, and it is extremely interesting to glean from this letter the Bishop's acuteness in making out the names of the players in a game of rackets at Pompeii, advertised in these wall-writings, to be played there seven hundred years before the conquest of England, traceable on the cement and still decipherable, after so many centuries of buried sleep. From the names of the players it is inferred that they were either slaves or freedmen, and one of them, Epaphra (not probably Epaphras as our Bibles have it, because as Bentley laid down in his letter to Mill, the appellatives of slaves ending in *as* in Greek were Latinized into *a*), figures again in these wall-writings on the strength of his skill in the racket court, some one having scribbled up "Epaphra, pilicrepus non es," and some later peruser having disapproved the detraction, and run his *stylus* through it. There seems to have been at Pompeii a club of "pilicrepi," or "ball-players," and the Bishop illustrates the etymology of the word from a passage of *Statius's Sylva*. In several other *graffiti*, Bishop Wordsworth notes the good humour, raillery, and parody of the pompous style, in some of these effusions—*e.g.*, where one slave mockingly writes to another:

Pyrrhus Getæ
Conlegæ sal.
Molestè fero, quod
Audi-vi-te mortuvm.
Itaque vale.

Upon which he remarks that Cicero, in his Pompeian villa, could not have written in a more statesmanlike style. But, in truth, the first sixty or seventy pages of vol. i. are rich with illustrations of classical usages and phraseology, and point to the ancillary nature of the Bishop's ripe and cherished scholarship, even when the more vital concerns of his sacred profession are on the *tapis*. Amongst other reprints, in the third volume, we are glad to see his excellent Latin preface to the second edition of his *Theocritus*, full of wise encouragement of the union of secular and sacred, religious and classical study; and it is as a pendant to this, and apropos of our nineteenth century marriage laws, and other modern sins and scandals, that he goes far to rehabilitate Horace from a survey of his improved moral tone in his later writings, and of his lofty conception of the dignity of his office, as a poet, teacher, and prophet for his age and country. It is needless to say, however, that all was as nothing for lack of the teaching of definite Christian doctrine, and vain, save in pointing a prospective moral, to speculate what Horace might have been had he enjoyed the blessings of Christianity and the means of grace. Who will regret that there is still a Bishop of such profound and varied learning as the author of "Athens and Attica," of the "Address to the Old Catholics at Cologne and Bonn," and of these well-collected Miscellanies?

II.—LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

(Under the Direction of J. BASS MULLINGER, M.A.)

THE first seven of *Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, by the late Sir Gilbert Scott (2 vols.: John Murray), were delivered at the Royal Academy when the author was called upon to relieve Professor Cockerell, then in infirm health, of the duty of lecturing; the eighth and ninth, six years later, subsequent to the retirement of Mr. Smirke; the remaining nine, after the lecturer's own appointment as Professor. A certain amount of repetition was accordingly inevitable, addressed as the lectures were to different audiences at times wide apart, but they form as a whole a most valuable embodiment of the views of one who had watched from its commencement the great revival in the present century in favour of Gothic architecture; who was at once the ablest and most judicious leader of that revival, and, in this country at least, the most distinguished interpreter of its principles in practice. If, here and there, we are conscious of a certain deviation from the strict impartiality which should characterize addresses delivered under such high responsibility, we feel that something of the enthusiasm of the advocate may well be condoned in one who rendered such eminent service to the cause which he had at heart; while the criticism throughout, in its freedom and independence of tone, contrasts favourably with the unreasoning and often blind admiration of the school of Pugin. Nothing can be more just than the theory of "restoration" here laid down; although in reading the following sentences, and at the same time recalling some of the writer's own less felicitous efforts in that direction, we may perhaps be reminded how often precept and practice are found in but imperfect agreement:—

"I know no subject connected with architecture more mournful and distressing than the way in which our old churches are but too generally dealt with. Many of our large towns contain one or more architects who habitually prey upon the surrounding churches, more or less ruining everything they touch, and that without remorse, and combating with the utmost energy every remonstrance against their destructive habits. Nor are they alone to blame. *The clergy too often love to have it so.* If they can get their churches made smart, they often seem to care little about the destruction of their antiquities, and thus, between them and their architects, whole counties are becoming denuded of a great part of the points of interest in their churches. Nay, the man who commits the greatest devastations often earns the greatest amount of commendation; and one who venerates an old building and seeks to preserve its antiquities has to *fight for every inch of ground* against the opposition of the parties interested in the work." (i. 363, 364).*

It partly suggests the progress that has been made since Sir Gilbert delivered his first lecture that, in defending his subject from the superficial prejudices which the terms "Gothic" and "Mediæval" had at one time to encounter, he did not then regard it as superfluous to urge upon his audience that this school of architecture was at once essentially modern and essentially Teutonic, that it was, as it were, the latest link in a chain stretching back to prehistoric times, when the nomad first became a settler, and lastly that it was "pre-eminently the architecture of our own forefathers and of our own land." The view that it is also "essentially Christian" is probably not one that would now command unhesitating assent; Byzantine at any rate, might here put in an equal claim. To the professional and the amateur alike, it will however most likely seem that the arguments which the lecturer next proceeds to draw from the intrinsic merits and beauty of the Gothic style are those which carry most weight and are entitled to the most general concurrence.

In adverting, in the fifth lecture, to the various theories that have been propounded respecting the *origin* of the Gothic style—that it is, for example, the expression of religious, ethnological, or political conceptions and characteristics—the manly and practical sense of the lecturer is apparent in the terse sentences in which, after rejecting each of the foregoing theories, he gives it as his own conviction that

"It arose from the application of plain common sense to plain practical requirements; that many of these requirements were not peculiar to the period, but belong to all time; that many were not limited to a race or climate, but are common, with certain modifications, to different races and countries; and that the application of the same class of common sense to altered requirements would produce results by no means militating against those thus arrived at, but, on the contrary, tending to enrich, to amplify, and to add new life, variety, and harmony to the art which it had at first suggested." (i. 218.)

* The italics are the writer's.

The eighth lecture, "On the Practical Study of Gothic Architecture," taken in conjunction with the fourth and fifth, furnishes almost a guide-book in brief to the chief architectural glories of our own country, touching with a master's hand chiefly on details or features which under the mechanical guidance of the ordinary manuals might pass almost unobserved. The remaining nine lectures, in the second volume, delivered after the author's promotion to the professorial chair, are on "Early Architecture in Great Britain," "The Principle of Vaulting," "The Dome," and "Architectural Art in reference to the Past, the Present, and the Future." Though slightly more technical in character, the method of treatment is such as to invest the subject with interest for all thoughtful readers. As an illustration of the close affinities between the history of the arts and that of political institutions, it is not unworthy of note that just as recent historical research has satisfactorily established the continuity that really binds the modern to the ancient era, so Sir Gilbert, in revising his first lecture, saw fit (pp. 12, 40) to abandon his original notion that Christian architecture was an entirely "new creation," and was willing to admit that in Italy, "in spite of Gothic invasions, &c.," the history of architecture was fairly continuous, and to recognise, *inter alia*, the existence of a genuine Lombardic style.

Of the admirable illustrations contained in these volumes, which, together with the woodcuts borrowed from Mr. Fergusson's great work, sometimes succeed each other so closely that the text might seem merely the vehicle for their introduction, nearly one-half were executed under the author's own superintendence, and to these, it is almost needless to say, no exception can be taken: some, however, in the second volume, do not appear to have received quite such careful supervision. Those which are the result of the employment of photo-lithography betray the defects as well as the advantages of the method. The illustration which forms the frontispiece of the second volume, for example, taken from the author's splendid design of a Central Hall in the drawings submitted by him for the New Law Courts, is wanting in clearness, shade being represented by mere mist. There are also some typographical inaccuracies which we should not have expected to meet with in volumes of so much merit: "Nôtre Dame" for "Notre Dame" is conspicuous again and again; while such misprints as "*Vesica Piscis*" are not wanting. Here and there, the addition of a brief note would have added considerably to the interest of the text. For instance, in connection with the slight reference in the fifth lecture (i. 189) to Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge, the eminent services since rendered by the lecturer in relation both to the Chapel and the New Court of the College should certainly not have been left unnoticed.

In the *Life, Letters, and Sermons of Bishop Herbert de Losinga* (2 vols.: London: James Parker & Son) and Canon Perry's *Life of St. Hugh of Avalon* (London: John Murray) we have two studies of an important era in English history. Herbert de Losinga, who was Bishop of Norwich from the year 1091 to 1119, illustrates the condition of affairs under William Rufus and Henry I.; while St. Hugh, who was Bishop of Lincoln from 1186 to 1200, belongs chiefly to the reign of Henry II. and Richard I. As however Mr. Perry has been at the pains to prefix to his *Life of St. Hugh* a series of sketches of the Bishop's predecessors in the same illustrious see,—Remigius, Robert Bloet, Alexander, Robert de Chesney, Geoffrey Plantagenet, and Walter of Coutances,—his volume, in conjunction with the other two, furnishes an almost continuous narrative from the Norman Conquest to the end of the twelfth century. Of neither the earlier nor the later period can it be said, that it presents a picture in which the brighter tints prevail: in the former we see an episcopal order consisting almost exclusively of aliens imposing a new ritual and novel doctrines on a subject and half-rebellious clergy; in the latter, we find the same episcopate in their turn exposed to oppression and appealing from the absolutism of royalty to the still growing ambition of Rome. The more general features of the times are no better: the evidence, in every direction, brings home to us the demoralization and corruption that prevailed, as faith, society, and political and religious organizations alike, waited for the stirring and renovating influences of the wondrous thirteenth century.

Yet, notwithstanding, from whatever point of view we may be disposed to estimate these Norman bishops, it is impossible to deny the importance of their work and the interest that attaches to their history. At a time when the proud race to which they belonged was at once the terror and the admiration of Europe, they are to be found civilizing where the warrior too often only conquered; in England, more especially, quickening the ignorant, apathetic, and semi-brutalized Saxon with humaner thought—winning the sympathies of those whose language they could rarely speak, by noble acts of charity, disinterestedness, and self-sacrifice—rearing

splendid temples, unrivalled as examples of Christian art inspired by the Teutonic genius—manfully confronting the oppressor, mercifully aiding the poor and the friendless—in fine, very striking, not to say surprising, lives, as lived in so corrupt and rude an age.

The claims of Herbert de Losinga to take rank in this class are, however, but slight; and his biographers, although their research may be pronounced exhaustive, still labour under the disadvantage that we really know very little concerning his career—some twenty lines in Florence of Worcester and rather less in Eadmer, together with a brief allusion in the Saxon Chronicle, constituting the only contemporary sources of information respecting him. It is even a matter of doubt whether he belonged to the dominant or to the conquered race, although we know that he received his education at the famous abbey of Fescamp in Normandy. Of this foundation he subsequently became the prior, and from thence, in the year 1087, he was transferred to be abbot of the wealthy Benedictine Monastery at Ramsey in Huntingdonshire. Here he acquired sufficient wealth to enable him, on the see of Thetford falling vacant in 1091, to appeal successfully to the cupidity of William Rufus, and he was accordingly appointed bishop. Judging from the language of the chroniclers, it was one of the most glaring instances of simony that occurred even in that venal reign; the sum which Herbert paid into the royal treasury (£1900) was, in fact, nearly four times as much as Anselm would consent to pay when he succeeded to the see of Canterbury. After his election, however, Herbert exhibited signs of contrition, though whether real or feigned it is difficult to say. It was the time when the English episcopate was seeking to escape from the tyranny of the civil power at home by unreserved recognition of the papal jurisdiction, and the Bishop of Norwich, making his way across the Channel unobserved by the officers of the Red King, laid the insignia of his office at the feet of Urban II. They were graciously restored to him, the contrite bishop was comforted and counselled, and returned to England to transfer his see from the decaying town of Thetford to Norwich, there to found and build the great cathedral of East Anglia. It is the opinion of the editors, in which they are supported by the high authority of the late Professor Willis, that the nave of the edifice is not the work of Herbert, but was added towards the close of the same century. If we adopt this conclusion, our wonder at the vastness of the task accomplished by the first bishop of Norwich will be materially diminished. Otherwise, the admiration expressed by Sir Gilbert Scott (*Hist. of Mediæval Architecture*, ii. 117) that the "stupendous edifice," as he terms it, should have been built and the expenses defrayed within a period of twenty-eight years, is certainly fully justified, especially when we consider that the stone employed had all to be brought from Northamptonshire.

Besides the above facts, we find not much of importance. Herbert appears to have preached at the translation of St. Etheldreda, and was an eye-witness of the miracle at the tomb of St. Witburga; and he was one of Henry's envoys to Rome in 1107 in connection with the all-absorbing question of investitures. Fuller insists emphatically on the reformation in his character. "When old," he says, "nothing of Herbert was in Herbert,"—a statement hardly borne out by the fact of the bishop's strenuous endeavours to bring under his control the ancient Abbey of St. Edmund's. For this purpose, indeed, he had, when on the above mission to Rome, provided himself with funds in order to gain the papal favour by the same means which had enabled him to gain the royal favour sixteen years before; but falling into the hands of Count Guido, he was mercilessly plundered, and his private designs at Rome were consequently frustrated.

As a writer, it can hardly be said that Bishop Herbert gains much in our estimation. The incidents recorded in his letters are but of trifling importance, and neither the thought nor the diction is suggestive of a mind of very superior vigour or culture. He appears to have been a rigid disciplinarian; and although his own wealth as Abbot of Ramsey had been acquired in glaring disregard of the Benedictine rule, we nevertheless find him (i. 139) severely censuring a poor monk who had ventured to accept some slight remuneration for services rendered as a copyist. The sermons, though not unfavourable specimens of the cloudy and meretricious rhetoric of the period, are full of forced conceits in the application of Scripture, and give evidence of no superiority to the prevailing superstition.

In Hugh of Avalon we have a very different character, and one with respect to whom our information is ample if not complete. Born of a noble family at Avalon in Burgundy, and educated in a house of regular canons at Villarbenoit, he subsequently embraced the monastic profession at the Great Chartreuse. From thence the fame which he acquired by his sanctity, and singular power (which he

appears to have retained through life) of controlling his fellow-men, reached to England, and from the Great Chartreuse he was summoned by Henry II. to preside over a newly founded monastery at Witham in Somersetshire. Hugh is said to have strikingly resembled Henry in person, and it is certain that he soon acquired the monarch's special regard. In a few years more, the humble prior, foreigner though he was, was promoted from his tranquil obscurity at Witham to rule the great see of Lincoln. His nomination by Henry appears to have filled the ecclesiastical world with astonishment, and none more than the canons themselves on whom it devolved to elect him. Enthroned at Lincoln, Hugh's rare qualities of mind and temper found for the first time full scope. Ignorant of the native speech and customs, he applied to Archbishop Baldwin for certain discreet and learned clerks to assist him in his work. Though indebted for his promotion almost solely to Henry's favour, one of his first acts was resolutely to oppose the cruel forest laws, and in the discharge of this duty he had the courage to retort upon the insolence of the King's chief forester by a sentence of excommunication. Pressed to confer a prebend on a Court favourite, he evaded the demand with a tact and firmness which Henry, though at first incensed, rewarded by new marks of favour. His keenness of discernment and rigid impartiality caused his episcopal court to be thronged with anxious suitors for justice—although, to quote Mr. Perry's words, "he loved better to be cleaning the scuttlies at Witham than to be taking his place in the Curia Regis." He sustained the reputation of the whole Anglican order by the steadiness of his refusal to put into execution Pope Celestine's sentence of excommunication against Geoffrey, Archbishop of York. In an age when genuine morality was held of slight account, and, again to quote our author, "nothing was very highly esteemed save a senseless and excessive asceticism," he could venture to constrain a priest on whom the duties of his office pressed heavily to break his fast before the celebration of the Eucharist.

The contrast between these two twelfth-century studies is complete. The editors of the one have presented us with two bulky octavos, the greater part of which must be pronounced almost worthless: the compiler of the other gives us a modest duodecimo, nearly every page of which is valuable. As Bishop Herbert strikes us as neither better nor worse than his age, so St. Hugh appears in almost every respect superior to it. Where the one gained the royal favour by unblushing simony, the other commanded it by heroic resistance to the royal extortion. The one sought to humble the monastic order by counter-plotting them; the other was content to remind his hearers that "God did not require of any man to have been a monk or a hermit, but to have been truly a Christian." While the one hung over the relics of saints and recounted wondrous miracles, the other, according to the author of the *Magna Vita*, "was wont to refer these things to the desire felt by the narrators of commending the person to whom they were attributed, and to the profit likely to arise to those who admired such things; but for himself, the holiness of the saints was a sufficient miracle for him, and a sufficient example. *The one universal miracle which was ever present to his mind was the remembrance of his Creator, and the thought of the stupendous multitude and inexplicable greatness of His mighty works.*"

In one respect, however, it must be allowed that Dean Goulburn and his coadjutor have much the advantage of Canon Perry. They have given us two excellent indexes, while he has given us none whatever. We hope that in a second edition, which his volume is almost certain to reach, this deficiency will be made good.

Mr. Reeve's volume on *Petrarch* in the series under the editorship of Mrs. Oliphant (*Foreign Classics for English Readers*. London: W. Blackwood & Sons) has the merit of setting forth very simply and clearly the main incidents in the poet's career and the chief characteristics of his genius. The compiler frankly states that his impressions with respect to Petrarch are derived rather from early than recent research; and although he has availed himself of the valuable edition of the *Epistles* by Fracassetti, he does not appear to have consulted the elegant study of his subject by M. Mezières, published in 1868, nor the far more valuable criticism contained in Dr. Georg Voigt's well-known volume *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, &c. Hence his general estimate of the great Florentine is rather concerned with the sonneteer than with the scholar whose example and influence opened up the way to the Renaissance. Hallam's observations on Petrarch's Latin style, quoted on page 78, certainly appear very meagre and insufficient when compared with the valuable criticism in Voigt's volume (pp. 20, 21). As regards the details of Petrarch's life, the writer should not, we think, have omitted the highly characteristic event told by the poet himself (*Epist. Rer.*

Sen. xv. 1) of his father's consigning to the flames the little collection of classical authors which the son had acquired at Montpellier, in order that his attention might not be distracted from the study of the civil law. It is not quite correct to say that Petrarch's father left him "nothing but a very choice copy of some of the works of Cicero." There was a small property for him and his brother, though, as M. Mezières says, it was "très mince." It is somewhat singular that the title of Petrarch's treatise (perhaps the best known of all) *de sui ipsius et multorum aliorum ignorantia*, to which reference is made at three distinct places (pp. 3, 62, 123), should each time have been differently translated, the last version, "On the ignorance of himself and others," being certainly wrong.

A very different treatment of a similar subject is presented to our notice in M. Vast's elaborate study, *Le Cardinal Bessarion* (Paris: Hachette & Co.). Bessarion (born in 1403) was a native of Trebizond, the capital of that new empire which was at this period reaping the fruits of its heroic resistance to the Turk and the Mongol, and enjoying, in the opinion of Mr. Finlay, an amount of tranquillity and prosperity which might compare favourably with that of any European state. Amid the peaceful industry and commercial activity of this thriving city Bessarion received his early education, and grew up to manhood; from thence, about the year 1425, he repaired to Constantinople. M. Vast considers, not without reason, that the polity and civilization of the Byzantine Empire have been unduly depreciated, and he notes with satisfaction the indications afforded in works like those of MM. Egger, Miller, and Brunet de Prasles, and the recent essay of M. Rambaud on Constantine Porphyrogenitus, that these prejudices are already on the wane. It is in this spirit that he has composed his present work. Bessarion, he holds, typifies, better than any other man of his age, that fusion of the Greek and the Latin genius which resulted in the Renaissance. "He was," he says, "a monk of the order of St. Basil, transplanted into the Sacred College, a cardinal who protected scholars, a scholastic theologian who broke lances in the defence of Platonism, a zealous worshipper of antiquity, who contributed in an unequalled degree to bring about the modern era." The relation under which Bessarion is best known to posterity is that of mediator between the Eastern and Western Churches at the Council of Florence. The feelings with which his abortive success on that memorable occasion was hailed at Constantinople are familiar to students of Church History: as M. Vast pithily expresses it, the cry was, "Plutôt le turban des Turcs que la mitre du Pape!" The details of the proceedings of the Council, as also those of the Council of Ferrara, are given by him at considerable length and with great care. Not less so are those which belong to the equally laborious and equally fruitless efforts of the patriotic Cardinal to organize another crusade. Most readers, however, will probably turn with far more interest to the fifth book, which is concerned with Bessarion's relations to the Renaissance. His life during his literary retirement at Tusculum (where he held the bishopric), and the Academy of which he was there the centre, composed of scholars from all quarters whom he aided and encouraged with the liberality of a Mæcenas,—the library of St. Mark at Venice that he founded,—the warm controversies between the Aristotelians and the rising school of the Platonists, in which he took a foremost part, all make up an episode in the history of the learning of this period which will receive the more attention from the fact that it has been but imperfectly described by those English writers who, like Mr. Symonds, have treated of the subject. To many it will probably appear that M. Vast has somewhat overrated the importance and extent of Bessarion's influence, but his work is evidently the result of lengthened and careful study of both the original sources and recent writers, and it will be admitted to be not only attractive in style but also scholarly and in some respects profound.

In *Stories from Early English Literature*, by Sarah J. Venables Dodds (London: Griffith & Farran), we have an attempt to bring within the comprehension of very young students some of the more important characters and features of our mediæval literature. The design is conceived in a genial spirit, and the language and treatment are certainly as simple as the subject admits. It is, however, at least open to question whether it would not be better to postpone any attempt to impart such knowledge until it has become unnecessary to present it in so highly diluted a form. As young memories are very tenacious it is desirable that they should not be taught anything which they may afterwards have to unlearn; as, for example, that Charlemagne was a giant "much over six feet," and that the famous school which he instituted was at Paris.

III.—SCIENCE.

(Under the Direction of R. A. PROCTOR, B.A.)

I HAD occasion to discuss two years ago in these pages, Professor Draper's recognition of the bright lines of oxygen in the spectrum of the sun. Although several physicists, whose opinion I could not lightly disregard, were of opinion that I had been over-hasty in regarding their evidence as conclusive, I did not hesitate to republish that essay in my "Pleasant Ways in Science," because I could not, after carefully examining the evidence, perceive any good grounds for questioning the validity of Professor Draper's conclusions. In eighteen cases, well-marked agreement was shown between oxygen bright lines and bright parts of the solar spectrum; in no case was there any recognisable discordance. It appeared to me that under such circumstances no reasonable doubt could remain. If such evidence as this was rejected, no evidence whatever could suffice to demonstrate the existence of a known element in the sun. It appeared to me further that some of the doubts urged by those who declined to accept Professor Draper's conclusions were urged without due consideration of the nature of the evidence he had adduced. Some said, for example, that the bright lines or bands in the solar spectrum, which he identified with oxygen bright bands, were unlike the bands seen in the spectrum of oxygen. But what else was to be expected when we remembered that the spectrum of oxygen was photographed after the light from the glowing oxygen and nitrogen (that is, from the electric spark through air) had passed through only a few feet of air, whereas the light from the glowing oxygen in the sun had passed probably through more than 10,000 miles of dense vaporous matter in the sun, to say nothing of 100 miles or so of vapour-laden air upon the earth. Again it was said that Professor Draper's instruments did not produce a dispersion sufficient to make the coincidences certain; yet they were more powerful than those used in the classical researches of Kirchhoff and Bunsen. Others again objected that no element in the sun could possibly indicate its presence by bright lines, forgetting apparently that at times hydrogen certainly does this, in the sun's case; while in the case of the stars Gamma Cassiopeia, and others, hydrogen persistently indicates its presence in this way and no other. However, Professor Draper, though he recognised the just answers to these and other objections, possessed too much of the true scientific spirit to let the matter rest thus. He increased the dispersive power of his spectroscopic battery fourfold. He purified the spectrum of atmospheric oxygen by restraining the electric spark from its customary zigzag wanderings (making it travel between two plates of soapstone), and directing the plane of its motion towards the slit of the spectroscope. And lastly, he varied the conditions under which he took his photographic spectra. After all these precautions had been taken, the coincidences were found not only to be not impaired, but to be rendered more strikingly obvious. It appears to me that under these circumstances, Professor Draper is abundantly justified in taking up the position that the balance of probabilities is strongly in favour of the existence of oxygen in the sun. The burden of disproof now rests with those who reject his evidence. If oxygen does not exist in the sun, let them photograph, or even indicate any part of the spectrum of the sun showing one of those discordances which in that case must exist. Until they have done so, the direct positive evidence obtained by Professor Draper must be regarded as convincing. It may be mentioned, in conclusion, as showing how laborious such researches are, that, in obtaining his photographs during the last three years, Professor Draper has required twenty millions of electric flashes. Although only two drops of petroleum are used to produce each revolution of the gramme machine (one spark for each revolution), 150 gallons of petroleum have already been consumed. He has been largely aided in his researches by Mrs. Draper, and it was hoped she would have accompanied him when he presented an account of his labours to the Royal Astronomical Society. But in this matter British conservatism prevailed, as it usually does in such cases.

In his treatise on the *Art of Scientific Discovery* (London: Longman, Green & Co.), Mr. G. Gore has described the nature of original scientific research, the chief personal conditions of success in its pursuit, the general methods by which discoveries are made in physics and chemistry, and the chief causes of failure. Mr. Gore remarks that "to some the very proposal to write a book on such a subject may appear presumptuous," chiefly because of the difficulty of communicating methods of discovery—a difficulty which he recognises, but considers not insuperable. It appears to me that whatever presumption there may be, resides in the attempt to present a subject so wide in the compass of so small a volume as Mr. Gore has written. As he

says very truly, "the very magnitude of the subject makes it impossible to treat it thoroughly" in a single treatise; and accordingly the present work "embraces but a small portion of a great subject." But even this small portion would require for its adequate treatment at least five such volumes as the present.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that Mr. Gore has here written a very interesting and a very instructive work. He has sketched correctly, though he cannot be said to have fully delineated, the nature of original scientific research. He has given many illustrations, though not always the most striking which might be found, of the personal conditions necessary for success in scientific pursuits, and he has brought together a number of cases bearing on the other parts of his subject-matter. It is probable that his book will be more generally useful than the special treatises which have been written on the different departments of the wide subject over which Mr. Gore thus ranges. The student of science may prefer the systematic treatment adopted in such works as Whewell's "History of the Inductive Sciences;" but the general reader, for whom (however intended) this book is more suited, has seldom time to study the history of scientific researches on so large a scale. He does not want ordnance surveys, or even county maps (the history of scientific departments), but maps of countries, if not of whole continents. Mr. Gore's treatise, save for the arrangement of its subject-matter, may be compared to a map on Mercator's projection, in which all the countries of the world are presented, but not all on the same scale. If the arrangement of the work had been more systematic, I might have added that the treatise resembled a map in which each country is shown in or near its proper relative position. But there is very little system in Mr. Gore's discussion of the details of scientific research; a few lines are given to a subject in one page, a few more some five or six chapters farther on, and so on, to the end. Probably this scattering of remarks bearing on special scientific researches could hardly have been avoided. For instance, some astronomical inquiries illustrate one method of research, others illustrate a different method; some were due to one personal quality, some to another; some belong to the successes, others to the failures, of science. But though perhaps inevitable, and therefore more than excusable, the want of consecutiveness in the treatment of particular subjects is unpleasant. Half a dozen different illustrations, from electrical, chemical, astronomical, physical, physiological, and botanical researches, may admirably illustrate one and the same principle or law of scientific investigation; but the reader is more apt to notice the incongruity of the successive illustrations *inter se* than their congruity in relation to the abstract matter under discussion. To say the truth, the book is one to be read piecemeal, not *seriatim*: so taken, it will be found very pleasant reading.

That in a book treating of so many subjects there should be many errors is not to be wondered at, but it may be useful to correct a few of the slips which are to be noticed in its pages. Remembering that many of the readers of the book will not be scientific, it would be as well if, in future editions, Mr. Gore modified the remark on page 574 that Swan detected "the diffused presence of exceedingly minute quantities of *common salt*." Some unfair critics of whose ways I have had experience would not hesitate to say that Mr. Gore does not know the difference between sodium and the chloride of sodium; which would be dishonest and absurd. In fact, at p. 179 he puts the matter quite correctly. It is of the less experienced reader I think. The statement that in Oersted's first experiments on the movements of the magnetic needle he found "it always moved in such a way as to tend to place itself at right angles to the current," is too vague to be of use to the general reader. Being originally parallel to the current the needle could not possibly move in any other way, apart from motion parallel to the current, which of course is not in question. The statement should have been so worded as to indicate that if the current passes below the needle the north end of the needle turns towards the west, if the current is from south to north, towards the east if the current is from north to south,—the reverse holding if the current passes above the needle. The statement in the book is not only vague but in part incorrect; for the needle does not move at all if the current is at the same level. At p. 177 it is stated that the moon turns always the same face towards the earth, because of the extra quantity of matter at the lunar equator. This, which as it stands would imply that it is the difference between the moon's equatorial and lunar diameters which causes the phenomenon in question, is incorrect; the real cause is the excess of that equatorial diameter directed earthwards when the moon is in her mean position (as to libration) over the equatorial diameter at right angles to the line, from the moon's centre to the earth. Again, it is rather perplexing for the general reader to be told that in making this discovery Lagrange also arrived at

another, the cause of the libration of the moon, because this discovery is to all intents and purposes identical with the discovery of the cause of the libration. If reference were intended to what is called the physical libration of the moon,—a libration no doubt existing, but not yet observed,—the distinction between this theoretical libration and the observed librations (in longitude, in latitude, and diurnal) should have been indicated. At p. 609 it is stated that Encke, by calculating the effects of the different planets on the comet bearing his name, found Mercury to be smaller and Jupiter much larger than previous astronomers believed. The masses, not the sizes, are of course really referred to. But Jupiter's mass has never been largely corrected in this way, nor would astronomers consider the evidence respecting Jupiter's mass derived from Encke's comet, as comparable in value with that derived from the motions of Jupiter's satellites and the perturbations of certain among the family of asteroids. The account of Biela's comet on the same page is incorrect. It was not in November, 1845, but three months later, that this comet was found to be divided into two; nor were the two portions at the same distance (though Sir J. Herschel mistakenly says so in his "Familiar Lectures") when they returned in 1852. I do not think Schiaparelli's lucky guess about the August meteors and the comet of 1862 can be regarded as suggested by calculations of his. It was obvious, from the known position of the comet's orbit, that a body following nearly in its track, and passing near the earth's orbit in August 10 or 11, would, if it encountered the earth, appear to move as the August meteors do. Schiaparelli did not calculate up to this idea, but he did so calculate as to prove the closeness of the correspondence, albeit the calculation was one which he could have completed, and probably did complete, in ten or twelve minutes. Very different was the work of Adams in regard to the November meteors. Mr. Gore says Adams and Leverrier, by means similar to those employed by Schiaparelli, discovered the orbit of the November meteors, and found the suggestion correct "that it extended beyond" [the orbit of] "Uranus." Leverrier's work was similar to Schiaparelli's, and very simple. But Adams, to whom alone was due the really important part of the result—viz., the proof that the November meteors travel beyond the orbit of Uranus—accomplished a far more difficult task. Compared with what he did the work of Schiaparelli and Leverrier in meteoric matters was mere child's play. Just in this part of Mr. Gore's work, by the way, errors are almost as numerous as sentences. A comet was not "subsequently observed," and its orbit identified with the path of the November meteors. One of the most interesting points in the history of meteoric research was the circumstance that Tempel's comet (II., 1866) had been observed and had passed beyond telescopic range before the orbit of the November meteors had been determined. So again, the short account of the discovery of Neptune (pp. 201, 202) is erroneous. In two sentences there are three distinct errors. It was not Adams and Leverrier who found that the perturbations of Uranus cannot be explained by the action of known bodies; this was found by others, proved by Leverrier, and assumed by Adams; the known bodies, again, were not *near* Uranus, but farther away from Uranus than Saturn is from the sun. Adams and Leverrier did not leave the matter in the vague form suggested by Mr. Gore's account, stating—viz., that the small amount of disturbance or deflection could only be accounted for by the supposition of some unknown body. What they did was to show where the unknown body was to be looked for. Again, Mr. Gore presents among discoveries the theory that Jupiter is composed chiefly of water and watery vapour with some solid nucleus. This idea was never more than a fancy of Whewell's, whose opinion in astronomical matters can be of no weight whatever. It is now known from spectroscopical research that this idea was quite erroneous.

However, these and similar small errors in points of detail, though they may as well be corrected in future editions, do not detract much from the general value, nor at all, perhaps, from the general interest, of the work before us, which should find a place in every scientific library claiming completeness.

In the sixth edition of his *Fragments of Science* (London: Longman, Green & Co.),—I am glad, by the way, to see that the title is no longer "Fragments of Science for Unscientific People,"—Professor Tyndall has found it desirable to divide the work into two volumes. The first includes those essays which deal with the laws and phenomena of nature; the second contains those which treat of questions in which the phenomena of matter interlace more or less with those of mind. One exception is to be noted—the essay on the Electric Light, which was delivered too late to admit of being included in the first volume. New essays have been added, while old ones have been revised, and in part recast.

So much in this work has already been before the world, and has already re-

ceived the criticisms of many who view with favour or with disfavour the characteristic teachings of our great physicist (and of not a few who are neutral) that a complete survey of the work here would be out of place, even if there were not reasons, personal to myself, which would deter me from offering an opinion on the general tenor of Professor Tyndall's teachings. Twenty years have passed (almost to a day, as I write—in June, 1879) since I first heard his voice at the Royal Institution. I date from that day my recognition, or rather the first growth of my recognition, of the true meaning and value of scientific inquiry as a means of mental or moral culture. Although I should be no true disciple of science if I did not feel free to form, and when occasion serves, to enunciate, independent opinions on the questions (difficult and weighty though they are) which are discussed in these volumes, and especially in the second of them, yet there would be something savouring (to my own mind, at least) of impertinence, in the assumption of a tone of actual criticism, whether favourable or unfavourable, in this particular instance. If I have sometimes thought that Professor Tyndall has unnecessarily adopted towards theological opponents a manner of speaking which a well-known phrase indicates as better suited for their use than for his, I must admit that he has had far better means than I of judging what may be suitable or necessary. He himself says in the preface to this work that he has not "aspired to sit in the seat of the scornful," whence we may conclude that he would not willingly adopt "a tone odiously theological" (a rendering I have heard for *odium theologicum*). He recognises heartily and admires, he says, elsewhere, the spiritual radiance shed by religion on the minds and lives of many personally known to him. At the same time, "I cannot but observe," he says, "how signally, as regards the production of anything beautiful, religion fails in other cases; its professor and defender is sometimes at bottom a brawler and a clown." The words of the clowns and brawlers, however, among professors and defenders of religion, are not those which need be answered. Sometimes it has appeared to me as though too much attention had been given to such words. I am not sure whether those theologians on whom what Professor Tyndall calls the spiritual radiance has been shed in greatest profusion, have taken an active part in the wearisome "science and religion" discussions, or whether, if they have, it has been altogether necessary to respond even to their reasoning. We want to have science not only free, but widely known and understood. As time passes science grows freer and freer; but science would be freer than she is, and the spread of true scientific principles would have been wider than at present, if theologians had been allowed to object, and if it so pleased them to objurgate, without notice or response. The defensive attitude assumed by some men of science has raised doubts in the minds of many of the simpler sort. *Qui s'excuse s'accuse* is not a true saying, but it is widely accepted as a truth. In reality those who assail modern science as taught (apart from all considerations of its possible bearing on so-called religious questions) by such men as Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin, and Spencer, should not assail others, but defend themselves. It is not science which claims to know what it has never been given to man to know. As Tyndall well puts it, our refusal to accept the hypotheses of theologians is less an assertion of knowledge than a protest against the assumption of knowledge, "the claim to which is a source of perpetual confusion." Strange indeed to find a tone of defence and excuse, where protests such as these are justly made, where, indeed, in so many words the dogmatist is told that "abandoning his illegitimate claim to knowledge," he should "place with Job his forehead in the dust and acknowledge the authorship of the universe to be past finding out."

Professor Mayer's treatise on "Sound" (*Sound: A Series of Simple, Entertaining, and Inexpensive Experiments in the Phenomena of Sound, for the use of Students of every Age*. By Professor Alfred M. Mayer. London: Macmillan and Co.) is one of the most delightful little volumes on science I ever remember to have read. It belongs to an American series called the Experimental Science series, which originated in the desire to extend a knowledge of the art of experimenting. It shows, as its author says, "how many really excellent experiments may be made with the outlay of a few pounds, a little mechanical skill, and patience." "Teach the pupil," says Professor Mayer, "to read Nature in the language of experiment. Instruct him to guide with thoughtfulness the work of his hand, and with attention to receive the teachings of his eyes and ears. Books are well—they are indispensable in the study of principles, generalizations, and mathematical deductions made from laws established by experiments—but, 'Ce n'est pas assez de savoir les principes, il faut savoir manipuler.'"

The object of the work is to describe and illustrate a connected series of experi-

ments in "Sound." They are to be made with very cheap and simple apparatus. Each has been made over and over again by Professor Mayer himself, and the series has been performed before him by beginners in the art. All these experiments will succeed if the author's directions are perseveringly followed. The following description of a talking machine will give a good idea of some of the easier experiments in the book; but the description is illustrated, to make it more intelligible, by a figure hideous beyond all description:—"Let us make a talking machine. Get an orange with a thick skin and cut it in halves. With a sharp dinner-knife cut and scrape out its soft inside. You have thus made two hemispherical cups. Cut a small semi-circle out of the edge of each cup. Place these over each other, and you have a hole for the tube of the trumpet" [an ordinary toy-trumpet] "to go out of the orange. Now sew the two cups together, except a length directly opposite the trumpet, for here are the lips. A pea-nut makes a good enough nose for a baby, and black beans make 'perfectly lovely' eyes. Take the baby's cap and place it on the orange and try if you can make it say *mamma!*"

The work contains a short but very clear account, illustrated by two well-designed figures, of Edison's talking phonograph. In the last two chapters there are some suggestive remarks on harmony and discord, with a short statement of the reasons why some notes when sounded together cause agreeable and others disagreeable sensations. These also are illustrated by experiments. "Our experiments in sound," remarks Professor Mayer in conclusion, "have thus led us into music. We find that fundamental facts and laws of harmony may be explained by physiological laws—by rules according to which our sensations act. Music is the sequence and concourse of sounds made in obedience to these laws. The explanation of many of these may be beyond our power; for the connection existing between æsthetic and moral feelings and sensations which cause them remains behind a veil. But it may be imagined that distant ages may bring forth man so highly organized that he may find his pleasure and pastime in—

"Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony."

Mr. Bonwick's treatise on *Egyptian Belief and Modern Thought* (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.) is designed on a plan resembling that of his "Pyramid Facts and Fancies." He has collected together a quantity of information for the benefit of those who have little leisure for research. He notes at the outset the significant circumstance that the sacerdotal systems of other nations are mysteriously related to the strange religious doctrines of the ancient Egyptians. "While the Pyramid age is placed variously from B.C. 2700 to B.C. 4500, it is astonishing," he says, "to find that at least five thousand years ago men trusted in Osiris as the risen Saviour, and confidently hoped to rise, as he arose, from the grave." Albeit, he has no views of his own to propound. He has gathered together the facts of ancient religion. He says that the relation of these to modern thought is too obvious to require verbal comment from him. Yet probably few of those who have become acquainted with such facts have found in them precisely the same bearing on modern thought as our author. I can answer for myself. When I find that modern religious teachings can thus be traced back to a remote antiquity; when natural phenomena and processes, utterly misapprehended as they unquestionably were, have appeared to suggest those special doctrines, doubts and difficulties occur to me which seem in no way to trouble Mr. Bonwick. Especially is this the case when I recall the remark of Max Müller, that "whatever we know of early religion, we always see that it presupposes vast periods of an earlier development." It appears to me that on the whole I should prefer doctrines suggested to men more advanced than the prehistoric races from whom the religion of the superstitious Egyptians and other ancient nations was derived to be passed onwards to us.

But although many readers will certainly not view the facts collected by Mr. Bonwick in the present volume as he does, nor regard the Egyptians as very advanced because they held doctrines which were in reality derived from savage ancestors, his record of their thoughts and ways and doings will be found full of interest. Especially interesting is the chapter on the Egyptian Bible. A remark by Mr. Cooper, the Biblical scholar, quoted in a later chapter, is worth noting: "There is scarcely a sentence in the whole of the Egyptian mythological or sacred texts which might not be read alike in the school play-ground, the historian's study, or the devotee's cell."

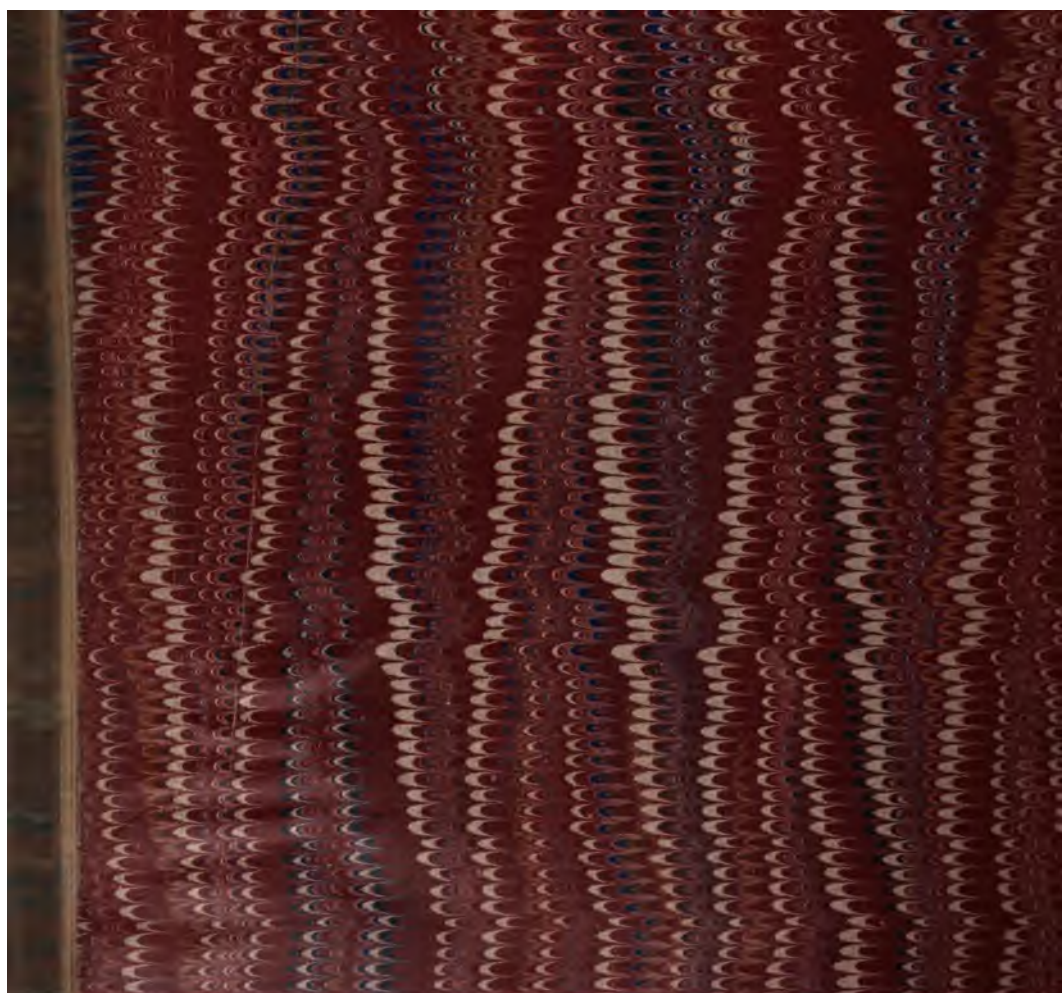
The chapters relating to star and sun worship, pyramid worship, obelisk worship, sphinx religion, and the religion of magic, are also full of exceedingly interesting and

curious matter. Much that I have found in these chapters was altogether new to me, but nothing newer or more startling than the assertion that Mr. Proctor "has the extraordinary idea that Abraham, 'having learned the art in Chaldæa when he journeyed into Egypt, taught the Egyptians the science of arithmetic.'" "Evidently," remarks Mr. Bonwick on this, "Mr. Proctor is a better astronomer than an Egyptologist." (Than which particular Egyptologist?) It would seem evident that Mr. Bonwick is better acquainted with Egyptian than with Hebrew literature; for the sentence he has quoted as from my "Myths and Marvels of Astronomy," is from a well-known passage by Josephus. It is so quoted by me, and I presently afterwards remark, that "I am in no way concerned to show that the shepherd-astronomers, who induced Cheops to build the Great Pyramid, were even contemporaries of Abraham and Melchizedek."

It would be well if in future editions of this work Mr. Bonwick would distinguish more carefully than he has yet done between those matters which are tolerably certain, those which are doubtful, and those which are more or less improbable. In many cases we can only recognise the true quality of the evidence by noting to what author it is referred; but when we notice that Mr. Bonwick quotes the foolish fancies of "Mazzaroth" with as little apparent question as the results gathered by the labours of Bunsen, Sayce, or G. Smith, we are doubtful what weight to allow to statements attributed vaguely to "some writers," or to "other writers."

The History of the Growth of the Steam Engine, by Prof. R. H. Thurston, (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.) gives a very satisfactory account of the gradual development of the philosophy of the steam engine, followed by a concise description of the progress of improvement during the past history of the steam engine, the course which this improvement is taking at present, and the direction and probable limits of that improvement in the future. Prof. Thurston has obviously read widely and has been thus enabled to give a very fair account of many matters which in most French, English, and American treatises are dealt with in a very unsatisfactory manner. The weakest part of the book is the portion relating to the modern locomotive, which is not brought up to the present time, and is indeed apparently unfinished. Among singular points in the history of steam propulsion may be mentioned the fact that the first rude scheme for applying steam to locomotion on land was that devised by Sir Isaac Newton, who proposed in 1680 a machine which is found in toy shape in nearly every collection of illustrative philosophic apparatus. It consists of a spherical boiler mounted on a carriage. Steam issuing from a pipe pointing directly backwards, by its reaction on the carriage drives the latter ahead. Erasmus Darwin, grandfather of our Charles Darwin, urged Matthew Boulton, subsequently Watt's partner, and at that time corresponding with Franklin respecting the use of steam-power, to construct a steam carriage, or "fiery chariot" as he called it, of which he sketched a set of plans. Most of the plans suggested at that time were of little practical value. Passing to the time when really practicable schemes were devised, we find the *Quarterly Review* asking, "What can be more palpably absurd and ridiculous, than the prospect held out of locomotives travelling *twice as fast* as stage-coaches? We would as soon expect the people of Woolwich to suffer themselves to be fired off upon one of Congreve's ricochet-rockets, as trust themselves to the mercy of such a machine going at such a rate." It was at that time that Stephenson, being asked before a Committee of the House of Commons, "Suppose, now, one of your engines to be going at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour, and that a cow were to stray upon the line and get in the way of the engine, would not that be a very awkward circumstance?" to which foolish question he replied, as he could scarcely have helped replying, "Yes, very awkward *for the cow*." When asked if men and animals would not be frightened by the red-hot smoke-pipe, he asked in turn, "How would they know it was not *painted*?" Those who suppose the credit of the first use of steam to propel a vessel, to be at issue between England and America, and to refer to a time not yet a century past, may be surprised to learn that the Spaniards claim to have found in the archives of Simancas, the record of the propulsion of a vessel of 200 tons burden by paddle-wheels; it is added that the spectators saw, though not allowed closely to inspect the apparatus, that one part of it was a "vessel of boiling water;" and it is added that objection was taken to this part of the machine on account of the danger of explosion. "The account is certainly apocryphal," says Prof. Thurston, but possibly if it had related to an experiment on the Hudson or the Potomac, he might have found it credible and even convincing. The history he gives of the work and inventions of Fitch, Symington, Miller, Taylor, &c., is full of interest and on the whole fair.





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ANNEX

